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CONTENTS.

Authors' names arranged alphabetically.

CONTENTS.

SELECTIONS AND MISCELLANEA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

BOOK NOTICES.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

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VIJNÔṬ AND OTHER OLD SITES IN N. E. SINDH.

BY LIEUT.-COL. B. R. BRANFILL.

VIJNOṬ is the name of a ruined town in upper Sindh, in the U b a u r o tâluka of the R o h r î Division. The spot is very accessible, being only 3 or 4 miles south of the Rêtî railway station of the Indus Valley State Railway.

It lies about half a mile or so east from the usually dry bed of the Rêni-naḍî, a deserted course of the river Indus, on flats that have apparently been inundated in recent times, although the highest floods now-a-days are said never to cover the level places between the mounds of the ruins.

The outlying sandhills and drifts of the desert have now come within a short distance of the site to the south-east, but cultivation in a good season of high inundation is still carried on in the vicinity of the old site, especially on the north side.

On approaching the place one notices a great number of dark-coloured ridges and mounds rising to a height of from 16 to 20 feet above the flat ground at their base; and on reaching them, they are found to consist of heaps of broken bricks, both in small sharp-edged pieces, and in pulverized fragments, mixed with loose salt soil and a large amount of charred wood in extremely small pieces. It is the presence of this comminuted charcoal chiefly that gives the dark colour to the mounds of debris; but on examination a considerable proportion of the brick fragments is seen to be composed of semi-vitrified brick of a dark colour. An entire brick, or a large piece of one, is not to be seen on the surface of any of the undisturbed mounds, the whole having been reduced to small sharp-edged irregular fragments, apparently by the action of the saltpetre present.

Very many of the mounds, particularly the larger ones, have been excavated quite recently in lines along their outer slopes, evidently for the sake of the bricks which formed the foundations of the buildings of which the mounds are the ruins. Along the lines of excavation large brickbats, and here and there a few whole bricks lie scattered about, but mostly in a state of rapid disintegration, which seems to set in on exposure to the air. The recent excavations were made to provide metal ballasting for the Indus Valley State Railway, but the old site has probably been a quarry, for centuries, for any one who wanted a few stones or burnt bricks, in that part of the country. Bricks of the V i j n ô ṭ pattern are to be seen on Muslim graves for many miles around and far into the desert to the south-east. The bricks in the foundations underground are in perfect preservation when first taken out, and measure usually 15 inches long, 10 inches wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick: but a few were found as large as 18″ × 12″ × 4″. They are roughly moulded but well burnt generally and of a good deep red colour. A large proportion of them are overburnt and partially vitrified, as if the kilns or clamps had been fired with the *kandi* (thorn-tree)

wood, the heat given out by which is excessive. The underburnt portions soon crumble to powder on exposure to the air if left on the surface of the ground, but the wellburnt and overburnt parts split up into flaky or sharp-edged fragments as if the clay had been insufficiently tempered and mixed.

The bricks seem to have been well laid and bonded in mud; and no lime was noticed unless in the form of whitewash on the walls and pillars when first unearthed.

The circuit of the mounds measures a mile and a half, the extreme length being over half a mile east and west, and the breadth from north to south nearly a quarter of a mile, besides a suburb of mounds at the south-west corner, now occupied by a Muhammadan graveyard, and some outlying ruins at a short distance from the old city in various directions.

Across the centre of the ruins runs a large open area or "square" from 200 to 300 yards long north and south, and about one-third as wide. On the east side of this lies a long ridge, or connected row of low mounds, which may very likely have been the principal bazaar or line of shops.

The west side of the "square" is occupied by the principal mounds of debris, which were probably the houses of the chief persons of the place, and in their centre was the temple, the ruins of which have been excavated more completely than the rest: for not only was the temple more solidly built, but from the pieces of stone still lying about, it appears to have been faced with carved stones brought across the desert from Jesalmêr. The sculpture proves it to have been Hindu, as may be seen from the objects and style, roughly shown in the accompanying plate. When the excavations were made in 1873, Mr. Fred. E. Robertson, C.E., Executive Engineer of the Rôtî division of the Railway, visited and described the place and the relics found, in an account which was afterwards published in one of the Bombay newspapers, extracts from which are appended. The best of the sculptured stones discovered were delivered to the civil authorities, but it is not clear where they were eventually deposited, or what has become of them.

The writer of this paper, without any previous acquaintance with the place or its story, found himself at the spot, whilst completing the field work of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India in N. E. Sindh, at the beginning of the past year (1881). He had no time or means at command for any thorough exploration or excavation, but made a few notes of his observations, and took some rough sketches and measurements of the few remaining pieces of sculptured stone.

These indicate a style of Hindu architecture and ornamentation that was once probably of common local occurrence. Indeed the principal method of producing effects by very deep, sharp-cut incisions, in aid of a little superficial tracery, is in vogue at the present day in Sindh, and seems peculiarly suited to the exceedingly bright sunlight which prevails there.[1]

The style of architecture is faintly indicated by the simple slender columns of stone, 6 or 8 inches in diameter, square, octagonal, and round, capped by a plain moulded bracket (*Fig.* 10), or merely supporting an ornamental finial (*kalaśa*). Several plinth stones were noticed having an indented outline in plan, both for corner stones and centrepieces. The indentations are not all rectangular, nor the centrepieces rectilinear in plan; but there seemed a tendency in some of them to conform to a curvilinear outline of large radius. This was particularly noticed in a piece of a slab (*Fig.* 15), which had been part of a projecting cornice, eaves, or dripstone. The upper surface of this was an even plane standing out from the wall of the building at a slight slope from the horizontal, so as to shoot off the rain from the sculptured face of the wall below. The outer edge conformed in plan to a slight re-entering curve, and the under-surface was divided into slightly concave panels, by curved tapering ribs.

Amongst the rest, a block of stone was found that appears to have covered or crowned an image, or a niche in the wall; in plan it is about a semicircle, 20 inches in diameter, and 12″ high (*Fig.* 6). It is carved to represent a fluted semi-dome, surmounted by a flattened knob or ball fluted somewhat like the conventional *amalaka* fruit. The back is flat with a projecting tenon as if to fit into a socket in the wall, and it has a socket above, apparently intended to hold a *kalaśa* or finial.

[1] A precisely similar style of sculpture is to be seen in the grand old mosque at Ahmadabad which is apparently composed of the pillars and stones of a far more ancient Indian temple.

Altogether there may have been a score or so of stones remaining scattered about, all more or less shaped and dressed, and mostly slabs, not exceeding 4 feet in length, and less than a foot in thickness and height. Several of them had bevelled edges, with tenons or projecting tongues as if to form a *mitre* joint, confirming the idea that the stone was only or chiefly used as a facing to walls of brick: and as there were in all probability no stone quarries in the neighbourhood, all the stone had to be brought across the desert from Jesalmêr, or up the river from Rohrî. The quarries of the latter place however yield limestone of which only a few very small fragments were found here; whereas all or nearly all the stones are of a grey or yellowish sandstone precisely like that found in Jesalmêr.

That so little stone remains is perhaps due to the fact of the temple, in which only it was used, being but a small one, and that all of it which was not buried deeply in the ruins, has long since been carried off by any one who wanted it, for use or ornament. Many such instances were heard of. One finely carved block has been set up in the arched opening over the door of the little village masjid at Rêtî. In size it may be about two feet square; divided vertically into three parts: the two outer being carved to represent very ornamental capitals of a couple of pillars or pilasters, and the middle compartment having a florid running scroll.

At Sirwâhî (or Seorai) again, two blocks of carved stone were seen at the *rozah* of Musa Nawâb, which were evidently the base, and the capital of a pillar carved in the same style—a rough sketch of these was made (*Figs.* 17 and 18). They are used for stools (*kursí*), and the present incumbent of the *rozah* would not part with them on any account. He stated that they came originally from the ruins of an old building (? a temple) in the ancient fort of Sirwâhî. As however no other fragment of stone was to be found or heard of at Sirwâhî; it seems probable that they may have come from Vijnôṭ.

The excavations at the Vijnôṭ temple site have apparently been carried down to the foundations of the front and principal part of the buildings, the level of which is now more than 4 feet below the level of the great flat area or "square" in the centre of the town.

Notes on the Sculptured Stones from Vijnôṭ sketched in the accompanying plates.

Fig. 1. This is a piece of carved sandstone, dressed throughout, 19 inches square and 4 inches thick. The face is divided into two panels by the representation of rude slender cylindrical pillars, in low relief, on each side of a circular medallion, one of which contains an elephant in outline, and the other a rather intricate and irregular piece of ornamental scroll-work, of which nothing could be made out in the way of a symbol or well known pattern; the effect is produced in the typical manner of the style, by little deep sharp-cut curved tapering incisions.

Above and below the centre of each medallion is a little double triangular plate very slightly raised towards the centre and base of the triangles. The medallions are surrounded by a pattern, produced by the little deep curved incisions peculiar to the style, and their flanking pillars are adorned with fillets or bands at regular intervals sloping in a peculiar manner as if intended to represent garlands caught up in the middle.

In the centre, between the two medallions and their pillars, is a single flat pillar with two or three horizontal bands and something of a capital bearing the representation of an object that could not be made out. It is possible that this pillar may have been intended to represent a cylindrical pier like that in the Pahlâdpuri temple at Multân which is of iron.

The centre of the slab containing this carving is countersunk between a raised border above and below, carved in the style of the place to represent a running scroll or roll ornament with florid scrolls in the bends devoid of any sign of a recognisable symbol or living object. The upper and lower edges of the stone slope. Rough as it is, the sketch is rather more precise and well defined than the appearance of the carving, owing to the partially decayed surface of the stone. But it is believed to be a tolerably faithful representation. The very deep vertical cuts or grooves between the pillars are hardly, if at all, exaggerated.

Fig. 2 represents one of the larger carved blocks of those still to be seen at Vijnôṭ, measuring 34″ long., 8″ high, and 9″ thick. The carved face is divided into five square panels, the two outside ones being larger and occupying the ends of the stone, which are higher than the centre. The three centre panels or compartments are lower and a little withdrawn behind the line of the lower border and the prominent end compartments.

The centre panel contains a very peculiar object,

consisting of an upright pillar or shaft with four curved branches, springing from about the centre, two on each side, each of them ending in a pointed knob or bud: possibly intended to represent some conventional symbol for a tree.

The compartment on each side of the centre contains the figure of a monstrous lion face, with tusks, and projecting eyeballs whence rise curved horns having some marks on the brow between them. These are very rudely and irregularly carved.

The two end compartments seem to have contained seated human figures—but much too decayed to be made out.

The left-hand compartment appears to have had a group of two or three more or less human figures—perhaps Śiva with his consort; whilst the right-hand one contained a single figure—perhaps that of Gaṇapati or Gaṇêśa, the son of Śiva and Pârvatî.

Decay of the stone rather than wilful violence seems to have nearly obliterated these figures. The two end panels have two tall narrow niches, one on each side of them cut so as to leave a half sunk triangular flat ledge between two deep triangular holes.

The projecting lower border of the face has been highly ornamented, but the pattern is now indistinguishable.

Fig. 3 represents a large plain block of grey sandstone, 30″ long, 15″ high, and 9″ thick. The only ornament on this stone is shewn in the sketch. In the centre of the face of the stone a raised plate about an inch in thickness, of ogee shape with a spreading base, has been left. Some Hindus from Poona present, recognized this ornament, calling it *pánâ*. From the centre of its base a round-headed pier or stump, with a spreading base, is left standing, surrounded by a deep double groove, in the centre of which rises a rounded rope-like ridge. The rest of the raised plate is ornamented by the deep curved holes, characteristic of the style. As this was the best preserved specimen characteristic of the style, the sketch was traced from the stone full size, and is reduced in the plate to one-fifth. A section of the upper part of the face of the stone is given in with the figure.

Fig. 4 is a reduced tracing and section of a block of stone, somewhat like the last described (Fig. 3). A plain deeply cut moulding divides the face of the stone longitudinally. The lower part is ornamented very effectively (considering the means used) with a continuous row of (slightly obtuse) triangles or pointed figures, adorned with symmetrically arranged little holes, very deep and cleanly cut so as to form a pattern. The upper part above the horizontal moulding had originally a running scroll with a bold florid pattern in the bends, but in such slight relief that the decay of the stone has almost obliterated the carving.

Figs. 5 and 6 is a fluted (semidomical) crowning ornament to a pilaster or niche; 20″ in diameter and 12″ high. The execution of this was good, precise, and symmetrical.

Figs. 7—16. These rough little sketches are intended to shew the shape of sundry little fragments found amidst the debris left after the excavations, on the site of the Vijnôṭ temple.

Figs. 7, 8, and 9 shew the shape of the pointed stone finials belonging to the style, and the last a peculiar round capital with round-headed studs projecting from two deep grooves.

Fig. 16 shews one of a row of similar ornaments. It is intended to represent a deep broken or indented square pit, from the bottom of which rises the frustrum of a curved pyramid. This is very characteristic of the Sindhi style. Two of these were cuts in the face of a large block (28″ × 8″ × 10″) at 20 inches apart, from centre to centre.

As equally characteristic of the style, although much more elaborate, these rude drawings of the capital and the base were taken from a pillar found at Sirwâhi (Seorai) in Bahâwalpur, Panjâb, and are represented about one-fifth of full size. The base (Fig. 18) was about a cube of 12 inches, the capital $11\frac{1}{2}$″ high and $7\frac{1}{4}$″ square. The four faces do not correspond exactly—one half of Fig. 18 was taken from one face and the other from another, in order to secure a better record of the work.

Figs. 19 and 20 were made from the carved face of a brick, and a half brick found at Pattanminâr, in the southern part of Bahâwalpur in the Panjâb. There seem to have been rows of these carved brick heads, at intervals, on the walls of this ancient relic. It will be seen that Figs. 17—20 are all in the style of the Vijnôṭ stone carvings.

The following objects were picked up on the surface of the mounds:—

Coins:—principally copper, corroded beyond recognition, measuring about half an inch in diameter and one-tenth of an inch in thickness (weights 30 to 40 grains): these were the commonest, but there were others a little smaller weighing 17 to 22 grains. A few little rude silver coins were also found, about three-tenths of an inch in diameter and one-fourteenth of an inch thick, weighing 6 to 7 grains each. They are also very corroded, but have plainly had an impression on one or both sides: and what remains gives the idea of the human figure, or a couple, rather than of a legend with symbols.

CARVED STONES FROM VIJNOT.

Fig. 1.

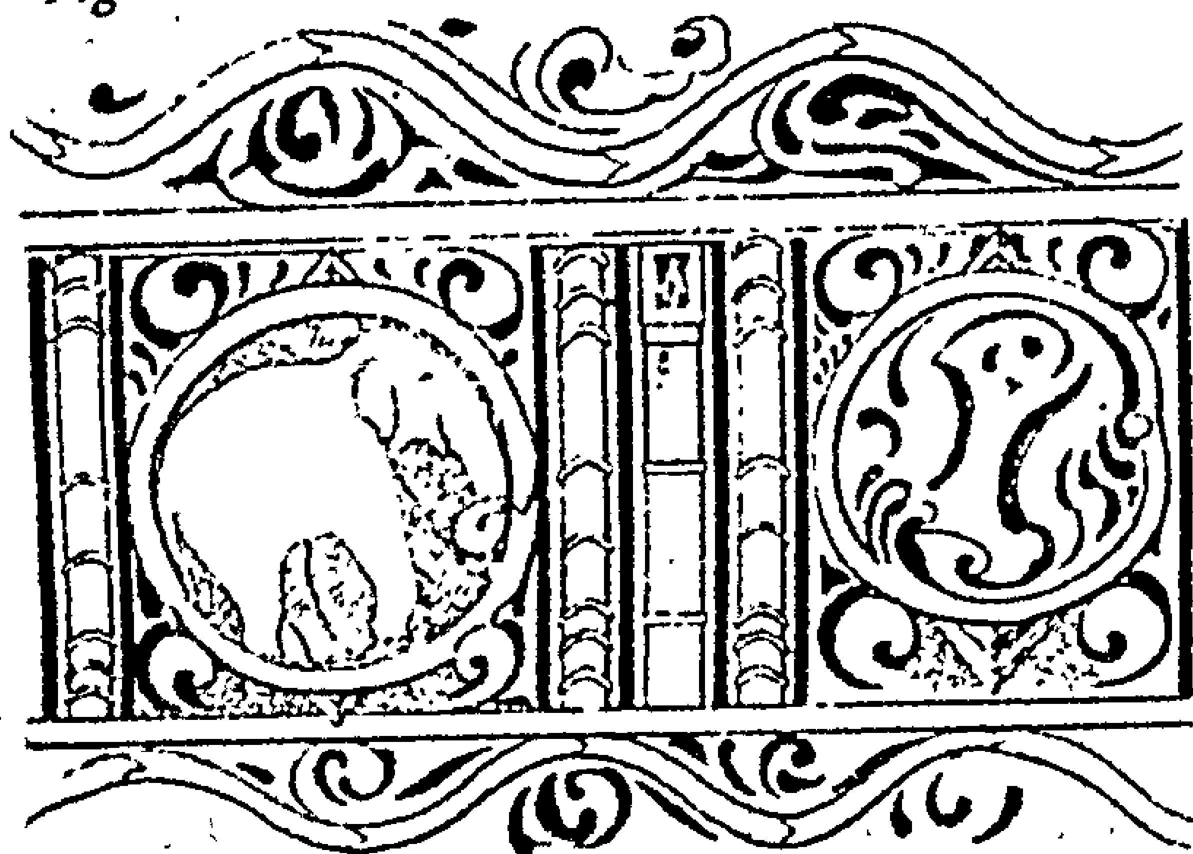


Fig. 10.

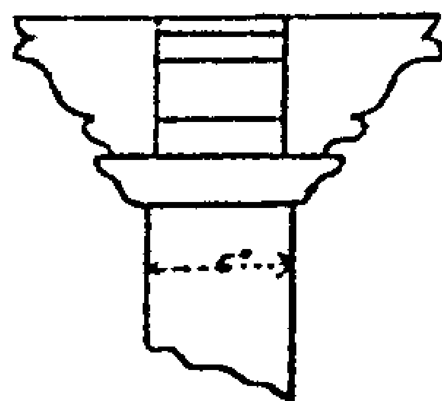


Fig. 4.

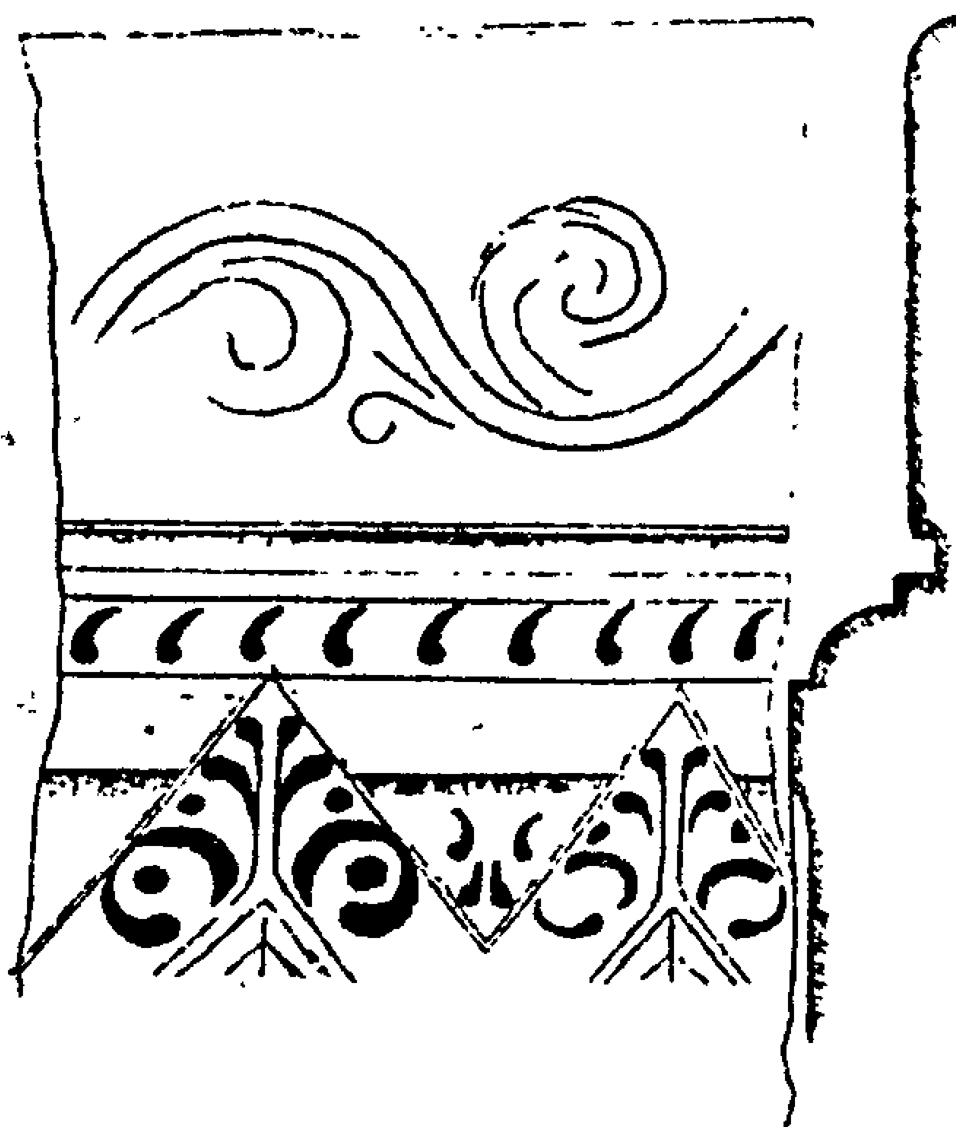


Fig. 2.



Fig. 9.

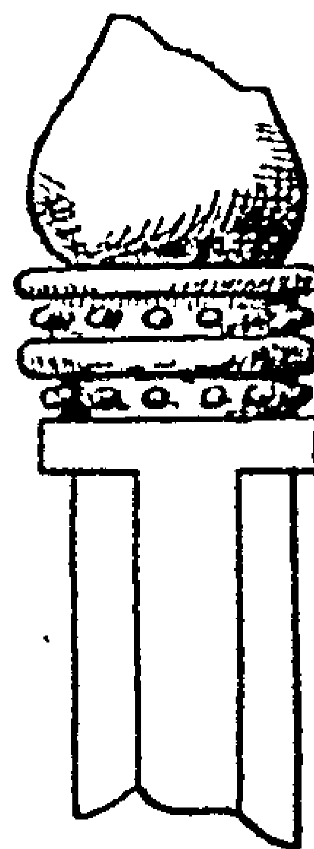


Fig. 5.

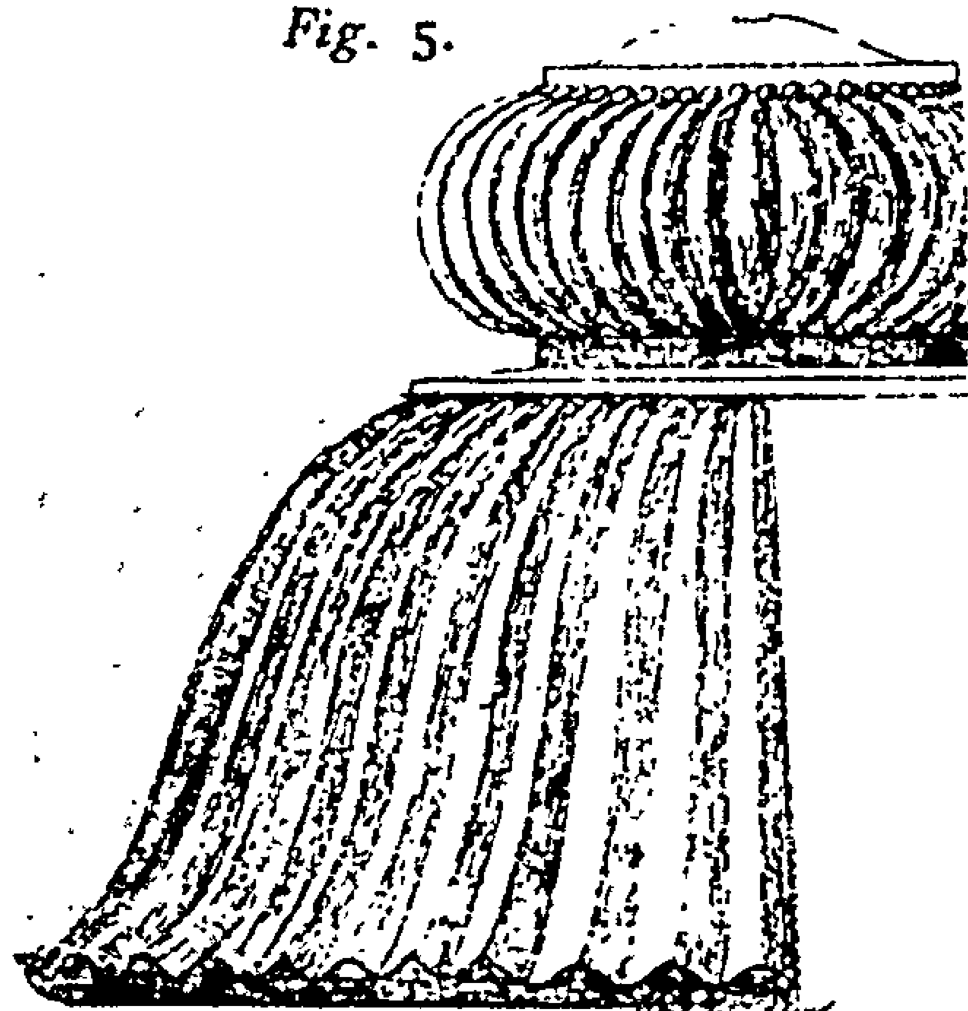


Fig. 3.

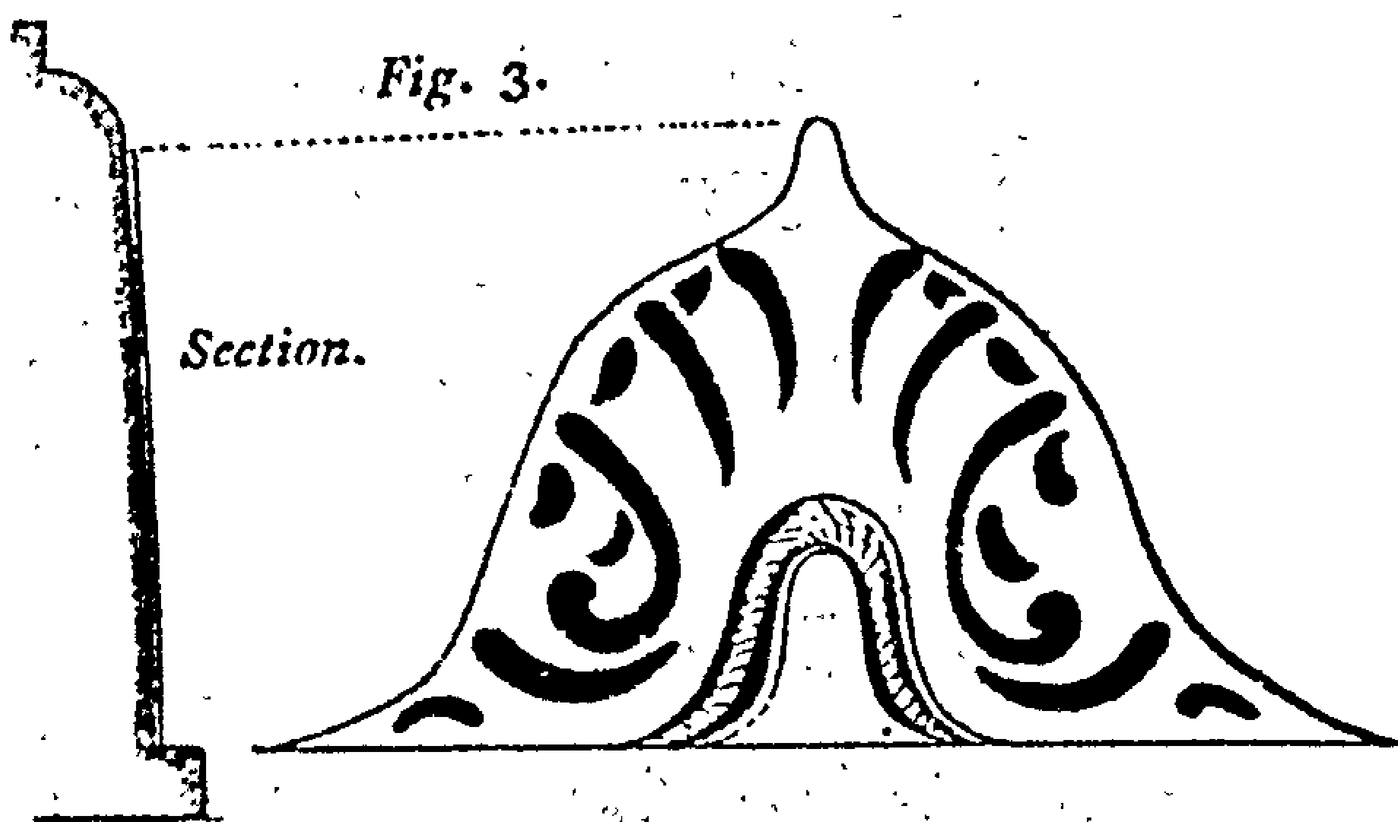


Fig. 6.

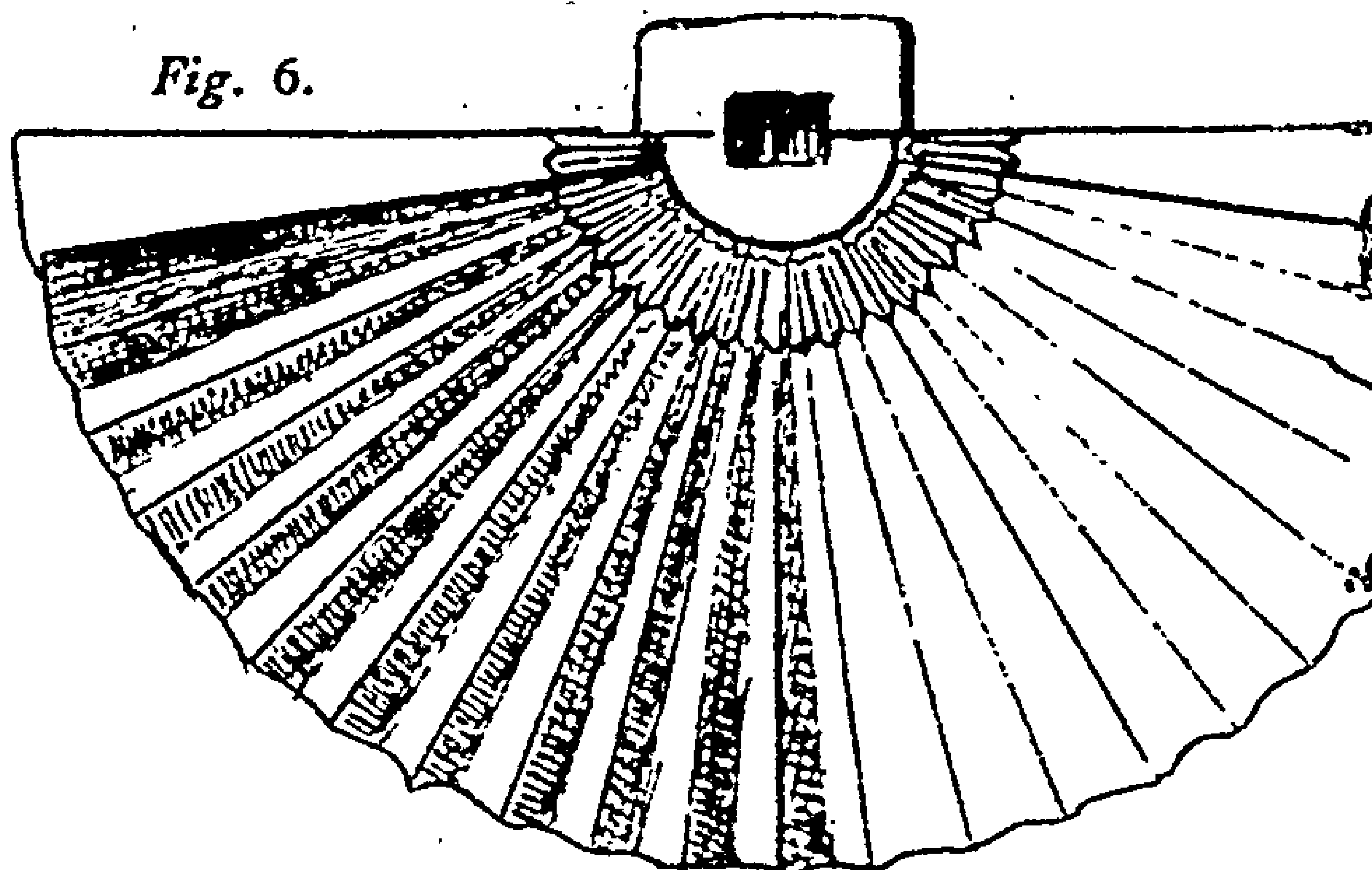


Fig. 11. *Fig.* 12.

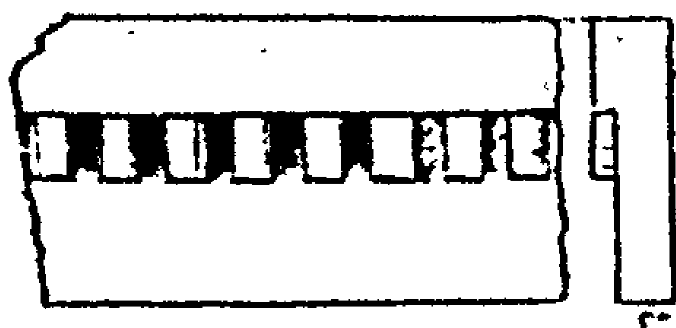


Fig. 7.

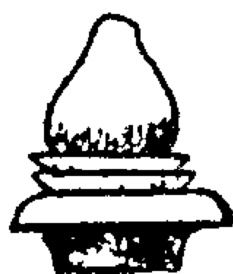


Fig. 13.

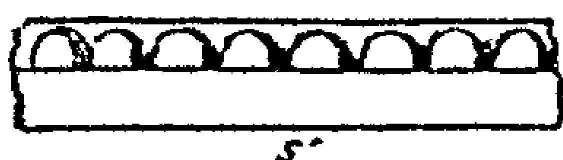
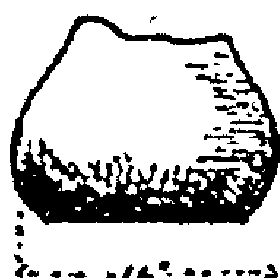


Fig. 8.



CARVED STONES FROM VIJNOT.

Fig. 14.

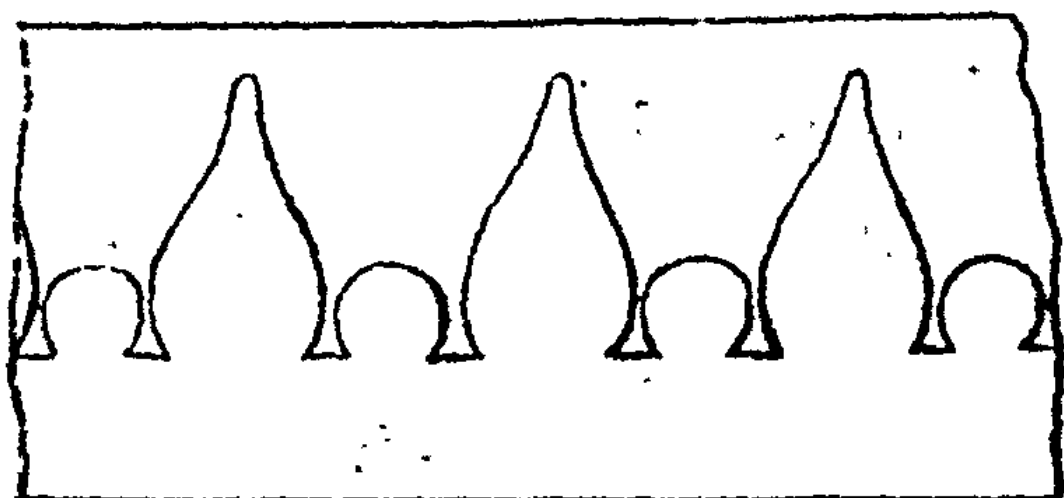


Fig. 15.

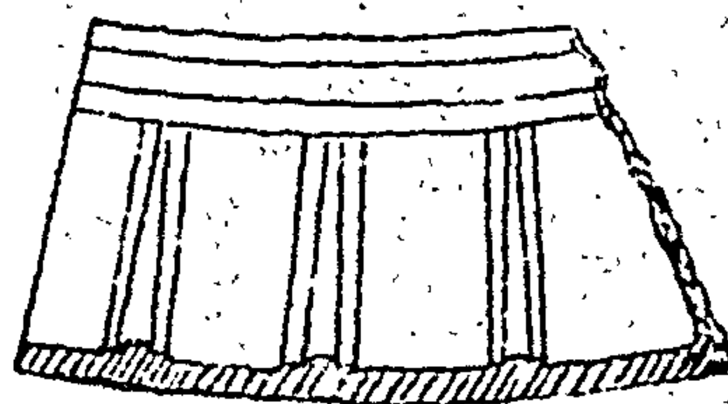


Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.

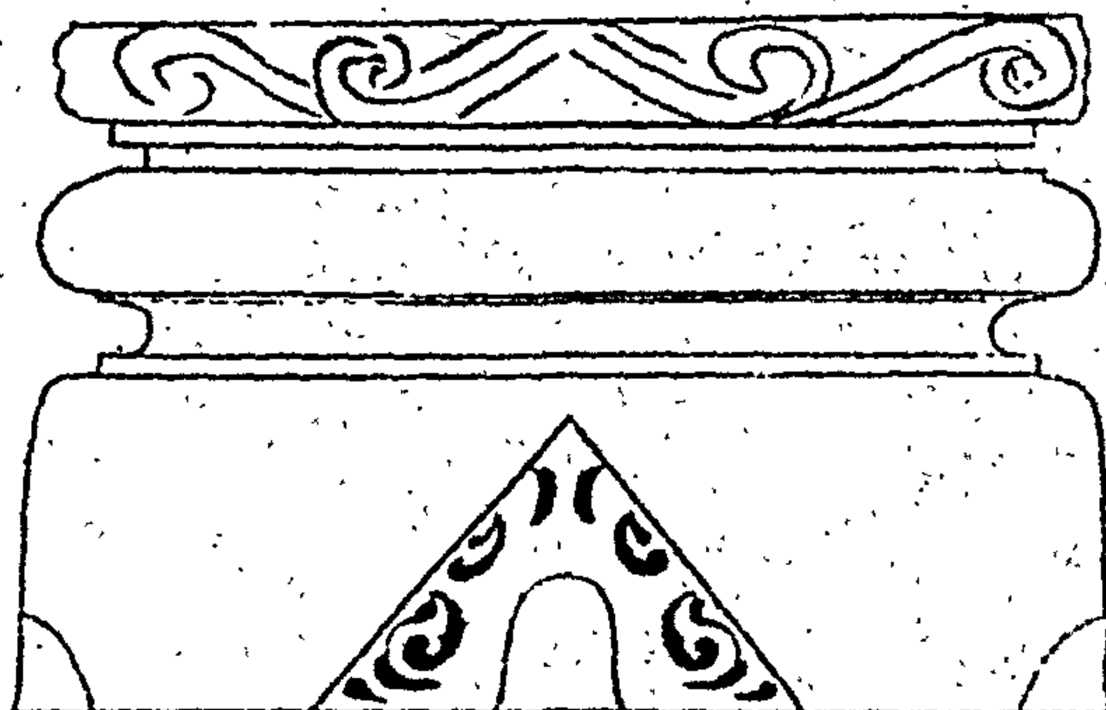


Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.



Fig 21.



From sketches by Col. B. R. Branfill.

Beads:—round, flat, and oval, mostly of carnelian apparently—one of the flat ones had a pattern marked on it in white (enamel ?). A very similar one was picked up at Sirwâhi with the same pattern apparently, only rather more clearly marked, and alike on both sides (*Fig.* 21). Carnelian beads and ornaments of this description with almost identical markings in white have been taken out of the stone-circle graves in Central and Southern India. A few specimens of glass, green, blue and white, were found, the latter irridescent and in a state of flaky decay; and some pieces of plain (glass ?) bangle, like those worn to the present day.

Many little fragments of copper or brass ornaments turned up, and amongst them a complete (though corroded) little anklet bell (*ghangrî*), with a ram's-head pattern on it.

Besides the above many pieces of shells, and amongst them a few *cowries*, some marbles of stone and of earthenware, and some burnt clay figures of animals, probably children's toys.

At a few feet or less below the surface, bones were found in the last stage of decay, and, here and there, well preserved pieces, with charred fragments in close proximity, a few of them undoubtedly human.

Amongst the debris not far from the surface of the mounds, iron spikes, such as may have been used in fastening the roof and flooring timbers, were found. One or two pebble stones were picked up of an elongated or pointed shape, suggesting the idea that they may have been used as domestic Mahâdeva or Linga symbols. Two or three slight excavations were made in the mounds, which disclosed several layers of charred debris, apparently undisturbed since the burning.

The appearances generally were as if the town had been destroyed by a tornado, or an earthquake; and that the ruins, composed principally of mud or sun-dried bricks mixed with masses of inflammable materials such as timber and thatch, had then caught fire. Or perhaps an unusually high flood may have overthrown the houses, and the fire may have occurred afterwards. The marks of a great conflagration are unmistakable over the entire site, whilst it is equally certain that some of the bones and things found below the surface show no signs of having been burnt.

An old Government survey map gives the name of the place "Wingrote," and Mr. Robertson follows this by his "Vinjrote"; but this form is not known by the inhabitants now, who insist that the only, and the correct present and old, name is Vijnôṭ.

It is not mentioned in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, nor in the *Gazetteer of Sindh*, but it must undoubtedly have been a place of note and importance, and of some antiquity. It does not appear to have been a fortified city, like Brâhmanâbâd, Serwâhî, Mathela and Mau Mubârak, as the outer line of mounds around the place are too disconnected to be the remains of a continuous rampart with towers at intervals.

The presence of the Hindu temple, and the large size of the bricks throughout the ruins point to a pre-Muhammadan era. Local tradition regards it as one of the five (or seven) ancient cities of Sindh, and say it was destroyed by lightning for the wickedness of the king Dilu-, or Dalu-Râi. Extensive mounds of ruins exist a few miles to the south-west, called Dilâwar or Dirâwar,[2] now nearly hidden by the sand. Dilâwar may perhaps be a reminiscence of the old Râja Dilu-Râi. The name of "Bijê Rai," who was defeated by Mahmud of Ghazni at Bhâtia (*Anc. Geog. Ind.* p. 256), seems to be more nearly connected with Bijnôt; particularly so if Bhâtiya or Bahâtiya is the same as Mahâtila (the modern Nagar Mathêlo), which is only a few miles distant to the W. S. W.

Vijnôṭ, = Vijnôr, = Vijnaur, = Vijnavapura, is very near to "Vichava-pura," M. Julien's rendering of Hwen Thsang's "*Pichen-po-pu-lo*," the capital of the province in the seventh century (*Anc. Geog. Ind.* p. 249).

The age and long occupation of Vijnôṭ is attested by the height of the mounds of ruins and the extraordinary amount of saltpetre about them, whilst the surrounding country is comparatively free from it.

The town would seem to have survived the advent of the Musalmans not only from the Arabic inscription on the brick and the Kufic letters on the coins mentioned by Mr. Robertson, but also from the Muhammadan graveyard attached to the S. W. corner of the place, which is still used. The newest graves only are built with

[2] Now-a-days *r* is usually substituted for *l*, as in Alôr for Arôr, Dêwarî for Dêvalî, &c.

the modern small burnt bricks, whilst a few fragments of the stones from the old temple adorn most of them.

Extract from an account of his discoveries at Vijnôṭ by Fred. E. Robertson, dated 7th July 1873.

About 150,000 cubic feet of brick bats have been collected from the ruins of Vinjrote (Vijnôṭ) for the purpose of ballasting the Indus Valley State Railway.

The workmen employed stole all the valuables found and decamped. "One man was caught with 28 tolas weight (=11·5 oz.) of gold of which some parts of the ingots were missing." "The gold was in rough ingots without any mark."

"The other is of much greater interest, and I think a temple of some importance. In one corner of the excavation more than 50 large stones were dug up imbedded on their ends, just as if they had fallen from a height."

A list of the objects of interest follows:—

I.—Several silver coins, smaller than a two-anna bit, which I have been informed are probably coins of the earlier Arab Kalifs, and have an inscription in Kufic letters.

II.—A Gaṇeśa with a piece of a pilaster (stone).

III.—A slab about 2 feet high, with Mahâdeva and Pârvatî in *basso rilievo,* unfinished; the chisel-marks as sharp as if made yesterday, so evidently not damaged.

IV.—A companion slab with the figure only rough hewn, so cannot be identified.

V.—Two-thirds of a semicircular arch, 4 feet in diameter, carved on both sides in *alto rilievo* in the most spirited manner, with a procession of figures about 5 inches high. The soffit is also well carved with conventional foliage.

VI.—Some carved stones apparently jambs of the door of which No. V. was the head. One stone has a lion, a woman, and an elephant.

VII.—A lion in red sandstone about 1 foot high, head missing and off foreleg, *burnt.*

VIII.—An *intaglio* in brick very finely carved, apparently a mould to cast little leaden gods in.

IX.—A piece in *alto rilievo,* well carved, representing a man on a horse with a cup (?) in his hand and a *chobdár* (macebearer) behind him.

X.—Many fragments of images admirably carved, appear to have been broken by accident, and not wilfully mutilated—some marked by fire.

XI.—Fragments of cornices, some rather rude, but others of good design and neat execution.

XII.—A brick on which the following inscription was scratched rudely :—

سلطان سکندر با شاہ ھی شان سیف اسم بالا
سرکار زھي سن سی باش ٦٥٥١٦
کاریگررا قلم عدصر شد بس کارابورارا طا

XIII.—A little stone trough about 6 inches square, apparently unfinished.

Other sites mentioned by Mr. Robertson in the neighbourhood of Vijnôṭ are "Ther" (? Ṭerhi), "Serwahi" and Pattan Minâr.

Mr. Robertson states that on excavating the largest mound in the place, an immense quantity of broken crockery was met with; and at first sight the numberless pieces of potteryware seemed to support the statement. But the greatest part of what looks like potteryware consists of the flaky fragments of the disintegrating bricks, and the lips, shoulders and thicker parts of ordinary earthenware pots, and innumerable pieces of broken saucers. These last are the commonest fragments found on all the old sites in this part of the country. They usually have a flat knob for a handle in the middle of the inside, and were not used as saucers, so much as for the lids or covers of the common waterpots and jars. Of crockeryware or glazed pottery there is scarcely a piece to be seen; but an occasional fragment of the blue-glazed pottery was found.

The patterns impressed upon the larger pots are curious and interesting, inasmuch as they are not now in vogue, and they are precisely the same as those found on the pottery of the other ancient sites in the vicinity. They consist for the most part of a single row of circular marks, half or quarter circles, the latter such as might have been made by the finger nail in the soft clay. Others were made apparently by spreading lumps of clay on the pot, and then marking them with a succession of streaky impressions, as if done with repeated scrapes of a rough comb, producing an effect something like a shaggy beard. The circles are very clearly marked, and have a centre.

The best pattern noticed was somewhat like a Catharine Wheel, formed of 9 spokes radiating from a small central circle, and having their outer ends turned round to the left and back, hooklike.

A few instances occurred of streaks and blotches stained of a very dark colour, such as is common now-a-days. The pottery generally is of the most ordinary kind, well burnt to a

bright brick red, and except for the peculiar patterns impressed, not at all unlike that now in use in the same part of the country. No trace of roofing tiles or of the ordinary small sized bricks was noticed; but several very large waterspout pipes or tubular drainage tiles were found, one of them nearly entire, about 30 inches long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.

Sarwâhî:—This name is also variously given as Sirwâhî, Serwai, and Seorai, said to be so called after a prince (Râe) of that name, (or Śiva Râ), father of the last prince Sîtal Râ. It is about 3 miles N. W. from the Walhâr Station of the Indus Valley State Railway, and about 5 miles N. E. from Sabzalkoṭ in Bahâwalpur, half a mile S. from New Sañjarpur.

The place is the site of an ancient fort and town, plainly indicated by two mounds of ruins. That of the former has very steep sides which were till quite recently faced with a thick revetment of burnt brick, rising to a height of from 40 to 50 feet above the adjacent plain. The bricks have been taken away for the Indus Valley Railway, but a few fragments remain to show that they were of the old Indian pattern like those of Vijnôṭ. The fort must have been nearly a square of from 150 to 200 yards, having its main entrance on the east as shown by the opening on that side, whence the masonry of the gateway has been removed, leaving a great gap through which there is a steep sloping way up into the centre of the fortress, which was once filled up solid with earth, and is now honey-combed with the excavations of the spoilers. The place was inhabited, till within living memory, and contains the rozah or *Khângâh* of Hazrat Musa Nawâb, but it seems to have been totally destroyed by fire within the last 50 years. The Khângâh has been rebuilt on the comparatively low ground adjacent, on the north side.

Having been recently occupied, old and new fashioned pottery is found mixed together, but the recent excavations in search of bricks and treasure have brought to light amongst other things some big balls of burnt clay, about the size of a man's head. In the absence of stones or metal balls these would be effective missiles.

The ruins of the town occupy a long oval mound running N. and S. from the S. E. corner of the fort, to which it is joined by a low ridge.

Layers of blackened soil in the excavations show that the place has been burnt down, but the mounds do not wear a generally dark hue as they do at Vijnôṭ. A few carnelian beads and relics of ornaments, &c., are picked up here occasionally, just like those found at Vijnôṭ.

The present Pîr, Shêikh Sannat Ali Koreshi, incumbent of the Khângâh of Hazrat Musa Nawâb, showed the two blocks of stone, the capital and base of a pillar, sketches of which have been included in those from Vijnôṭ.

General Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, page 254, mentions Seorai as having been captured by Husen Shâh Arghun on his way from Bhakar to Multân in A. D. 1525.

Some 10 miles north of the Naushahrâ railway station there is another ancient site—that of a fortress called Mau (? Moh) Mubârak, reckoned one of the six fortresses of Râô Sahâsi II. (died A. D. 630),— the other five being Uch (Biloch), Seorâî, Nagar Mathêla, Alôr, and (?) Sehwân. Mâu is reported to be about 550 yards in circumference, and to have had a continuous rampart, with towers or bastions at regular intervals; the ruins of fourteen of these may still be counted, and one of them is still 40 feet in height, much resembling, in short, the description of Seorâî. The local tradition given is that some 2,000 years ago Haskarôṛ, a Hindu, was the Râja.

Some 500 or 600 years ago one Shekh Hâkim Sâhib took up his abode here and set up a shrine for a hair of the Prophet (whence the modern name Moh (Mu'e) Mubârak, or Mâu.

The walls are very strongly built; on the outside is a wall about one yard in thickness, built of the large old-fashioned burnt bricks (16″ × 8″ × 4″), within which is a second wall built of smaller burnt bricks. A third wall is built of sun-dried bricks, and the interior is filled up with solid earth. This fort is stated to have been taken by Shah Hasan Arghun (? Husen Shah) in 1525. The mound is now occupied by a village, and is a place of pilgrimage for the devout Musalmâns of the country side.

Another place of interest near here is Pattan Minâra, about 7 miles south of Naushahra in the Khânpur division of Bahâwalpur. The writer having no leisure to visit this place sent a native messenger—who brought back word that it was a brick tower 62 feet

high and 12 feet square at base, still standing, but much decayed throughout. It stands on a sand bank, near where a river once flowed, to the south of the mounds indicating the site of an ancient town. A small low door on the west side gives access to a little vacant cell or chamber. The jambs, lintel, and sill of the doorway are of (red sand-)stone, carved with a row of deep rectangular incisions, and the remains of a lion's head in front of the sill. There appears to be another chamber in the upper story. The walls are divided into arch-headed panels and ornamented with a course of carved bricks, of the pattern shown in *Figs.* 19 and 20.

The tower is in several (? 3) storeys, and a few projecting stones remain to show that they were marked by wide cornices. It is to be desired that photographs and a full description of this ancient relic should be taken and published.

M a t h ê l o or N a g a r M a t h ê l a is said to be one of Râi Sahâsi's six fortresses, above-named. It is about 45 miles N. E. from Rohrî, 6 or 7 miles S. E. from Ghotkî, and about 8 or 9 S. W. from Mîrpur (Maharkî), both of them stations of the Indus Valley State Railway. The site of the old fort is to the west of the modern town, but east of the mounds which are said to mark the position of the ancient city. It is reported to be very like the other two old forts already described, Serwâhî (Seorai) and Mau-Mubârak, only not so high. It is a square of about 170 paces (nearly 650 yards in circumference) with ten or twelve round towers at the angles and at intervals between them, with the gateway on the eastern side. The ruins of some of these towers or bastions are said to be 20 or 30 feet high, and there is a high mound or platform in the centre which seems to have been recently repaired.

The following story was told by some of the elders of the place. In the Satya-Yug (the good old days), Râja Nand was King of Nagar Mathêla, an important city of northern Sindh. He had seven daughters, but never a son to succeed him. The eldest named Mammul went to Kakku of Jesalmêr where she was married to a prince of that country. In her train went all the wealth and prosperity of Nagar Mathêla, and they continue to follow after her to the present day. Mayâ or Lakshmî forsook the place (disguised) as a *bichchu*, or scorpion.

Afterwards Chagdo Musalmân ruled here, and after him the Kalhora, who was succeeded by the Mîr (Biloch) till the English came.

In the *Gazetteer of Sindh* (1876), page 677, Mathêlo is mentioned as having been founded by a Râjput named Amur about 1400 years ago, and named after his grandson.

The historian Firishtah mentions a strong fort named B h â t i a, between Multân and Alôr, which was taken by assault in A.D. 1003 by Mahmud of Ghazni, when the Râja named Bajjar or Bijê Rai was killed. General Cunningham suggests that this Bhâtia may be the same as Mâtila, or Mahâtila, which was one of the six great forts of Sindh in the seventh century. (See *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 256.)

It is believed that there are some other ancient sites in Bahâwalpur, and the desert on the borders of north-eastern Sindh, along the courses of the rivers that have long since been swallowed up by the sand, or left by the deflection of their waters to the westward.

The continued westing of the Indus river channels has been usually attributed to the natural tendency of north-to-south-flowing rivers in the northern hemisphere to move westwards (analogous to the westing of the trade winds), owing to the increasing (eastward) diurnal velocity of the parallels of latitude which they successively cross. A more efficient cause however seems to lie in the excess of westing over easting in the winds which in the dry season blow the sand of the river beds, and the dust of the country, eastwards, tending to raise the river beds along their eastern banks, and to form a cushion as it were, which protects the eastern bank from erosion more than the western bank, gradually fills up the easternmost channels, and tends to raise the level of the country to the eastward.

For countless ages the sea breezes of the gulf and the force of the south-west monsoon have been and are still carrying the sand of the sea-shore inland, by which the desert of Âjmêr and western Râjputâna has been formed, and the rivers between the Jamnâ and the Panjâb have been choked and swallowed up. In the southern parts of the desert the hillocks and ridges of blown sand

are said to attain a height of several hundreds of feet, and in the north-eastern parts of Sindh they commonly reach a height of one hundred feet—more than enough to prevent the annual inundation of the snow-fed Indus and its tributaries from spreading to the eastward, notwithstanding the natural tendency of the flood-waters to seek new channels right and left of their original course if there be any gradual deltaic rising of the river bed. Any western deviation of the channels is comparatively unimpeded, whilst the eastern banks are protected from erosion as above indicated by the drift-sand heaped against them by the prevailing westerly winds.

In the present state of affairs therefore the river channels must move westward if they move at all: and there is no doubt that they have so altered in times past, leaving many a town and city that once flourished on their banks to dwindle into insignificance or perish entirely in the sand wastes of the great Indian Desert.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from Vol. X., p. 255.*)

No. CXVIII.

In a temple of the god Rudra in the eastern part of Anamkoṇḍ, which is a short distance to the north of Worangal in the Nizâm's Dominions, there is a long and highly interesting inscription of king Rudradêva of the Kâkatya or Kâkatiya dynasty, of which I have given a brief notice in Vol. X., page 211. Versions of it have been published,—in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VII., p. 901, apparently by the Secretary, where it is stated that this inscription "had been obtained and communicated by *Râjâ* Dharma Veṅkaṭa Aśvarao, who had been for some time in Calcutta, to urge on the Supreme Government of India his claim to the *gâdî* of the *râj* of 'Paluncha' or 'Kummummêt', which through some recent arrangements of the Nizâm's Government had been assigned to a rival claimant," and where the date was interpreted as Śaka 1054,—and in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., p. 46, by Dr. Bhau Dâjî, who interpreted the date as Śaka 1064. Neither of those two versions, however, represents the original at all correctly in essential points. It has also been noticed by Mr. Rice, who,—recognising, from the above discrepant readings of the date, and from the fact that the *saṁvatsara*, the name of which is recorded as Chitrabhânu, does not agree with the above dates by respectively thirty and twenty years, that the date had not been interpreted correctly,—gave as his opinion that the inscription belonged unmistakeably to the ninth century A. D., and recorded the fate of Taila I. and Bhîma II. of the Western Chalukya dynasty.[1]

Through the kindness of the Haidarâbâd Political Authorities, in furnishing me with an excellent ink-impression of this inscription, I am now able to publish a revised and satisfactory version of it, with lithographs.

It is engraved on the four faces of a stone, perhaps a *dhvajastambha*, at the temple of Rudra, in the eastern division of Anamkoṇḍ. The entire stone is about 8′ high by 2′ 2″ broad and 1′ 2″ thick. Lines 1 to 41 of the inscription are on the front face of the stone, and cover a space of about 4′ 8″ high by 2′ 1¾″ broad. Lines 42 to 89 are on the righthand face, and cover a space of about 5′ 1″ high by 11¾″ broad. Lines 90 to 150 are on the rear face, and cover a space of about 6′ 0½″ high by 2′ 2¼″ broad; and, judging from the impression, there must be some sculptures between the first and last parts of lines 90 to 104. And lines 151 to line 166, the last, are on the lefthand face, and cover a space of about 1′ 10″ high by 11½″ broad. The characters are well executed and well preserved Old-Canarese characters of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language of lines 1 to 8 is Old-Telugu; the rest of the inscription is in Sanskrit.

The inscription is dated in Śaka 1084 (A.D. 1162-3), the Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara*. And the primary object of it is to record that the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Rudradêva of the Kâkatya or Kâkatiya dynasty, set up at his capital of Anmakuṇḍâpura, Anma-

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[1] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xliv note, and p. lxiii.

koṇḍapaṭṭana, or Anumakoṇḍanagarî, the god Rudra or Mahêśa, *i. e.* Śiva,—the god Vâsudêva or Śauri, *i. e.* Vishṇu,—and the god Śurya or Ravi, *i. e.* the Sun,[2]—and allotted either the large village of Maṭṭichêṟuvala,[3] or the village known as the larger Maṭṭichêṟuvala, for the maintenance of their worship.

But the genealogical and descriptive portion of the inscription, from line 20 to line 163, gives us a variety of historical information which will prove of extreme interest when it can be properly worked out.

It gives us first the name of Tribhuvanamalla, the grandfather of Rudradêva; but supplies us with no details in respect of him.

It then gives us the name of Prôla or Prôlêrâja, the son of Tribhuvanamalla and the father of Rudradêva, and describes him as making captive in war, but then releasing again, Tailapadêva, the ornament of the Châlukyas. This Tailapadêva is not Taila I. of the Western Chalukya dynasty, as Mr. Rice thought,—but Taila III. of the Western Châlukya dynasty, who reigned from Śaka 1072 (A. D. 1150-1) to Śaka 1084 (A. D. 1162-3). It further records that Prôla defeated a king named Gôvinda, and gave his kingdom to king Udaya, and also that he conquered, and shaved and branded, Guṇḍa, the lord of the city of Mantrakûṭa; but, with what place Mantrakûṭa is to be identified, and who Gôvinda, Udaya, and Guṇḍa were, I am not at present prepared to say,—except that this Gôvinda necessarily was *not* Gôvinda III. of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty, with whom Mr. Rice identified him,—and that there are some indications in subsequent passages of this inscription that Udaya was of the Chôḷa dynasty. And it finally records that in Prôla's time Anumakoṇḍa was besieged by Jagaddêva, who, however, was repulsed and put to flight. This Jagaddêva is evidently the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, Tribhuvanamalla-Jagaddêva, one of the Śântara kings of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura, the modern Humcha in the Nagar District of Maisûr. His mother was Bijjaladêvî, whose sister, Chaṭṭaladêvî, was married to Vijayâditya I. (about Śaka 1020) of the Kâdambas of Goa.[4] In his early days he seems to have been held in check by the Hoysaḷa kings Ballâḷa I. and Vishṇuvardhana, as a Gadag inscription states that Ballâḷa I. attacked Jagaddêva and despoiled him of his kingdom,[5] and a Bêlûr grant, dated Śaka 1039, calls Vishṇuvardhana "a very Bhairava in destroying the strength of Jagaddêva."[6] But we find him afterwards, in Śaka 1071, governing at Sôtu, and coming to Balligâve and there making a grant of the village of Kundûr in the Koḍanâḍ Thirty of the Sântaḷige Thousand; and the fact of this inscription being dated in the Śukla *saṁvatsara*, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of the Western Châlukya king Jagadêkamalla II.,[7] coupled with Jagaddêvâ's possession of the title of Tribhuvanamalla, indicates that he was then a feudatory of Jagadêkamalla II., and had been previously a feudatory of Vikramâditya VI. It was probably as a feudatory of Taila III. that he laid siege to Anumakoṇḍa. Prôla's wife was Muppamadêvî; and their son was Rudra or Rudradêva.

Rudradêva only styles himself a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*; but with the exception of the expression *pati-hita-charita*, 'he whose actions were for the advantage of his lord,' in l. 3, the inscription gives no indication of any paramount sovereign to whom he was feudatory; and that expression itself does not of necessity imply that he was only a feudatory noble, and the probability is that, as in the case of the Śilâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras* of Kôlhâpur, the title was only a customary one, and Rudradêva was really an independent king. In connection with him, the first record in this inscription is that he subdued a certain Ḍomma, whose strength evidently lay chiefly in his cavalry. No clue is given as to who Ḍomma was; but, as *ḍôma*, *ḍomba*, or *ḍama*, is the name of 'a despised mixed caste,' he may have been the leader of some aboriginal tribe which had not then lost all its power. The next record is that he conquered a certain Maiḷigidêva and acquired the country of Polavâsa; but

[2] This is the same triad that we have had in No. CXVII., in Vol. X., p. 249.

[3] The only name at all resembling this that I can find in the maps is 'Mogelcherla,' about seven miles E. by N. from Anamkond.

[4] *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*, No. 180, l. 18-19.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II., p. 301.

[6] *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*, No. 18, l. 121-122.

[7] *Id.*, No. 180, l. 40.

here, again, there is no clue in the inscription itself, and I have none as yet from extraneous sources, to the identification of the names of this king and his country. Further on, mention is made of the death of Taila III.; this event, though it cannot be fixed precisely, even with the help of Taila's own inscriptions and those of his successor, Sômêśvara IV., is shown by the present inscription to have occurred some time before the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Mâgha of Śaka 1084, the Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara*. The next record is that a powerful opponent of Rudradêva then rose up in the person of a certain king Bhîma. To what dynasty Bhîma belonged, is not indicated. But the inscription intimates that he established himself by slaying a king named Gôkarṇa. Also, as we find him afterwards in possession of the city of Chôḍôdaya, it is plain that he took advantage of the death of that king, which is recorded just before the death of Taila III., and appropriated part of the Chôḷa dominions; this Chôḍôdaya is perhaps the Udaya who has been mentioned in connection with Prôla. And the inscription mentions Bhîma in such a way with Taila III. as to lead us to infer that, during the interruption of the Western Châlukya power that ensued between the death of Taila III. in Śaka 1083 or 1084 and the accession of his son, Sômêśvara IV. in Śaka 1104, Bhîma must have seized upon, but retained for a short time only, some of the eastern portions of the dominions of that dynasty. A graphic description is given of the overweening pride of this Bhîma, "the vilest of kings, a very beast of a man, the husband of his mother's rival wife, the slayer of the best of brothers while he was engaged in eating,"—and of Rudradêva's expedition against him. Rudradêva first took the city of Vardhamânanagarî, which, from the expression, "having advanced three or four steps," we must evidently look for not far from Anamkoṇḍ itself. Bhîma then at once abandoned everything and fled to the forests; and Rudradêva, pursuing him, burned down the city of Chôḍôdaya and cut down the forest in which he had taken refuge, and built there, in its place, a city with a great lake in the centre of it. What was the ultimate fate of Bhîma, we are not told. Lines 107 to 140 are occupied with panegyrics of Rudradêva, which contain no further historical details. In lines 140 to 149 there is given a fanciful description of his city of Anumakoṇḍa, and in lines 149 to 158, of his troops of cavalry. Lines 158 to 163 define the position and boundaries of his kingdom. The editor of this inscription in the *Bengal Journal* read :—*Râjyaṁ prâchyâṁ lavaṇa-jaladhês=tîra-paryyantam=asya Śrîśail-ântaṁ pracharati sadâ dakshiṇasyâṁ samagraṁ prâtîchyâṁ Vâkaṭaka-nikaṭa-sthâyinî râjalakshmîṁ Kauvêyy-âśâ-tâṭa-vilasitâ Mâlyavantaṁ prapêdê*, and translated :—"His kingdom is bounded on the east by the salt sea, on the south by the Śrîśaila (*mountains*). His royal *Lakshmî* extends as far as Vâkaṭaka; and on the north she reaches the mountain Mâlyavanta." His readings, however, especially that which introduces Vâkaṭaka in the third *pâda*, cannot be upheld. Dr. Bhau Dâjî read and translated the verse materially in the same way that I do. The Śrîśaila mountain, which was the southern limit of his kingdom, is a hill of considerable sanctity and repute in the Karṇul District; it is to the north-east of Karṇul itself, and is in about Lat. 16° 5′ N. and Long. 78° 55′ E. The western limits of his kingdom are not specifically mentioned; the word used is *prâtîchya*, which must be by metrical license for *pratîchya*, 'being or living in the west, western, westerly,' *i.e.*, as I translate it, 'the western countries,' and it seems to denote the kingdom of the Western Châlukyas. The northern boundary of his kingdom lay in the region of Mâlyavanta, or more properly Mâlyavân. Dr. Bhau Dâjî calls this "the country in the neighbourhood;" while the editor in the *Bengal Journal* suggests that it is the Mâlyagiri mountain, west of 'Baleswar;' and Prof. Monier Williams, in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, says that Mâlyavân is 'one of the smaller mountains of India proper, lying eastward of mount Mêru.' I am not prepared at present to offer any identification of it. The extent of Rudradêva's kingdom is also sketched out, but not so definitely, in lines 111 to 114, where Bhîma and all the other kings living between the province of Kâñchî and the Vindhya mountains are said to have been subject to him. Finally, lines 163 to 166 record that Rudradêva allotted the large village of Maṭṭichêṟuvala, or perhaps the village called the larger Maṭṭichêṟuvala, to provide for

the worship of the gods Śiva, Vishṇu, and the Sûn, which he had established, as recorded in the opening lines of the inscription.

In the verse commencing in line 107, Rudradêva is called "the sôle resting-place of the goddess of fortune who springs forth from the womb of the charming ocean of milk which is the lineage of Kaṅdûrôdaya-Chôḍa." I do not know as yet whether this simply refers to the acquisition by him of the Chôḷa dominions, or whether the Kâkatya kings claim a descent from the Chôḷas.

Dr. Burnell (*Vaṁśabrâhmaṇa*, p. vii, note †) says that the family-name of Kâkatya or Kâkatiya,—or, as he writes it, Kâkatêya,—is explained by the commentator Kumârasvâmî as being derived from the name of a local form of the goddess Durgâ. At the same place he says that Waraṅgal [or Woraṅgal] is a Muhammadan and corrupt way of writing Orukkal, which means 'One-rock,' and is translated in Sanskrit books, that mention the place, by Êkaśaila,—and that there is not the least trace of such a name as Araṇyakuṇḍa, which Lassen gives in his Map as the ancient name of Woraṅgal. Lassen was probably led into this mistake by the writer of the introductory remarks and the translation of the present inscription, as originally published in the *Bengal Journal*, in both of which, though the name is read correctly in the text itself, 'Arunakunda' is substituted for Anmaakuṇḍâ, Anmaakoṇḍa, and Anumakoṇḍa, and is identified with Woraṅgal instead of with Anamkoṇḍ.

Transcription.

[1] Ôṁ Svasti Śrîr=vvijayaś=ch=âbhyudayaś=cha bhavatu || Svasti Samadhigatapaṁchama-
[2] hâśabda-mahâmaṁḍalêśvara Anmakuṁḍâ-puravar-êśvara paramamâhêśvara
[3] pati-hita-charita vinaya-vibhûshaṇaṁ śrîman-mahâmaṁḍalêśvara-Kâkati-
[4] ya-Rudradêva-râjula vijaya-râjyam=uttarôttar-âbhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamâ-
[5] nam=â-chaṁdr-ârkka-târamu[gu ?] Anmakoṁḍapaṭṭanamunaṁdu sukha-saṁkathâ-vi-
[6] nôdaṁbuna râjyaṁbu-sêyuchunuṁḍa Śaka-varshamulu 1084 vuneṁṭi Chitra-
[7] bhânu-saṁvatsara Mâgha śu 13 Vaḍḍavâramunâṁḍu tana pêra Rudrê-
[8] śvaramunu Śrî-Vâsudêvara Śrî-Sûryyadêvarânu pratishṭha-sêyiṁche ||
[9] Yasy=ôttuṁga-taraṁga-tâḍita-viyat=saptârṇṇavîyaṁ jalaṁ | pâd-âṁgu-
[10] shṭha-nakh-âgra-daghnam=abhavad=bhûmaṁḍal-ôddhâraṇê | daṁshṭrâ-kôṭi-kuṭîra-kô-
[11] ṭara-gataṁ trailôkyam=ab-biṁdu-vad=brahmâṁḍâ iva rôma-kaṁda-nikarâ vaṁdê varâ-
[12] haṁ Hariṁ || Śrî-Hêraṁba vilaṁbi-kuṁtala-milan-mallî-dalat-kuṭmala-vrât-ôj[j*]riṁbhita-
[13] [ga]ṁdha-lubdha-madhupa-dhvân-ôtkarasy=âspada | sphîta-prîta-manâ bhava tvam=iha mê di-
[14] g-[da]ṁti-daṁta-dyuti-prôddâm-ôddalan-aika-vikrama-lasad-daṁt-âṁ(â)tikâṁty-âśrayaḥ(ya) ||
[15] [M]ât=êva dugdha-laharîbhir=udaṁchat=îva dugdhôdadhêr=amṛitadîdhiti-nirmmit=êva |
[16] śrîkhaṁḍa-piṁḍa-paripâṁḍura-puttal=îva vaktrê vasatv=aviratam tu Sarasvatî naḥ || Bhâ-
[17] radvâja-kula-śriyaḥ parivṛiḍha[ḥ*] śrauta-kriyâ-karmmaṭhaḥ | Śrî-Râmêśvara-dîkshitô
[18] janayitâ yasya kshitâv=agraṇîḥ | sô=Chiṅ.têṁdravarô=Dvayâmṛita-ya-
[19] têś=śishyô yati[ḥ*] śraddhayâ śrîmad-Rudra-narêśvarasya sumatêr=vvaṁśâvaliṁ
[20] varṇṇayê || Śrîmat-[T*]ribhuvanamallô râjâ Kâkatya-vaṁśa-saṁbhûtaḥ | prabala-ri-
[21] pu-vargga-nârî-vaidhavya-vidhâyak-âchâryyaḥ || Śrî-Kâkatya-narêṁdra-bṛiṁda-tila-
[22] kô vairiṁdra-hṛit-tâpakaḥ sat-pâtrê vasu-dâyakaḥ prati-dinaṁ kâṁtâ-manô-raṁja-
[23] kaḥ dushkâṁtâ-chaya-dûshakaḥ Puraharaḥ(ra)-śrî-pâdapadm-ârchchakô nyagbhûtîkṛita-nâyakas=Tṛi(tri)-
[24] bhuvana-Śrî-malladêvô[8] babhau || Tat-putraḥ Śiva-pâdapadma-yugaḷa-dhyân-âmṛit-ânaṁ-
[25] da-bhûr=lluṁṭhâkô ripu-suṁdarîjana-mahâsaubhâgya-saṁpach-chhriyaḥ | Prô-
[26] lêrâja[9] iti prasiddhim=agamad=vairîṁdra-darpp-âpahô niśśaṁka-pratha(dha)na-prabaṁ-
[27] dhana-mahâhaṁkâra-Laṁkêśvaraḥ || Hasty-ârôhaṇa-karmma-karmmaṭha-gatiṁ

[8] The honorary prefix *Śrî* is inserted here in the middle of the name *Tribhuvanamalla* for metrical purposes. Dr. Bhau Dâjî read *tribhuvanê Śrî-Malladêvî*,—but wrongly.

[9] Dr. Bhau Dâjî's reading of *Prôlirâja* is wrong. The present form of the name, *Prôlê*, is probably only by metrical licence for the *Prôla* of ll. 36 and 39.

KAKATYA INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADEVA AT ANAMKOND.—SAKA. 1084.

I.—PART OF THE FRONT FACE, OF THE STONE: LINES 1-20.

an ink impression,—J. B.

W. Griggs Photo-lith

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ of the original.

[28] Châlukya-chûḍâmaṇiṁ śaśvad-yuddha-nibaddha-gahvara-matiṁ yuddhê ba-
[29] baṁdha kshaṇât | śrîmat-Tailapadêvam=aṁbuda-nibha-staṁbhêrama-sthaṁ kshaṇ[â]-
[30] t=prakhyâtô ripu-kaṁṭha-khaṁḍana-vidhau bhakty=ânurâgâj=jahau || Yô=kuṁṭhô=ri-
[31] patêr=akuṁṭha-paraśu-ślakshṇ-âgradhâr-ôllasad-dhârâpata-nipâtan-aika-chaturaṁ
[32] [Gô[10]]viṁdarâj-âhvayaṁ | ba[d*]dhv=ônmuchya tad=Ôdaya-kshitibhṛitê râjyaṁ dadau
[33] l[i]layâ Iuṁṭhâkô vishayasya tasya samarê sadvîra-dîkshâgûruḥ || Kruddhê-
[34] n=ôddhura-Maṁtrakûṭa-nagarîṁ(rî)-nâthô=tha yô nistrapô Guṁḍaḥ khaṁḍita êva muṁ-
[35] ḍita-śirâḥ krôḍ-âṁka-vaksha[ḥ*]sthalaḥ | êḍô[11]-ḍiṁbhaka-vat=palâyana-parô jâtô gataḥ
[36] svâṁ puriṁ=âhûtô=pi nṛip-êśvarasyaurataḥ Prôlêna yuddhâya yat ||
[37] Anyach=ch=Ânumakoṁḍa-nâma-nagariṁ saṁvêshṭya yô=yaṁ sthitô nânâ-maṁḍalik-â-
[38] nvitô bhuvi Jagaddêvas=sa dêva-prabhaḥ | stabdha-staṁbhita êva kâryya-karaṇê=śaktaḥ
[39] kshaṇân=nirggataḥ śrîmat-Prôla-nṛipasya tasya jayinaḥ ki[ṁ*] brûmahê gauravaṁ ||
[40] Dêvî Muppama-nâmadhêya-sahitâ yasyâ guṇâs=târakâḥ kîrttiḥ śârada-cha-
[41] ṁdrik=êva vilasat-kâṁtês=tu n=aiv=ôpamâ | Kausaly=êva cha Jânak=îva cha satî Kunt=î-
[42] va Padm=êva sâ Paulôm=îva cha Chaṁḍik=êva cha
[43] varâ tasy=âbhavad=bhâminî || Tasyâs=tasya
[44] sutô=jan=îha paramânaṁd-aika-kaṁd-âṁku-
[45] raḥ Kâmaḥ kiṁ Nalakûbaraḥ Śiva-sutaḥ
[46] Skaṁdô Jayaṁtô=thavâ | Jishṇur=vvajradharô=
[47] thavâ Harir=ayaṁ Dasrau kumârau natê(tô) bha-
[48] ktaḥ Śrî-Giriśê hitâya jagataḥ Śrî-Ru-
[49] dradêvô nṛipaḥ || Tvaṁgat-tuṁga-turaṁga-puṁ-
[50] gava-chay-ârôha-kramê karmmaṭhaṁ Ḍo-
[51] mmaṁ châru-parâkrama-krama-bharaṁ bha-
[52] ṅ[k*]tvâ sakṛil=lîlayâ | Karṇṇaṁ Pârttha iv=â-
[53] malaiḥ śara-śatair=vvidrâvya vidrâvya yô
[54] lêbhê sarvva-viśêsha-yukta-nagara-grâmaṁ
[55] sa Rudrô nṛipaḥ || Îḍê Mêda-viḍaṁba-ḍaṁ-
[56] bara-bhara-kshôda-kshamaṁ kshmâbhṛitâṁ durvvâ-
[57] r-ôddhura-vîra-maṁtra-samay-âdân-aika-dî-
[58] kshâguruṁ | śrîman-Mailigidêva-saṁga-sa-
[59] maya-prôdbhûta-darpp-âpahaṁ prâpta-
[60] Śrî-Polavâsa-dêśa-vibhavaṁ Śrî-Rudradê-
[61] vaṁ sadâ || Bhîmêna bhîma-nakulêna ku-
[62] lêna hînô grastô mamâra gṛiha-mû-
[63] shaka-vat=kshaṇêna | mârjjâra-ḍiṁbhaka-varê-
[64] ṇa mah-âṁdhakârê Gôkarṇṇa-nâma-bhu-
[65] jagô bhuvi śûra-mânî || Śrîmad-Ru-
[66] dra-parâkram-ôdbhava-bhaya-vyâmôha-
[67] n-âkhy-ôllasach-chhastra-trasta-samasta-gâtra-
[68] vilasach-Chôḍôdaya-kshmâpatêḥ | unmattâ
[69] iva vismṛitâ iva mahâbhût-âbhibhû-
[70] tâ iva prôdbhrâṁtâ iva saṁkulâ iva
[71] tadâ prâṇâḥ prayâtâ divaṁ || Yâtê=
[72] pi Tailapa-nṛipê divam=asya bhîtyâ sarvvâ-
[73] tisâra-kabaḷîkṛita-gâtra-yashṭau | Śrî-Ru-
[74] dradêva-nṛipatêḥ pṛithu-vikramasya Bhîmô=
[75] pi râjya-padavîṁ kshaṇikâṁ sa lêbhê || Êkô jaṁ-
[76] buka-ḍiṁbhakô laghutarais=saṁvêshṭitô jaṁbu-

[10] This syllable is effaced or broken away; but it cannot have been anything but *gô*.

[11] This points to a base *êḍas*, as well as the *êḍa* of the Dictionaries.

[77] kai râj-âhaṁkṛiti-dhikkṛita-kshititalas=siṁhêna saṁ-
[78] sparddhatê | phêtkâr-âkula-garjjitair=mmukharayan=sa-
[79] rvvâ diśô vihvalô yâtaḥ kvâpi saṭâ-vidhûna-
[80] na-bharaiḥ kaṁṭhîravasy=âturaḥ || Tadvad=Bhîma-nṛi-
[81] pâdhamô nara-paśur=mmâtuḥ sapatnî-pati-
[82] r=haṁtâ bhrâtṛî-varasya bhôjana-vidhau bhîmê-
[83] na saṁsparddhatê | âkâśa-grasana-prayâsa-
[84]irataḥ Śrî-Rudradêvêna yat=sparddhâ-varddhi-
[85] ta-garvva-parvvata-mahâśṛiṁg-âgram=ârôha-
[86] ti || Śrutvâ Bhîma-nṛipasya râjya-vibhavaṁ châ-
[87] raiś=cha duśchêshṭitaṁ śrîmad-Rudra-narêśvarô=tha
[88] vijaya-prâraṁbha-saṁbhâra-bhâk | jâtô=jâ-
[89] ta-ripuḥ samagra-pṛitanâ-mêl-âpanêyô=
[90] jitaḥ sadyas-sajja-bal-ânvitaḥ pramuditaḥ śîghraṁ śriyai
[91] nirggataḥ || Yasy=ôdyad-vijaya-prayâṇa-samayê gaṁbhîra-
[92] bhêrî-bhavad-bhâṁkâr-ôdbhava-saṁbhrama-vyatikara-vyâjṛiṁbhaṇ-ôdvê-
[93] gataḥ | bhraśyaṁty=abhra-chayâś=chalanty=avanayô bhrâmyaṁty=amî bhû-
[94] dharâḥ kûrmmaḥ ksâ(kshâ)myati muhyati dvirasanaḥ kuṁṭhanti dikkuṁjarâḥ
[95] Kôśân=gêhêshv=amuṁchan=pathi kari-turagân=bâṁdhavân=arddha-mârggê durggê-
[96] shv=a[ṁ*]taḥpurâṇi pratirava-chakitâ Rudradêvasya bhîtyâ | yasy=ô-
[97] dyôgê bhramaṁtas=sama-samaya-samâraṁbha-gaṁbhîra-bhêrî-bhâṁkâr-â-
[98] kîrṇṇa-karṇṇa-jvara-bhara-taralâḥ prêkshit-âśâḥ kshitîśâḥ || Gatvâ javâ-
[99] t=tri-chaturâṇi padâni râjâ sasyasya khaṁḍanam=iva pratham-âhutiṁ
[100] vâ | bhrûbhaṁga-vîkshaṇa-vivarddhita-kôpa-vahnau yad=Varddhamânana-
[101] garîṁ prathamaṁ juhâva || Yasy=âkshi-vîkshaṇa-bhayâch=chakitas=sa Bhî-
[102] mô Duryyôdhanasya nṛipatêr=iva vihval-âṁgaḥ | sva-bhrâtṛi-mâ-
[103] tṛi-vanitâ-sahitas=samagra-lakshmîṁ vihâya vanam=êva ya-
[104] yau vilajjaḥ || Tat-pṛishṭhatô=nu cha jagâma dadâha râjâ Chôḍôdaya-
[105] sya nagarîm=agarîyasiṁ tâṁ | Laṁkâm=iv=âmarapurî-sadṛiśîṁ mṛigâkshî-śrêṇî-vilâsa-lalitâm=i-
[106] va ch=Âṁjanêyaḥ || Lulâva cha vanaṁ tasya durggam=arggaḷa-vibhramaṁ | taḍâgam=akarôt=tatra pura-madhyê=dbhu-
[107] taṁ mahat || Kaṁdûrôdaya-Chôḍa-vaṁśa-vilasat-kshîrâbdhi-garbhbh(rbbh)-ôdbhavat-padm-aik-âśraya-Rudradêva-nṛipa-
[108] têḥ kiṁ varṇṇyatê vikramaḥ | kshudra-kshâtrakul-ônnati-kshaya-kṛitaḥ sarvv-âvani-śrî-bhṛitô Râmasy=êva
[109] kuṭhâra-khaṁḍita-ripu-vrâtasya pṛithvî-patêḥ || Raṁgat-tuṁga-tura(raṁ)gaṁ(ga)-puṁgava-khura-kshuṇṇaṁ jaganmaṁḍalaṁ
[110] jyôtsn-ôllâsi-sad-âtapatra-nikara-vyâptaṁ nabhômaṁḍalaṁ | purṇṇêṁd-ûtkara-châru-châmara-chayair=ddi-
[111] ṅmaṁḍalaṁ saṁbhṛitaṁ dṛishṭvâ sainya-vinirggamaṁ narapatêḥ prâdudruma(vu)ś=śatravaḥ || Kâṁchîmaṁḍala-Viṁdhya-
[112] madhya-nilayâ Bhîm-âdayaḥ pârtthivâ yasya śrôtra-pathaṁ gatâ ahar-ahaḥ Śrî-Rudradêvasya
[113] tê | dṛishṭv=êv=ânimishâ babhûvur=amarî-varggâs=sa-martyâś=chirâṁ pratyâvṛitya tam=êva Rudra-nṛipa-
[114] tiṁ prâptâś=śaraṇy-ârtthinaḥ || Rudraṁ staumi narêśva[ra]ṁ budha-sâtânêka[ṁ*] śriyô bhâjanaṁ kṛitvâ ya-
[115] sya kadâpi chêtasi mad-âśaṁkâ na saṁkrâmati | êkaṁ Śrî-Purushôttamaṁ kala-kalaiḥ kṛitvâ Śriyô
[116] bhâjanaṁ vichinâṁ kurutê=dhun=âpi vasudhâm=ujjâgarâṁ sâgaraḥ || Nyagbhûtîkṛita-râjahaṁ-

KAKATYA INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADEVA AT ANAMKOND.—SAKA 1084.

III.—RIGHT SIDE OF THE STONE: LINES 42-89.

Size of the original:—11¾ by 5—1.

[117] sa-nikarah padm-ôdbhav-aik-âśrayaḥ Śrî-Rudraś=Chaturânanô budha-var-ânamd-aika-hêtur=bhriśam
[118] nânâ-śâstra-vichâraṇ-aika-chaturô brâhmî-vilâs-âśrayaḥ kalp-âkla(klṛi)pta-gatiḥ kshitâ-
[119] v=iha Śatânamda[ḥ*] svaya[ṁ*] pârtthivaḥ || Saty-âsakta-manâ nirasta-naraka-klêśaś=cha lakshmy-âśrayaḥ
[120] prithvîbhṛid=yad=anamta-bhôga-nilayaḥ śaśvad=[d*]vijêṁdra-priyaḥ | dushṭ-ârishṭa-vimard-danas=su-
[121] manasâm=abhyartthit-ârttha-pradô gôtra-prôddharaṇaḥ sudarśana-karô Rudra[ḥ*] svayaṁ Kêśavaḥ ||
[122] Asama-samara-saṁg-ôttuṁga-mâta[ṁ*]ga-ku[ṁ*]bhasthala-vigaḷita-muktâhâra-bhâr-âbhi-râmaḥ | Bhava-
[123] bhava-bhaya-bhaṁ[k*]tâ bhâminî-bhavya-nêtr-ôtpala-dala-chaya-bhûshaḥ śôbhatê Rudra-dêvaḥ || Asmi-
[124] n=praśâsati mahîṁ bhuvi Rudradêvê râj-âbhidhâ śaśini n=aiva nar-ôttamêshu îśatvam=Iṁduti-
[125] lakê na dhan-âkulêshu têjasvitâ dinakarê na cha śâtravêshu || Kêśa-grahas=surata-saṁgara-saṁbhra-
[126] mêshu daṁḍa-grahô yatishu n=aiva jan-ôtkarêshu | śâstrê vivâda-kathanaṁ vyavahâra-janmô(nmau)
[127] na kvâpi dushṭa-mathanaṁ mathanaṁ tv=araṇyâṁ || Dânaṁ dainya-parâbhav-âvadhi ripu-chchhêd-âvadhir=vvikra-
[128] maś=châturyyaṁ Chaturânan-âvadhi guṇa-grâmas=tv=asaṁkhy-âvadhiḥ | têjô bhâskara-tâpan-â-
[129] vadhi yaśô-râśis=tu Rudrasya yas=trailôky-âkramaṇ-âvadhir=nniravadhir=dhdha(ddha)rmmê matiḥ śôbhatê ||
[130] Prâpt-âśô=pi mahattarô=pi mahatâm=êk-âśrâyô=pi Śriyô janma-sthânam=api prasaṁna-hṛi-
[131] d=api tvaṁ ratna-dhâm=âpi san | pîtaḥ Kuṁbhasamudbhavêna jaladhê kshâraḥ samudrô yatô n=ai-
[132] vâṁ Rudra-narêśvarô=yam=amunâ sparddhâṁ vṛithâ mâ kṛithâḥ || Audâryyaṁ sura-śâkhinaḥ śi-
[133] khariṇaḥ svarṇṇ-âkṛitêr=ggauravaṁ dhairyyaṁ Dâśarathêr=bbalaṁ Purabhidô gâṁbhîryyam=aṁbhônidhêḥ [| *].
[134] sauṁdaryyaṁ Makaradhvajât=Suragurôr=vvidyâratiṁ kautukâd=âdây=Âbjasamudbha-vêna ra-
[135] chitaṁ(taḥ) Śrî-Rudradêvô dhruvaṁ || Sphâyatkairavat=îṁdur=aṁbujapati[ḥ*] spashṭâṁbujaty=aṁbaraṁ
[136] lôraṁ nîlasarôjati sphuṭa-yaśô-dugdhôdadhau samprati | jyôtîṁshi sphuṭabud-budaṁti hari-
[137] taḥ kûlaṁti lôkâs=trayaś=chaṁchadvichichayaṁti yasya jayati Śrî-Rudradêvô=dbhutaṁ ||
[138] Pâda-nyâsa-śilâś=śirâṁsi samarê kṛittâni khaḍgêna yach=chhatrûṇâṁ patitâni mâṁsa-vi-
[139] lasat-paṁkê=tha śaṁkô hy=ahaṁ | rakta-srôtasi Rudradêva-jayinô nṛityat-kabaṁdhâḥ plavâ â-
[140] yâṁtyâ vijaya-śriyaś=cha savidhaṁ kîrttêḥ prayâṁtyâ diśaḥ || Tasy=âstê=Numakoṁḍa-nâ-
[141] ma-nagarî Śrî-râjadhân=îva yâ yatr=ôdyat-sad-akhaṁḍa-khaṁḍa-paraśu-vyâjṛiṁbhaṇ-ôjjṛiṁbhitâ |
[142] Kaṁdarppasya pur=îva sâ ratimatî śṛiṁgâra-bhâv-ânvitâ Mâhêṁdr=îva cha Jishṇu Vishṇu-sa-
[143] hitâ Raṁbbâ-vilâs-ôrjjitâ || Yatra striyô Makarakêtana-râjadhânya ânîla-nîra-
[144] ja-palâśa-dṛiśaḥ kriś-âṁgyaḥ | trailôkya-suṁdaradṛiśâṁ tilakâyamânâ âpîna-tuṁga

[145] kucha-kumbha-bhar-âlas-âmgyaḥ || Yatra dvijêmdra-bhavanêshu nivâryyamâṇâḥ kîrâḥ
[146] paṭhamti paṭavô vaṭubhis=samêtâḥ | sarvv-âmga-samgata-samasta-vichâra-châru-châritra-
[147] charchchita-pada-krama-yukta-vêdân || Vêśyâ-grihêshu surat-ôtsava-jâta-chêshṭâ-śabd-â-
[148] nukâri-śukaśâba(va)-kalôru-śabdâḥ | sarvvâ diśô mukharayamti divâ vitânâm kam-
[149] darppa-darppa-taral-âruṇava-pûrṇṇa-chamdrâḥ || N=âtikrâmati Vaishṇavam padam=iti dyâm
[150] *gaur=iti kshmâm=imâm pâdai*[ḥ*] *sprakshyati nô turamgama-chayaḥ* Śrî-Rudradêvasya yaḥ |

[151] sarvv-âśâḥ paripûrayan=vijayatê nri-
[152] tyêna sambhîshayamch(ś)=chhatrûn=yuddha-mahîta-
[153] lê prati-dinam vidrâvayan=mârayan ||
[154] Atiramaṇa-śarîrâ yê cha nîcha-svar-â-
[155] dyâ(dhyâ)s=sakala-turagaśâstr-ôdbhâsi-sal-la-
[156] kshaṇ-âdyâ(dhyâ)ḥ | java-bhara-bharit-âmgâs=satva-
[157] sampanna-gâtrâ atichiratara-jîvâḥ
[158] pamchadhârâs=turamgâḥ || Râjyam prâjyam la-
[159] vaṇa-jaladhês=tîra-paryyantam=asya Śrî-
[160] śail-âmtâm pracharati sadâ dakshiṇâśâm
[161] samagrâm | prâtîchy-ântâ Kaṭaka-nika-
[162] ṭa-sthâyinî râjya-lakshmîḥ Kaubêryy-âśâ
[163] taṭa-vilasitê Mâlyavanta-pradêśê || A-
[164] rchchan-ârttham=iha dattavân=mahan=Maṭṭichêruva-
[165] la-nâma-khêṭakam | Śrî-Mahêśa-Ravi-Śauriṇê[12]
[166] sthiram Rudradêva-nripatir=mmatas-satâm ||[13]

Translation.

Ôm! Hail! Let there be good fortune and victory and prosperity! Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, the Kâkatiya king Rudradêva,—the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who had attained the *pañchamahâśabda*; the lord of Anmakuṇḍâ, which is the best of cities; he who was a most devout worshipper of Mahêśvara; he whose actions were for the advantage of his lord; he who was adorned with modesty,—was continuing the government at the city of Anmakoṇḍa, with the delight of pleasing conversations, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

(L. 6.)—Having established his own namesake (*the god*) Rudrêśvara, and the god Śrî-Vâsudêva and the god Śrî-Sûryadêva, on Vaḍḍavâra the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Mâgha of the Chitrabhânu *samvatsara*, the Saka year 1084 being current:—[14]

(L. 9.)—I praise Hari, the boar; when he lifted up the terrestrial globe, the water of the seven oceans beat against the skies with its lofty waves, and yet reached only up to the tips of the nails of the great-toes of his feet; and the three worlds, like a drop of water, were contained in the interior of the cottage which was the point of his tusk; and the bulbs of his bristles were as if they were *brahmâṇḍas*! O Śrî-Hêramba,[15] be most graciously disposed to me; thou who art the asylum of the multitudinous hummings of the bees which are attracted by the fragrance poured forth by the clusters of the opening buds of jasmine which mingle with thy pendent tresses; and who art the asylum of the excessive splendour of that shining tusk, the single prowess of which entirely extinguishes the lustre of the tusks of the elephants of the regions! May Sarasvatî always reside in my mouth; she who is as it were a mother; who elevates us with the milky waves of the ocean of milk; who is as it were fashioned from the moon; and who is as it were a little statue of a very pale colour like that of a ball of sandal-wood!

(L. 16.)—I, Achintêndravara,—whose father was Śrî-Râmêśvaradîkshita, the increaser of the glory of the family of Bhâradvâja, the performer of the *śrauta* ceremonies, the foremost

[12] This formation is altogether irregular. *Śaurayê* is the proper dative singular of *Sauri;* but we ought to have here the dative plural, *Sauribhyaḥ*, which, however, would not suit the metre.

[13] The text in the *Bengal Journal* has the additional words *Idam śâsanam râjñâ Râmêśvarâyêna likhitam.* But they are not in the impression supplied to me; nor, apparently, in that supplied to Dr. Bhau Dâjî.

[14] The context is in line 163; all the matter that intervenes is by way of a parenthesis.

[15] Gaṇapati.

KAKATYA INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADEVA AT ANAMKOND.—ŚAKA 1084.

VI.—CONCLUSION, ON THE LEFT SIDE OF THE STONE: LINES 151-166.

J.B.

Scale ⅕ of the original.

Size:—11'¼ by 1'—10."

man in the world; and who am myself an ascetic, the disciple of the ascetic Advayâmṛita,[16] with confidence describe the genealogy of the benevolent and glorious king Rudrêśvara.

(L. 20.)—There was the glorious king Tribhuvanamalla, born in the Kâkatya lineage, the effecter of the widowhood of the wives of his mighty enemies. Glorious was Śrî-Tribhuvanamalladêva,[17] the ornament of the Śrî-Kâkatya kings,—who distressed the hearts of the greatest of his foes; who day by day bestowed wealth upon worthy objects; who charmed the hearts of lovely women; who was the seducer of a crowd of evil women; who was the worshipper of the water-lilies which are the feet of Purahara;[18] and who humbled (*all other*) leaders (*of men*).

(L. 24.)—His son,—the place of the enjoyment of the nectar of meditating on the water-lilies which are the feet of Śiva; the robber of the glory of the good fortune of the great auspiciousness of the lovely women of his enemies; the destroyer of the pride of the greatest of his foes; a very Laṅkêśvara in respect of the pride of fearlessly engaging in battle,—attained celebrity under the name of Prôlêrâja.[19] In an instant he made captive in war the glorious Tailapadêva, the ornament of the Châḷukyas, whose habit was skilful in the practice of riding upon elephants, whose inmost thoughts were ever intent upon war, and who was mounted upon an elephant which was like a cloud; and then at once he, who was renowned in the rite of severing the throats of his (*captive*) enemies, let him go, from goodwill (*produced*) by (*his*) devotion. Having made captive him who was named Gôvindarâja and who was skilled above all others in discharging the shining trickling rain of (*the flashes of*) the smooth edge of his sharp battle-axe,—he, the pillager of his country in war, the preceptor for the initiation of excellent heroes, who was fierce against the hostile kings, liberated him, and then sportively gave his kingdom to king Udaya. Then the shameless Guṇḍa,—who was the lord of the lofty city of Mantrakûṭa, and who, having been defeated by him in his anger, had his head shaved and his breast marked with the sign of a boar,[20]—became intent upon flight, like a lamb, and betook himself to his own city, though, in the presence of the lord of kings, he was called upon by Prôla (*to come forth*) to battle. And again,—that (*famous*) Jagaddêva,—who was attended by many chieftains, and who was like a god upon earth, and who stood encompassing the city named Anumakoṇḍa,—was made (*by him*) to stand motionless as if paralysed, and, being unable to accomplish his object, departed at once; how can we describe the majesty of the glorious and victorious king Prôla? The queen, who was named Muppama,—whose virtues were (*like*) stars, and whose fame was like the autumn moon, but for whose charming beauty there is no object of comparison; who was like Kausalyâ, and the chaste Jânakî, and Kuntî, and Padmâ, and Paulômî, and the excellent Chaṇḍikâ,—became his beloved wife.

(L. 43.)—From her there was born to him, for the welfare of the world, a son, the king Śrî-Rudradêva, who worshipped and was devoted to Śrî-Giriśa,[21] and who was the sprout of the excellent bulb of supreme felicity; (*in comparison with him*), what is Kâma, or Nalakûbara, or Skanda, the son of Śiva, or Jayanta, or Jishṇu, the wielder of the thunderbolt, or Hari, or the two young Dasras?

(L. 49.)—Having at once with ease broken (*the power of*) Ḍomma, who was skilful in mounting numbers of excellent horses, prancing and tall, and who carried himself with elegant prowess,—and having, as Pârtha did Karṇa, again and again put him to flight with hundreds of shining arrows,—he, the king Rudra, acquired a number of towns possessed of all things that were the best of their kind.

(L. 55.)—I always praise Śrî-Rudradêva,—who is capable of trampling upon the burden of the mass of the annoyance of the Mêdas;[22] who is the sole preceptor for initiation in the acquisition of lofty and brave counsels and opportunities which are hard to be resisted by the (*hostile*) kings; who destroyed the pride, that arose in the time of war, of the glorious Maiḷigidêva; and who acquired the wealth of the country of Śrî-Polavâsa.

[16] By the rules of *Saṅdhi*, this name, in this passage, may be either Advayâmṛita or Dvayâmṛita. I follow Dr. Bhau Dâjî in reading Advayâmṛita.

[17] See note 8 above.

[18] Śiva.

[19] See note 9 above.

[20] *Krôḍâṅka*, as one word, means 'a tortoise'; but this does not seem to be what is intended here.

[21] Śiva.

[22] A particular mixed caste, the offspring of a Vaidêha by a Kârâvara female.

(L. 61.)—Like a house-mouse (*seized*) in dense darkness by a fine young cat, so the serpent named G ô k a r ṇ a, who was of low birth, but who took himself to be a hero in the world, died instantly when he was seized by the terrible mungoose B h î m a. Then the vital airs of the graceful king C h ô ḍ ô d a y a,—whose whole body was terrified by the gleaming weapon named 'the bewilderer' which was the fear that sprang from the prowess of the glorious R u d r a,—being, as it were, made mad, or made oblivious, or possessed by a great demon, or greatly overcome by agitation, or thrown into confusion, departed to the sky.[23] Though king T a i l a p a went to the sky, his delicate body being wasted by violent diarrhœa through fear of this most valorous king Ś r î-R u d r a-d ê v a,—yet B h î m a assumed a transitory position of sovereignty. Just as one young jackal, surrounded by many still more insignificant jackals, despises the earth through vain-glory in imagining himself to be a king, and matches himself with a lion, and then, causing all the regions to reëcho with the confused noises of his howlings, becomes terrified and is rendered incapable by the (*mere*) shaking of the mane of the lion, and goes away somewhere or other (*and hides himself*),—so B h î m a, the vilest of kings,—a very beast of a man; the husband of his mother's rival wife; the slayer of the best of brothers while he was engaged in eating,—being intent upon attempting to swallow the skies, matched himself against the terrible Ś r î-R u d r a d ê v a, and ascended to the highest summit of the mountain of pride increased by rivalry. Having heard, through his spies, of the wealth of the kingdom of B h î m a, and of his evil deeds, the glorious king R u d r a commenced his preparations for an enterprise of victory; and he, who had no adversary of equal standing with himself, joyfully and quickly then set out for good fortune, being led along by the array of his whole army, and being attended by his forces, which straightway were made ready. At the time of his setting out on his expedition of dawning victory, the clouds fell down through the perturbation caused by the augmentation of the alternations of the uproar that sprang from the rumbling of his low-sounding drums; the earth trembled; the mountains tottered; the tortoise suffered; the serpent was perplexed; and the elephants of the points of the compass were stupified. Through fear of R u d r a d ê v a, the (*hostile*) kings,—frightened by the uproar, and roaming about (*vainly*) in (*the face of*) his active preparations, and trembling with the fever of having their ears filled with the rumbling of the low-sounding drums used in his simultaneous enterprises,—abandoned their treasure in their houses, their elephants and horses on the road, their relations halfway along their path, and their harems in their forts. Having rapidly advanced three or four steps, the king sacrificed first the city of V a r d h a m â n a n a g a r î, as if it were the pounding of grain or as if it were a preliminary oblation, in the fire of his anger which was increased by the knitting of his eyebrows. Trembling with fear at his glances, as (*the Pâṇḍava prince Bhîma trembled at the glances*) of Duryôdhana, and being disquieted in his body, he, B h î m a, abandoning all his possessions, shamelessly betook himself to the forests, accompanied by his brother, his mother, and his wife. Then the king pursued him, and burned the city of (*the king*) C h ô ḍ ô d a y a, a city of not great importance,[24]—just as Âñjanêya[25] (*burned*) the city of Laṅkâ, which was like the city of the gods, and which was graced by the amorous pastimes of crowds of fawn-eyed women. And he cut down the forest which was his fortress, the intricacies of which were its door-bars; and he made there a great and wonderful lake in the centre of a city.

(L. 107.)—How shall be described the prowess of king R u d r a d ê v a, the lord of the earth, who is the sole resting-place of the goddess of fortune who springs forth from the womb of the charming ocean of milk which is the lineage of K a n d û r ô d a y a-C h ô ḍ a; who destroys the pride of the race of petty warriors; who possesses the wealth of the whole world; and who, like Râma, cuts down the multitude of his enemies with his axe? The earth was pounded by the hoofs of his excellent horses, prancing and tall; the sky was pervaded by the number of his excellent umbrellas which possessed the (*white*) radiance of the moonlight; the regions were filled by the masses of his *chauris* which were as

[23] *i. e.*, "he died."

[24] Or, perhaps, "the city called the lesser Chôḍôdayanagarî."

[25] Hanumân.

beautiful as a number of full-moons; and his enemies ran away when they saw the setting out of the armies of the king.

(L. 111).—When Bhîma and other kings living between the province of Kâñchî and the Vindhya (*mountains*),—who day by day were heard of by Śrî-Rudradêva,—saw him (*in person at last*), they became for a long time (*unable through astonishment to close and open their eyelids*), as if, mortals (*though they were*), (*they had become*) gods possessed of the lovely women of the immortals; and then, having returned (*to their senses*), they betook themselves to that same Rudradêva, asking for protection.

(L. 114).—I praise king Rudra, in whose mind there never enters any suspicion of pride, though he makes hundreds of learned people the sole recipients of his wealth; (*just as*) the ocean, having made Śrî-Purushôttama the sole possessor of Śrî, still (*condescends and*) wakens up the earth with the murmuring of its waves. The king Śrî-Rudra is himself a very Chaturânana, a very Śatânanda, upon this earth,—having humbled the highest of kings, as Chaturânana has subjected the *râjahaṁsa*-birds to himself; being the sole place of the production of wealth, just as Chaturânana's sole habitation is that which sprang from the waterlily; being the sole cause of the happiness of the best of learned men; being skilled above all others in investigating many sacred writings; being the asylum of the recreations of religious practices, just as Chaturânana is the sole place of the amorous dalliance of Brâhmî; and having his behaviour fashioned in accordance with the sacred precepts, just as Chaturânana has an existence which is determined by (*the duration of*) a *Kalpa*. Rudra is himself a very Kêśava,—having a mind intent upon truth, as the mind of Kêśava is devoted to Satyâ; having thrown aside the miseries of hell; being the asylum of good fortune, as Kêśava is of Lakshmî; being the supporter of the earth; being the abode of endless enjoyments, as Kêśava's abode is the hoods of Ananta; being ever dear to the most excellent of the twice-born, as Kêśava is to the king of snakes; being the destroyer of evil misfortunes, as Kêśava was of the evil Arishṭa; being the giver of desired objects to learned people, as Kêśava is to the gods; being the raiser of his family, as Kêśava was of the mountain (*Gôvardhana*); and being of handsome appearance, as Kêśava is the wielder of (*the discus*) Sudarśana. Beautiful is Rudradêva, who is charming with the necklets of the pearls which have dropped down from the tall elephants in the contests of his unrivalled battles; who destroys the fear that is generated by Bhava; and who is adorned with the petals of waterlilies which are the beautiful eyes of lovely women. While this same Rudradêva rules the world,—the title of king belongs only to the moon, and not to the greatest among men; the condition of lordship belongs only to Indutilaka,[26] and not to those who have accumulated riches; fierceness of brilliance exists only in the sun, and not among enemies; the catching hold of hair is confined to the act of sexual intercourse; the holding of staves exists only among ascetics, and not among the body of the people; disputation is confined to the sacred writings, and exists not in litigation; and there is nowhere any attrition of the wicked, but only of the *araṇi*-wood.[27] The liberality of Rudra is limited only by the disappearance of poverty; his prowess is limited only by the destruction of his enemies; his wisdom is as extensive as that of Chaturânana; and his virtuous qualities are without any limit: his lustre is as extensive as the heating power of the sun; the mass of his fame is limited only by pervading the three worlds; and his intellect shines without any limit in (*the study of*) religion. O ocean,—though thou pervadest the regions; though thou art very great; though thou art the sole refuge of the great; though thou art the birth-place of Śrî; though thy heart is propitious; and though thou art the abode of jewels,—thou wast drunk up by Kumbhasamudbhava[28] (*and didst become*) a salt ocean: but not so is this king Rudra; therefore do not vainly enter into rivalry with him! Verily Śrî-Rudradêva was fashioned by Abjasamudbhava by joyfully selecting liberality from the tree of the gods, dignity from the mountain which is made of gold, fortitude from Dâśarathi, strength from Purabhit, profundity from the ocean, beauty from Makaradhvaja, and delight in learning from Sura-

[26] Śiva. The play is on the meanings of *îśa*,—'lord,' and 'a name of Śiva.'

[27] The wood of the *Ficus religiosa*, used for kindling fire by attrition.

[28] Agastya.

guru. Wonderfully victorious is Śrî-Rudradêva; in the ocean of milk which is his widely diffused fame, the moon plays the part of an opening waterlily, the sun plays the part of a waterlily in full bloom, the moving clouds play the part of blue waterlilies, the stars play the part of bright bubbles of water, the regions play the part of shores, and the three worlds play the part of tumbling billows. I think that, in the river of blood (*shed in the battles*) of the victorious Rudradêva, the heads of his enemies, which have been cut off by his sword in war and have fallen into the charming mud which is (*the particles of*) their flesh, are stepping stones, and the writhing headless trunks are boats, both for the goddess of victory as she approaches him, and for his fame as it sets out for the (*uttermost*) regions.

(L. 140.)—His (*capital*), the city named Anumakoṇḍa,—which is as it were the capital of Śrî, and which was created by the power of his excellent and unbroken axe that cut to pieces (*his foes*),—is like the city of Kandarpa, being full of delight, as that is possessed of Rati, and being full of the condition of love; and it is like Mâhêndrî, in being possessed of (*temples of*) Jishṇu and Vishṇu, (*as the other is of those gods in person,*) and in being full of the elegance of plantain trees, as the other is of the amorous play of Rambhâ. There the women,—whose eyes are like the petals of blue waterlilies; who are of slender form; who are the best of the lovely-eyed women of the three worlds; and who move lazily on account of the weight of their full and high breasts,—are as it were the capital cities of Makarakêtana. There, in the houses of the Brâhmaṇs, the clever parrots, assembled with the young students, recite, in spite of attempts to prevent them, the *Vêdas*, together with all the *Vedâṅgas*, and according to the *pada* and the *krama* methods which are studied by all those whose pleasing conduct consists of investigation. In the houses of the harlots, the low musical notes of the young parrots,—who imitate the actions and the sounds that are produced at the time of sexual intercourse, and who are the full moons of the tremulous ocean of the excitement of love,—in the day time make all the regions vocal.

(L. 149.)—The army of the horses of Śrî-Rudradêva invades not the sky, because it is the place where Vishṇu placed his foot, and touches not the earth with its hoofs, because it is (*as sacred as*) a cow; but,—filling all the regions, and terrifying his enemies with its prancing, and day by day putting them to flight and killing them in the battlefield,—it is victorious. His horses are of most pleasing shape,—of low sounding neighings,—possessed of all the excellent characteristics that are made famous by the writings that treat of horses,—adapted in their make for speed and weight,—very long-lived,—and trained in the five kinds of paces.

(L. 158.)—His extensive kingdom reaches (*on the east*) to the shore of the salt sea; his regal power always extends over the whole country of the south as far as Śrîśaila, and standing (*in one direction*) on the confines of Kaṭaka, (*in the other direction*) it has the western countries for its boundary, and it has its northern region in the country of Mâlyavanta, which is charming with its precipitous heights.

(L. 163.)—The king Rudradêva, who is esteemed by good people, gave here, as a permanent grant, the great village named Maṭṭichêruvala[30] to (*the gods*) Śrî-Mahêśa and Ravi and Śauri, for the performance of (*their*) worship.

CHAITYAS.

BY NARAYAN AIYANGAR, SHIMOGA.

In Bauddha works, their temples are called *Chaityas*,[1] and one of the Buddhist precepts is *Chaityam vandeta svargakâmaḥ*, i. e. he who longs for Svarga should worship the dâgaba of Buddha. No Brahmanical temple is called *Chaitya*. The word occurs in many places in the *Râmâyaṇa*; and the commentators Mahêśatîrtha and Govindarâja differ as to the mean-

[30] Or, perhaps, "the village called the greater Mattichêruvala."

[1] Properly speaking it is not the temple (*Chaityagriha*) but the dâgaba inside it that is called a Chaitya. In a secondary sense it is used by Jainas and Buddhists, however, to denote a temple containing a *Chaitya*; and is also applied in Buddhist books to a sacred tree as well as to a *stûpa*.—ED.

ing to be attached to it, construing it in some places as *Buddhâyatana*. If this meaning is correct, it is conclusive regarding the post-Buddhist origin of the *Râmâyaṇa*. It seems therefore necessary to examine the places in which the word occurs, to see if it anywhere really does mean a Baudda temple.

1. In II, 3, 18, Daśaratha in order to celebrate Râma's installation orders food with *dakshiṇâ* to be ready in *devâyatanas* and *chaityas*. Here the latter word has been construed as *chatushpathas*.

2. In II, 25, 4, seeing that Râma has decided upon going to the forest his mother blesses him, "*May those (gods) whom you, my son, salute (praṇamase) in âyatanas and chaityas protect* you in the forest."

3. In II, 50, 8, Râma, on his way to the forest passed the Kosala country (Kosalân) which was studded with *chaityas* and *yûpas* (*chaitgayûpasamâvṛitan*). Here *chaitya* has been rendered as *devâyatana*.

4. In II, 71, when Bharata is brought back from his uncle's country to Ayodhya on the death of the king, he finds the *devâgâras* empty, worship not performed, in them, and that the birds (that had built their nests) in *devatâyatanas* and *chaityas* were not lively.

5 In II, 100, on seeing Bharata at Chitrakûṭa, Râma puts to him many questions: śloka 43 says "Is the country (*under your rule*) full of hundreds of *chaityas,—chaityaśatair jushṭaḥ*)?" The commentator says that in some copies *chityaśataih* occurs instead of *chaityaśataih*, and that in either case the word denotes the places where the *chayana* ceremony was performed at the completion of the aśvamedha-sacrifice, &c. (*aśvamedhântamahâyajñachayanapradeśasamûhâḥ*).

6. In V. 12, 14, Hanumat searched for Sîta in houses and *chaitya* houses (*chaityagṛihas*). Maheśatîrtha construes them as *Buddhâyatanâni*, but Govindarâja takes them to be the halls (*maṇḍapas*) at *chatushpathas*.

7. Śloka 17 also says all roads and *vedikâś chaityasamśrayâḥ* were searched. Maheśa says *chatushpathavartivṛikshâdhârabhûtavedikâḥ*, Govindarâja says—*chaityavṛikshamûlapîṭhikâbandhâh*.

8. In V. 15, Hanumat saw in the Aśoka forest a *chaityaprâsâda*, which had one thousand pillars and was very high. Here both the commentators take it to mean a building like a *Buddhamaṇḍira*; but the word again occurs in V. 39, where Govindarâja takes it to be a building like a *Devâyatana*.

9. In V. 22, 29 Râvaṇa, though wearing ornaments, is described to be fearful like the *chaityas* of the burning ground,—*śmaśânachaityapratimo bhûshitopi bhayaṅkaraḥ*.

10. The word also occurs in the *Mahâbhârata*. When Bhîshma had charge of the government, the country was full of Chaityas and Yûpas—"*chaityayûpaśatâṅkitaḥ*," I, 109, 13. The same is stated as the case when Suhotra reigned, I, 94, 29. (I. cal. 223.)

11. In the *Âraṇyaparva*, Adh. 12, where Arjuna reminds Kṛishṇa of his divine nature and of the several heroic deeds done by him, śloka 35 says:—

"O Achyuta, when you were seated in the middle of the *chaitya* shining with your lustre, the Ṛishis came and solicited your protection."

The word *chaitya* is derived from the root *chiñ chayane*, to collect, and the commentary on Amara called[2] the *Gurubâlaprabodhika* says that it denotes a building, because it is the result of the collection or putting together of stones, &c. *chîyate pâshâṇâdinâ chaityam*. But it will be seen that in some of the above quotations the word is used in close connection with *yûpa*, the sacrificial post. The ceremony performed at the end of the great sacrifices is called *chayana*, i. e. the collection[3] of the sacred ashes and other relics and the grouping them into the form of a tortoise, or of the bird Garutmat as in the sacrifice called *Garuḍachayana*; *chita* being the sacred things thus collected, it appears that the building constructed to preserve them for the purpose of worship was called *chaitya* or *chaityâ*. This place of worship, from its connection with Vedic rites, is probably of older date than the *devâyatanas*. The quotation No. 11 above shows that it was also used as a place of congregation, as our temples are where religious and caste subjects are discussed.

It is therefore clear that the *Râmâyaṇa* alludes to the Brâhmaṇical and not to the

[2] Hence it is closely connected in meaning with stûpa. Chaityas were known before Buddha's time (see *J. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. VII, p. 1001), conf. Alwis, *Buddhism*, pp. 22, 23.—Ed.

[3] I give this description from report and cannot vouch for its correctness, though I feel sure that originally *chaitya* was connected with the Brâhmaṇical sacrifice.

Bauddha Chaitya. The commentators are not consistent in saying that *chaitya* means a Brâhmanical building when it is mentioned in connection with Râma and his country, and a Buddhist building when mentioned in connection with the enemy's country, forgetting that Vâlmîki has peopled Lankâ with vedic students and sacrificers, without ever mentioning the Buddhists.

No. 7 mentions *chaitya* trees, so called probably because instead of constructing a building it was also the custom to plant trees with revetment round their stems, where the *chayana* ceremony was performed. In course of time, however, all revetted trees began to be called *chaitya* trees; and to such trees, which are generally found in all villages, Kâlidâsa evidently alludes when describing the Dasârṇa country in his *Meghadûta*. Mallinâtha quotes Viśva: *chaityam âyatane Buddhavandye choddeśapâdape.*

The ceremony performed after the burning of dead bodies is *sam-chayana*, in which, after collecting the bones, a portion of the ashes is grouped into a human form, and *baśâli* or food offered to it. I take the *śmaśâna-chaitya*, alluded to in 9, to be a monumental building erected on such spot in memory of departed kings and other great personages.

It may therefore be presumed that in accordance with custom a *chaitya* was built in memory of Buddha, and that his disciples began to worship and multiply it by taking his funeral relics to different parts of the country, while the sacrificial *chaityas* of the Brâhmaṇs became scarce owing to the opposition made by the Bauddhas to animal sacrifices, and the Brâhmaṇs themselves having prohibited the asvamedha for the Kaliyuga.

It will be seen that the *Râmâyaṇa* mentions temples and idolatry; but these seem to be of old date in India, though not so very prevalent as at present. Stenzler's *Gautama Sûtra* 9, 66, prescribes the going round of *Devâyatana*. *Gṛiha-dêvatâs* or household gods are mentioned in 5, 13.

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(*Continued from p.* 287, *vol. X.*)

MÂNBHÂVAS.[1]

The founder of this Mânbhâva sect was Kṛishṇambhat Joshi, a worshipper of Vetâl. Vetâl pleased with his devotion asked Kṛishṇambhat what was his desire and it should be satisfied. Kṛishṇambhat said that as his name was Kṛishṇa, he would like to be transformed into the god of that name in outward appearance. Vetâl was sorry at the request, but since he had promised he could not refuse, and therefore presented him with a crown, adding that when he put it on, he would look like the god Kṛishṇa. Vetâl however advised him not to make a bad use of the gift, and to wear it only on proper occasions and for charitable purposes, and that any bad use made of it would ruin him and send him to perdition. Having got the crown, he made over charge of his office and *vatan* to his relatives, and taking advantage of the gift, went on from house to house visiting and enticing away married women and grown-up girls. The fame of Kṛishṇa's re-appearance having spread far and wide, brought many a woman to Kṛishṇambhat's arms, and he enjoyed them to the full extent of his depraved heart. When his fame was at its highest pitch, it reached the ears of Hemâdpant, minister to the râjâ of Dêvagiri, who tried to ascertain the cause of Kṛishṇa's re-appearance. He propitiated his tutelary god Gaṇeśa, who revealed to him the secret. Hemâdpant, vexed at Kṛishṇambhat's wicked conduct, sent a confidential person, charged to spare no pains to induce Kṛishṇambhat to accompany him to Paiṭhâṇ. The clerk thus sent pretended to be a great believer in Kṛishṇambhat, prostrated himself before him, and prayed that he would be graciously pleased to accompany him to his village, as the men and women were anxious to worship him and to place themselves at his service, that the women had given up tasting food until they saw his handsome and comely appearance. Flattered by the speech of the clerk, he accom-

[1] A large portion of this account is translated from the *Prâkrit Dictionary of Modern Bharatkhand*: Poona, 1881, and here and there extracts are made from Mackintosh's Blackclothed Mendicant Devotees, *Madras Jour. of Scien. and Lit.*, for 1836.

panied him, little knowing the destruction that awaited him. Conducting him to a seat in Hemâḍpant's house, Hemâḍpant, in accordance with the customs of the country, asked Krishṇambhat to bathe, as the dinner was ready. The god of course would not do so, as he would require to remove his crown, but Hemâḍpant, persisting and showering abuse on him, made a sign to one of the bystanders, who took the crown off his head, and the would-be god stood in his original form. He was at once made a prisoner, along with his followers, their heads shaved, and as a mark of dishonour, they were given black clothes to wear and ultimately banished.

The Mânbhâvas however deny this, and say that they are the followers of Balarâma, Krishṇa's brother, and that the colour of the clothes which Balarâma wore was black. On this plea they say that black clothes were not formerly regarded as a sign of dishonour by all, and hence their sect has not sprung from wickedness, but is as pure as any other. The name of the sect is derived from *mahâ* and *anubhava*, or men of great knowledge. The sect is said to have come into existence about the year 1125 Śaka, when Hemâḍpant was minister to Râmachandra of Devagiri. If this be true (*see* vol. VI, p. 366,) the sect was formed about 650 years ago, that is, it originated about 75 years before J ñ â n e ś v a r a. Their head is called a Mahant, and their head-quarters is in the Berâr provinces. They have five monasteries,—Narmaṭh, Nârâyaṇamaṭh, Reshimaṭh, Pravaramaṭh and Prakâśamaṭh. Subordinate to these are others. Under each Mahant are a number of disciples, and a successor is appointed to him from amongst the disciples by votes. A Mahant has insignia of honour and state, a palanquin, seal, chaoris, and peacock-feather fly-flap. Mânbhâvas do not teach their religious doctrines to others than their own disciples. Their sacred books are written in a peculiar alphabet, and this, like their doctrines, they do not teach to strangers. Capt. Mackintosh says they think it necessary that each and every member should be taught to read at least the commentaries of the *Bhagavat Gitâ*. Their sacred books are the *Bhagavat Gitâ*, *Limnidhi*, *Lilâmrita-Sindhu* (Sanskrit), *Rukhminisvayamvara*, *Bâllilâ*, *Gopivilâsa*, and other Marâṭhi books in verse. Some of the Mânbhâvas assuming the name of Sopân, Nivrati, Jñânôbâ and Muktâbâi have written *abhangs*, or verses describing and praising the *light* caused by the closing of the nose, the ears, and the eyes. The founder of the sect is held in great respect and worshipped as the true incarnation of Vishṇu. They worship also Dattâtraya. The *Krishṇacharitramṛita*, written by him, is held in the highest esteem. They abhor the rough stone or timber blocks besmeared with red paint and stuck up in fields or under trees, and if they know that there is one in the road they are travelling they will make a circuit to avoid it. They consider it meritorious to make converts to their faith, but they exercise a very considerable degree of caution in guarding against persons of improper character being admitted into their society. They are always anxious to avoid giving the least umbrage to the relatives and friends of a candidate. Mârgaśirsha is their sacred month, and Krishṇajanmâshṭami and Gokalâshṭami are their festivals.

They are considered by Brâhmaṇs as most degraded and heretical. At meals food is served out only once, and before sitting to dine they loudly repeat Krishṇa's name and then eat.

The secular class among them marry and do not shave the head. A man wishing to marry places his bag on that of the woman's he loves, and if she does not remove it, her consent is understood as obtained and the marriage settled. After this the man and woman lie on separate beds, and the man repeating, *Śri Krishṇâchâ gadbadgundâ âlâ*, meaning 'Krishṇa's confusion is come,' the woman answers, *Khushâl evundyâ*, meaning 'you are welcome,' when the man and woman roll towards each other, and embracing one another are husband and wife. The Mânbhâvas bury their dead at some distance from the usual burning ground, heaping round the body a quantity of salt. They perform no funeral ceremonies, observe no mourning, *sûtak*, and perform no *shrâddh*. Cruelty to life they abhor to such an extent that on Dasara holidays, when goats, sheep, and buffaloes are offered, they leave their houses, and live for a couple of days or so in jangals. They never drink water without straining it, and, turning the cloth upside down float it in a running stream to restore

the insects to water. They go begging with a wallet in one hand, and a staff in the other. They never take anything not put in their hands nor pluck a fruit from a tree though the owner tells them to do so.

BHÂTS.

Bhâts, according to the legend, were created from the sweat of Śiva's brow and driven out of heaven because of their persistence in singing his praise and his consort's. They are beggars and reciters of stories. They compose songs and are generally good linguists.

DANDIS.

Dandis carry a staff, *dand*. They wear one long ochre-coloured cloth, the head passed through a hole in it, and the cloth hanging from the shoulders to the feet. They do not touch fire, and so never cook, nor do they beg,—as Brâhmaṇs and others feed them. Besides the staff, they carry a piece of matting to lie on, and a hermit's water-pot, *kamaṇḍalu*. As a class they are learned, giving much time to study and thought. They worship no images, and say that idols are only pictures to help the ignorant to remember the Supreme Spirit. Zealous religious teachers, they are treated with much honour and reverence.

VARIOUS OTHER CLASSES.

Dombâris are tumblers and rope-dancers, their women are prostitutes, and both men and women are thieves.

Bâlsantashis are fortune-tellers and weather prophets. They wander about the streets early in the morning, rousing people for the day's work.

Dakot-Joshis wander about the streets early in the morning to raise people. They are astrologers, fortune-tellers and beggars.

Dauris or drum-beating beggars go about singing and beating the drum.

Bânâmathis are beggars and tricksters. They live chiefly on the earnings of their wives, whom they attend as musicians.

Jethis are beggars and wrestlers.

Dâsaris are a small class of religious beggars who move from place to place chanting prayers and blowing a horn.

Kolhâtis, both men and women, are tumblers and beggars, and the women are prostitutes.

Tapodhans are beggars whose austerities and devotion constitute their wealth.

Gopâls sing, dance, wrestle and beg.

Holars sing, dance with peacock's feathers hung all round, with bells, and beg.

Kâpdis cover their heads with clothes and beg.

Bhutes go about with a lighted torch in their hands. Their bodies are covered with strings of shells (*kavḍis*).

Dânglis are worshippers of Śiva, and beggars.

Besides there are many more, the names of some of which are Bâgdis, Deolis, Johâris, Jatis or Yatis, Jogis, Joglis, Kalsutris, Kaṅgniwâlâs, Khâmsutris, Kâlbeles, Piṅgles, Pârvates, Râuls, Sarvades, Śilâvants and Triandes.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

A QUERY.

Supâri, the Gujarâti, Marâṭhi and Hindustâni word for betelnut, is a puzzle. The Sanskrit word for it is *pûgiphala* (Prâkrit *pophal*) and the Dravidian *aḍike*, from the latter of which comes our scientific *Areca catechu*. The Marâṭhi term for nut-cracker, still in ordinary use, is *âḍkittya*, connected probably with *aḍike*, and meaning literally, the 'betel cutter.' Why, then, and when did the Dekhani people banish *aḍike* in favour of *supâri*, though they did not reject *âḍkittya* also from their vocabulary? Can any reason be assigned for this dismissal of the parent and partiality for the derived term?

Can it be shown that the word *supâri* was introduced *after* the thirteenth century by the Musalman conquerors of Gujarât and the Dekhan? or is it possible to derive it from Supârâ, the Śûrpâraka of the *Mahâbhârata* (vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX. p. 44 note 94), the capital according to the *Viśvakośa* of Aparânta or the Koṅkaṇa (vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 259), once a great port?—whence if it could be shewn that betel was exported in large quantities the name *supâri* might have been derived. So far as I know, though there is a good deal of garden cultivation near Bassein and Supârâ even at the present day, there is not so much betel produce as to justify a connection between Supârâ and *supâri*.

RATIRÂM DURGÂRÂM DAVÉ.

READINGS FROM THE BHARHUT STÛPA.

BY DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

(Continued from Vol. X, p. 259.)

PART III.

I PROCEED with the examination of the Pillar Inscriptions in the order of the photographs in General Cunningham's work on the Bharhut Stûpa, commencing with Plate xv.

(19.) Two inscriptions on the inner face of the lower bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, on Plate xv, top, are transcribed on Plate liv, Nos. 44 and 45, and referred to on pp. 45, 115, 135. One is read variously, *bahu hathiko nigodhe* on p. 45, *bahu hathika nigodha nadode* on p. 115, and *Bahu hathiko Nigodha naḍode* on p. 135; the other *Susupâlo koḍâyo vetiko* (or *Veduko*) *Arâmako*. Letter for letter, the first is—

(a) *Bahuhathiko nigodho*
naḍode.

And the second—

(b) *Susupâlo Koḍâyo*
Veṭiko a-
râmako.

The scene to which these two inscriptions refer is correctly described on p. 115, with the exception that there are *two* figures (not *one*), represented on the right side of the scene as looking on.[1] They are very badly preserved, and one, of which the turban only remains, might be overlooked, especially as the head of the other figure, by its side, is gone, and only the upper part of the body, with the hands folded on the breast in adoration, remains. That these remains, however, belong to two separate figures is clear from the fact that the turban and the body are not in a perpendicular line, the latter being sidewards, below the former. It may also be noticed that the object in the upper left-hand corner, which General Cunningham takes to be another tree, is rather one of the egg-plants, after which the garden (the *Veṇtiko ârâmako*) is named. The meaning of the first inscription is not fully explained by General Cunningham; nor, indeed, is it without difficulties. I take it to mean "the many-elephant-nyagrodha tree under irrigation." I explain *naḍode* as a locative absolute (of time), to which *pavatte* might be supplied (or understood), as in the Jâtaka scenes Nos. 8 and 9 (see Part I.). It is possible that the inscription is incomplete, and that the space after *naḍode*, which is just sufficient for one word, was intended for *pavatte*; but the addition is not absolutely required, the locative *naḍode* by itself yielding the same sense. I suppose the meaning is that the elephants did not only come to offer flowers and garlands, but also to irrigate the tree *with water brought in their trunks*. *Naḍoda* means lit., "pipe-water," or "water brought in a pipe or in any tubular vessel;" whence it would be an apt expression for the water brought by the elephants in their trunks. It is true the elephants in the scene can hardly be said to be represented in the act of watering the tree; two of them are evidently depositing garlands; two others are apparently simply kneeling in adoration, while the trunks of the remaining two cannot be seen; but none of the trunks are represented as raised aloft, as they no doubt would be in the act of pouring the water. It is noteworthy, however, that in the description of a similar scene by the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian and Hwen Thsang,[2] the fact of the irrigation of the tree by the elephants is expressly mentioned: "ever and anon a herd of elephants, carrying water in their trunks, piously watered the ground, and also brought all sorts of flowers and perfumes to pay religious worship at the tower." General Cunningham, who quotes the Chinese accounts, I think, rightly identifies the scene described by them with the one here represented. Even "the single difference" which he notes, "of the substitution of a bodhi-tree for the Stûpa of Râmagrâma," perhaps does not really exist. The Chinese pilgrims merely say that this worship by the elephants used to take place at a famous Stûpa to the south-east of Râmagrâma. There were always bodhi-trees near a stûpa, and the watering would, no doubt, take place for the benefit of the former. General Cunningham says that "the account of Hwen Thsang is much more brief" than that of Fa-Hian. But that is hardly correct; the account referred to by him occurs on p. 326 (not p. 91, as given in the footnote) of the first volume of St. Julien's *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occid.*: "The

[1] On p. 135 the presence of two figures is mentioned.
[2] See Beal's *Fa-Hian*, p. 91; St. Julien's *Mémoires sur les Cont. Occid.*, tom. I, pp. 326, 328; quoted by General Cunningham, p. 115.

wild elephants collected in a herd, gathered flowers and strewed them (at the stûpa)." But later on Hwen Thsang refers to the phenomenon again, on p. 328, where he relates everything said by Fa-Hian: "In old times there were some bhikshus who, on the invitation of their fellow-monks, came from a remote country and went to pay homage to the Stûpa. They saw a herd of elephants that was going to and fro. Some plucked off the grass with their tusks, others sprinkled water with their trunks. Each of them brought rare flowers, and the whole of them did homage (to the Stûpa)." This last incident of the foreign pilgrims witnessing the worship of the elephants is, as General Cunningham has already noted, evidently intended to be represented by the two men standing in the background to the right of the bodhi-tree. However, it is not at all improbable that similar stories were believed and told about a number of sacred places of the Buddhists. In any case, the curious coincidence (if it be nothing more) of the scene related by the Chinese pilgrims, strongly confirms the correctness of my interpretation of the first inscription.[3] The second inscription on the sculpture merely contains three detached names; viz., those of the two spectators and of the garden in which the whole occurrence represented in the sculpture took place. The names of the two former are *Susupâla* and *Koḍâya*. The Sanskrit equivalent of *Susupâla* is *Śiśupâla*; that of *Koḍâya* I do not know; probably the word is *Koṇḍâya*, and may possibly be connected with the Sanskrit *Kauṇḍinya*, the ordinary Pâli equivalent of which, however, is *Koṇḍañño*.[4] The locality of the scene is called *Veṭiko arâmako*, or in full, *Veṁṭiko ârâmako*, i. e., "the egg-plant garden." The 'egg-plant' is in Sanskrit *vṛinta*. In Pâli it usually becomes *vaṇṭa*,[5] but in Prâkrit it appears in the form *veṇṭa*;[6] and from the close connection of the two languages it cannot be surprising to meet with the latter form also in Pâli. This is not the only instance of a new form or new word with which the inscriptions of the Bharhut Stûpa make us acquainted; *naḍoda* also is a new word; and a still more striking example is the verb *vand* with the genitive in No. 22 and *dhokanto* in No. 23 (below). From *veṇṭa* comes the adjective of relation *veṇṭika*, "full of egg-plants." One of these egg-plants from which the garden took its name, is represented in the upper left-hand corner of the sculpture. Accordingly written in full, with the addition of the double consonants, *anusvâras* and long vowels, the two inscriptions would run as follows:

(a). *Bahuhatthiko niggodho*[7] *naḍode* (*pavatte*).
And the other—

(b). *Susupâlo Koṁḍâyo Veṁṭiko ârâmako*,
or in Sanskrit, *Bahuhastiko nyagrodho naḍode* (*pravṛitte*); and *Śiśupâlaḥ Kauṁḍinyaḥ* (?); *Vârntika ârâmakaḥ*. In English, "the Nyagrodha tree (*called that*) of the many elephants, under irrigation;" and Śusupâla (*and*) Koṇḍâya; the Veṇṭika (*egg-plant*) garden.

(20.) An inscription, in the intermediate space, below the last-mentioned scene (No. 19), is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 43, and referred to on pp. 115 and 135, where it is read and explained correctly—

Bahuhathiko,

or in full, *Bahuhatthiko* (scl. *niggodho*), Sanskrit *Bahuhastiko* (*nyagrodhaḥ*), i. e. (*the Nyagrodha-tree, called that*) "of the many elephants." It refers, of course, to the scene (No. 19) under which it stands.

(21.) An inscription, on the side-face of the lower bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, on Plate xv, middle, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 38, and referred to on p. 134, where, however, it is not explained. It is there read *Vajapi Vijadharo*; but letter for letter it runs—

Vijaṭi vijadharo.

At first sight the word looks as if it were *viṁjapi*; for there is a shallow indentation between *vi* and *ja* which looks like the *anus-*

[3] A scene very closely resembling the present one, occurs twice among the sculptures of the great Stûpa at Sanchi; viz., on the back of the uppermost beams of the Northern and Western Gateways. See J. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pp. 113, 120, Plates x and xix; also A. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 220. In both cases a herd of elephants is seen approaching and bringing offerings of flowers and garlands to a sacred tree, which from its outward form (especially the pendant roots, on Pl. x), I take, with Gen. Cunningham, to be a Nyagrodha rather than (as Mr. Fergusson thinks) a Pipal. On the left of the scene on Plate xix, two elephants are apparently represented as fetching water from a stream, to sprinkle the tree. The same scene, but much more nearly agreeing with Hwen Thsang's account, inasmuch as here the elephants are worshipping the Stûpa itself, occurs on the back of the lowest beam of the Eastern Gateway. See *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 118, Plate xv, 4; also *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 212.

[4] In Hardy's *Manual of Budhism* it is *Koṇḍanya*; see p. 152 *et passim*.

[5] See Childers' *Dictionary*, sub voce; and Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pâli Grammatik*, pp. 16, 37.

[6] See Hemachandra (ed. Pischel), I, 139.

[7] The commoner Pâli form is *nigrodho*—see Childers' *Dictionary*.

vâra, and the perpendicular stroke of *ṭi* projects very slightly above the upper horizontal stroke, so that the whole might be mistaken for *pi*. That the word, however, is really *vijaṭi* I shall presently show. The imperfect tracing of the letters is sufficiently accounted for by the awkward position of the word. It is engraved on the *downward* face of one of the overhanging pieces of rock in the sculpture, so that it cannot have been easy to engrave (especially if the engraving was done after the block was in position); it is certainly difficult to see, and on the photograph it can hardly be distinguished at all. It is immediately above the word *vijadharo*, which can be clearly seen to the left of the head of the standing figure. This figure is that of a male person standing by the side of a sitting female figure, and engaged in winding or unwinding the folds of the turban on his head. It is the latter action which is indicated in the inscription, and the writer of it evidently took it to be that of *unwinding* the turban or *unravelling* the hair-knot. For *vijaṭi vijadharo*, or, as it should be in full, *vijâṭi vijjâdharo*, or in Sanskrit *vijâṭî vidyâdharaḥ*, means "the Vidyâdhara unravelling" (or unwinding his head-dress). *Vijâṭî* is derived from the root *vi* + *jaṭ*, "disentangle," "unravel." A full description of the manner of these head-dresses is given by General Cunningham on pp. 31 and 32 of his *Bharhut Stûpa*. It was composed of the long tresses of hair interwoven with bands or rolls of muslin, so as to form a large turban. It is very common in the sculptures of the Bharhut Stûpa, and is there worn by all men of rank. The figure is probably intended for a king of the Vidyâdharas. These are said to be a kind of superhuman beings,[8] possessing the knowledge of magic arts, and resident in the Himâlaya mountains. The latter are indicated by the overhanging rocks in the sculpture. The female figure by the side of the Vidyâdhara is probably his queen. She is represented sitting, in the ordinary Hindû fashion, on a small platform or stool of stone, and holding in her raised right hand, what looks like a bunch of the flowers of the Pâtali (or Trumpet-flower) tree.[9] If the reading *Vijapî* be accepted, I should propose to take it as the name of the queen, being in full *Vijappî*, Sanskrit *Vijalpî*, or rather *Vijalpikâ*, lit. "the chatterer."[10] But I have no doubt myself that the other reading is the correct one; in any case, the apparent *anusvâra* cannot be correct.

(22.) An inscription, on the left side of the lower bas-relief of the West Gate Corner Pillar, on Plate xvi, top, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 63, and referred to on pp. 11, 89, 90, 127, 136. It is read variously, *Ajâtasatru Bhagavato vandatê* on pp. 90 and 127, but *Ajâta Satu Bhagavato vandate*, on p. 11 and *Ajâtasata Bhagavato vandate* on p. 136. The correct reading is

Ajatasatu Bhagavato vaṁdate,

or in full, *Ajâtasattu Bhagavato vaṁdate*, or in Sanskrit *Ajâtaśatrur Bhagavantaṁ vandate*, i. e., "Ajâtaśatru worships the Blessed one." The vowel *u* in *satu* is very slightly engraved, and might be overlooked. As to the genitive *Bhagavato*, used instead of the accusative, see the remarks on No. 16 in Part II.[11] The details are correctly explained on p. 89.

(23.) There are two inscriptions on the left side of the middle bas-relief of the West Gate Corner Pillar, on Plate xvi, middle. The first is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 66, and referred to on pp. 112, 113, 137. It is fully read on p. 137, *Mahâsâmâyikayam Arahaguto Devaputo dhakato Bhagavato sisani paṭisandhi*; but only partially on p. 113—*Bhagavato sâsani patisandhi*. No explanation is given; and, indeed, there are not inconsiderable difficulties in the way of explaining it. Letter for letter the inscription is—

Mahâsâmâyikâya Arahaguto devaputo dhokato
Bhagavato sâsati paṭisaṁdhi,

[8] According to Hardy, in *Manual of Budhism*, p. 38, they are a class of "*men*, who can exercise the same powers (of performing wonders) by the aid of mantras or charms." They are very frequently introduced in the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, see Tawney's Translation, pp. 136, 173, 174, *et passim*.

[9] Compare the scenes on Pl. xxix, No. 1 and Pl. xxiii, No. 3; also Fergusson's *Tree and Serp. Wor.* pl. l, right hand pillar, where the same flowers are represented.—Ed.

[10] In the Petersburg *Dictionary*, *vijalpâ* is given as "the name of a malevolent female sprite."

[11] Since writing these remarks, I have been looking over some old numbers of the *Academy*. In the issue of the 3rd April 1875 there is a letter from the late Prof. Childers, in which he refers to the difficulty of the genitive *Bhagavato*: "I must of course abandon the emendation by which I proposed to insert *bodhim* after *bhagavato*. There then remain two alternatives: either there is a grammatical error in the inscription, or the word read *bhagavato* should be *bhagavantam*." I have shown, that there is no need to accept either alternative; the genitive is grammatically correct. I should add that the same letter gives some interesting particulars regarding the story of Airâpata, which is said to be contained in the commentary on v. 182 of the *Dhammapada*.

which, as I take it, would be in full: *Mahâsâmâyikâya Arahagutto devaputto dhokkaṁto Bhagavato sâsati paṭisaṁdhiṁ;* or in Sanskrit *Mahâsâmâyikyâṁ* (scl. *sabhâyâṁ*) *Arhadgupto devaputro vandan Bhagavantaṁ śâsati pratisandhiṁ;* i.e., lit. "at the time of the Mahâsâmayika assembly Arahagutta, a son of the gods, humbly bowing to the Blessed-one, praises his re-birth."

To dispose first of the grammatical peculiarities and difficulties; *mahâsâmâyikâya* is a faulty spelling for *mahâsâmayikâya*; the word is derived from *mahâsamaya* with the suffix *ika*, which causes the lengthening (*vriddhi*) of *â* in *sâmaya*.[12] Another anomaly in this word is the feminine termination in *ikâ*, instead of the usual *ikî*. It is, however, just possible, that the final syllables *kâya* are a mistake for *kiya* (i.e., in full *kiyaṁ*); a slight upward curve of the horizontal topstroke of *kâ* would make all the difference and turn it unto *ki*. It will be presently seen there are some other signs of careless tracing of the letters of this inscription. *Mahâsâmayikâya* (or *-kâyaṁ*) is a locative singular, feminine; to complete the sense, *sabhâyâṁ*, or some such word, must be supplied. In the word *Arahaguto*, the curious dot must be noticed between *ha* and *gu*. It resembles an *anusvâra*, but of course it is a meaningless notch. A similar meaningless dot will be observed in the word *devaputo*, between *va* and *pu*; again another, attached to the bottom of *dho* in *dhokato*; and once more, there is one, though not quite so distinct between *sâ* and *mâ* of *Mahâsâmâyikâya*. Another instance has been already noticed in No. 21, in *vijaṭi*. Perhaps these dots are mere flaws in the stone; though some certainly look as if they were made by the mason's chisel. The word *dhokato* is noteworthy; it is not mentioned in Childers' *Dictionary*, nor do I recollect having met it in any other work, Pâli or Prâkrit. Yet the word is still in use in the more vulgar forms of Hindî, where *dhok* (also spelt *ḍhok*) means "obeisance," "salutation." With this word I would identify the Pâli *dhokato* or, in full, *dhokkanto*, nominative singular of the present participle, agreeing with *arahagutto*. *Bhagavato* I take to be the genitive singular, governed by *dhokkanto*, which is construed with the genitive after the analogy of the verbs *vand* and *nam*.[13] The last letter of the word *sâsati* is very indistinct. At first sight it looks like *ni*, and in the photograph this appearance is intensified; but on closer inspection it is seen that the edges on both sides of what looks like the perpendicular of *n* (⊥) are broken away, so as to form an irregular triangular hollow (⅄), as if the intermediate raised space between the legs of *t* (⅄) had peeled off. It may be that in cutting the legs of *t*, the stone (which is more than usually soft or rotten) gave way in the intermediate space, or that the mason originally cut *ni* by mistake, and in trying to alter it into *ti* made a mess of it. In any case, that the letter is really meant for *ti*, is quite clear from the context of the inscription.[14]

In *paṭisaṁdhiṁ*, the last vowel *i* is not very distinct, and it looks as if the final *anusvâra* had been run into it by the engraver. The inscription, as thus interpreted by me, fully agrees with the sculptured scene. In it we have a large assembly gathered round the throne of Buddha; prominent in the assembly is the figure of a person (*Arahagutto*) who humbly bowing before the throne touches with his left hand the feet (or rather feet-marks) of Buddha, and is evidently saying something. We are told in the history of Buddha, that once while he resided in the Mahâvana vihâra, "he delivered the discourse called the *Mahâsamaya Sûtra*, when a kela-laksha of devas and brahmas became rahats and an asankya (i. e. an innumerable multitude) entered the three paths."[15] An amusing illustration of this innumerable multitude of devas or gods who listened to the discourse, in the usual hyperbolic fashion of the later Buddhists, is given by Hardy in his *Manual of Budhism*, p. 393. Here one of the devas who was present on that occasion relates his experiences, how, for the crowd, he found no room in the whole of Jambudvîpa (or the continent of India), how he was even crowded out of Ceylon, and how finally he was obliged to

[12] The faulty form *samâya* is noticed in the Petersburg *Dictionary*, as a *varia lectio* of *samaya*, see cols. 932 and 936.

[13] Or *bhagavato* might be the genitive singular dependent on *pratisaṁdhiṁ*, "the re-birth of the Blessed-one." But the other construction is the more probable one.

[14] The only way to preserve the *n* would be to read *sâsâno* "he is praising," which would be the participle present of *sâsoti*. But not to lay stress on this being a somewhat unusual form, it would be necessary to admit that the mason made an error in engraving *ni* instead of *no*.

[15] See Hardy's *Manual of Budhism*, p. 320. See also Childers' *Dictionary* sub voce *samayo*, where it is said that "*mahâsamayasutta* means the discourse preached to a great company."

take his stand in the ocean, where, immersed up to his neck, he listened to Buddha, who was sitting far away in the Himâlaya forest. It is this assembly of devas which is shown in the scene and referred to by the term *mahâsâmayikâ* (scl. *sabhâ*), i.e., "the assembly of devas listening to *Mahâsamaya sûtra*." Arahagutta is evidently the name of one of the devas, or, as they are here called, devaputras,[16] who was present in the company, and apparently overcome by the beauty of the discourse fell down at Buddha's feet, and extolled his goodness in taking birth for the sake of saving all living beings. The same Deva is apparently again represented on the face of the Gateway Pillar found at Pataora (see Plate xx). He is the prominent figure at the top of the lower half of the pillar; and he is identified by the inscription, immediately behind him, *Arahaguto devaputo.* The scene is incomplete, but it would seem to represent the arrival of the devas at the Mahâvana vihâra, for the purpose of hearing the *Mahâsamaya sûtra.*

(24.) This is the other inscription on Plate xvi, middle. It is transcribed on Plate liv. No. 62. On p. 136 it is read *Bhadantasa Aya Isipâlitasa Bhânakasa Navakamikasa dânam* and translated: "Gift of the lay brother, the reverend Isipâlita of Bhânaka (Nava-kamika must be his title)." The reading is correct, though quite literally it should be—

Bhadatasa aya Isipâlitâsa bhânakasa navakamikasa dânaṁ,

which would be in full,—*Bhadaṁtassa ayya Isipâlitassà bhânakassa navakammikassa dânaṁ;* or in Sanskrit—*Bhadantasya âryasya Rishipâlitasya bhâṇakasya navakârmikasya dânaṁ;* i.e., "the gift of the Reverend Lord Isipâlita the Preacher (*on being*) newly appointed to his office." General Cunningham translates "lay brother;" but that Isipâlita was an ordained monk (or priest) is clear from his being a *bhâṇaka*, as well as from the two priestly epithets *bhadanta* and *ayya*.[17] *Navakammika* is not his title; for that is *bhâṇaka*, "preacher"; but it is a term which indicates that he had been recently appointed to his office of preacher; it literally means: 'one who has a new work' (*nava* + *karma* and suffix *ika*). The term is explained in Kachchayana's *Grammar*, VIII, 8 (Senart's edition, p. 189), where it is said that the suffix *ika* is used to express appointment (*niyoga*) to an office, and where *navakammiko*[18] is given as an example, "appointed to a new office." *Dânaṁ*, "gift," of course refers, to the sculpture itself on which the inscription is engraved; and from the term *navakammika* it would seem that Isipâlita gave the sculpture to the Stûpa as a sort of thank-offering on his being appointed to the honoured office of Preacher. It may be noticed that from this point of view the subject of the sculpture, as explained in No. 23, is a very suitable one for the occasion of its donation. It only remains to point out that the spelling of *bhânakasya* with the dental *n*, instead of the cerebral *ṇ*, is another example of the lax use of these nasal consonants in the inscriptions of the Bharhut Stûpa; one instance *tîni* (for *tîṇi*) has already been noticed in Part II, No. 9*b*.

(25.) Two inscriptions on the left side of the upper bas-relief of the West Gate Corner Pillar, on Plate xvi, bottom, are transcribed on Plate liv, Nos. 64 and 65,[19] and referred to on pp. 109, 118, 119, 136, 137. They are read variously; the first *Sudhammâ Deva Sabhâ Bhagavato Chuda-Maho* on p. 109, *Sudhamma Devasabhâ Bhagavato Chudamahâ* on p. 119, and *Sudhamma Devasabhâ Bhagavato Chuda Maha* on p. 136.[20] The second, *Vijayanta Pasâde* on p. 109, *Vijayanta Prâsâda* on p. 118, and *Vijayanto Pâsâde* on p. 137. But the correct readings are:

(a) *Sudhaṁmâ devasabhâ;*
Bhagavato chûḍâmaho;

and the other—

(b) *Vejayaṁto pâsâdo;*

and it may be observed that they are both engraved in their full spelling, which is rather unusual. In Sanskrit they would be—*Sudhammâ devasabhâ; Bhagavataś chûḍâmahaḥ,* and *Vaijayantaḥ prâsâdaḥ;* i.e., "the Sudhammâ (*or*) assembly of the gods; the festival of the head-dress of the Blessed-one," and "the Vejayanta palace." The first inscription consists of two

[16] See Childers' *Dictionary*, sub voce *devaputto*, where it is said that "*devaputto* means simply a male deva."

[17] It is not quite clear which Pâli word "lay brother" is meant to represent; apparently *ayya*. The derivation of *bhadanta* is uncertain; both *bhadaṁ te* and *bhadrânta* have been proposed; see Minayef, *Grammaire Palie*, p. 61; and Kuhn, *Beiträge*, p. 32. [See *Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 6.—ED.] As to *bhâṇaka*, see No. 17 in Part II.

[18] The word may be also spelled *nâvakammiko*. Senart's MSS. give both variants.

[19] Plate liv has 64 twice, by a misprint.

[20] See also *Academy* of the 1st May 1875, where Childers gives the reading: *Sudhammâ devasabhâ.*

separate and independent phrases; it cannot be translated (as General Cunningham does on p. 109), "Head ornament of Buddha in the holy assembly of the Devas;" for *sabhâ* is the nominative case. I suspect, however, that there is an error in *maho*, and that the mason meant to engrave *mahe*. We should then have only one consecutive sentence: "The Sudhammâ or Assembly of the gods at the time of the festival of the head-dress of the Blessed-one." This sounds much better; the omission of the horizontal top stroke to the right of the perpendicular of *h* would make all the difference; and its addition is most probably a mere slip of the mason's chisel or of his attention. *Sudhammâ* is the name of the Hall of the Assembly of the gods, and hence of the Assembly itself. Here it appears to be used in the latter sense; for the building over which it is inscribed stands apart from the palace of the gods, and seems to be the shrine of the Head-dress which was built for it on purpose by the gods, and which was called *Salumini sâeya*.[21] The last word *maho* (or *mahe?*) is read *mahâ* (or *maha*) by General Cunningham, meaning "great" or "grand." Grammatically this is hardly admissible; it is true *mahâ* does occur as an inflected form, e. g., *âbâdho mahâ* "great illness";[22] but probably only in connexion with masculine nouns, while *chûḍâ* is feminine; at all events the usual construction would be a compound, *mahâchûḍâ*. But the word is not *mahâ*, but *maho*; the final *o* is quite distinct in the sculpture.[23] And this reading is borne out by the scene represented on the stone. The word *maho* means "festival," and the scene evidently represents a festival held in honour of Buddha's head-dress; a "nâch," performed by Apsaras in the presence of the head-dress and witnessed by the assembled gods, being, as usual in native festivities, the principal item.[24] It may be worth noting that the inscription has the form *chûḍâ*, instead of the usual Pâli form *chûlâ*.[25] In the second inscription the second word is *pâsâdo*, not *pâsâde*; the latter would be the locative singular, which would not agree with the nominative *Vejayaṁto*. The mason was obliged to cram the two letters *sâdo* into the narrow space below the rest of the inscription; hence they are very small and badly executed. The right-hand stroke of the vowel *o* is turned *upwards*, instead of being, as usual, drawn horizontal.[26] Rhys Davids in his translation of the *Jâtakas*, vol. I, p. ciii, gives the correct reading *pâsâdo*. The scene is fully and correctly explained by General Cunningham on pp. 109, 136. The story of the assumption of Buddha's Head-dress into heaven is thus related in the *Nidânakathâ* or the Introduction to the Jâtaka-book. When the prince Siddhârtha left Kapilavastu in order to become a Buddha, he first came to the river Anomâ, after crossing which he dismissed his attendant Channa with his horse Kanthaka. "Then he thought, 'These locks of mine are not suited for a mendicant. Now it is not right for any one else to cut the hair of a future Buddha, so I will cut them off

[21] So Hardy in his *Manual of Budhism*, p. 165: "Sekra brought a golden basket sixteen miles in size, and having placed the hair in it, he deposited it in the Devaloka Tawutisâ, in a dâgoba called Salumini-sâeya, where it is worshipped by the devas until this day." Childers in the *Academy* of the 1st May 1875 appears to take *Sudhammâ* to be here the name of the Hall; so also Gen. Cunningham in his translation on p. 136 "the grand head-dress of Buddha in the Assembly Hall of the Devas." But this hardly agrees with the Buddhist tradition, according to which the *chûḍâ* was deposited, not in the Assembly Hall, but in a separate shrine. I prefer, therefore, to take *Sudhammâ* here to be the name of the assemby itself; or else the word may be taken as an appellative "pious" (or "holy" as General Cunningham renders it on p. 109). In fact, it is manifest from the meaning of the term *Sudhammâ*, that it originally was the name of the *sabhâ* or "Assembly," and was only given secondarily to the locality or Hall of the assembly.

[22] See Childers' *Dictionary* sub voce *mahâ*, where other examples are also given.

[23] On p. 109 Gen. Cunningham himself reads *maho*, though on the same page it is also read *mahâ*.

[24] May not this be also the subject of the sculpture in the lowest compartment of one of the pillars of the Southern Gateway of the great Sanchi Stûpa? See Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plate xxv, fig. 1, and A. Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, Plate xii. General Cunningham takes the object of adoration on the tray to be a relic-casket. Mr. Fergusson, while admitting it to be a relic, ventures on no further explanation. It seems to me that the object may be intended to represent Buddha's head-dress, as seen *from above* (not *side-ways*); and the scene seems to be a festival held in honour of it by the assembled devas; the nâchh of the Apsaras being on the left. The object immediately below the tray can hardly be, as Mr. Fergusson thinks, a man's head (possibly of a murdered king,) lying on the ground, severed from its body. This would be singularly incongruous under the circumstances. If Gen. Cunningham's sketch can be trusted, the head belongs to a *living* man, whose shoulders, supporting his head, can be distinctly seen. It is, in fact, the head of one of the spectators who, owing to his unfortunate position almost directly under the tray, is obliged to turn up his face in a most awkward way in order to see the relic. The drawing is ludicrously exact.—The inscription over this sculpture which has puzzled both Gen. Cunningham and Mr. Fergusson, is simple enough. It is *Vedisakehi daṁtakârehi rûpakaṁmaṁ kataṁ*, i.e., "the sculpture made by the ivory-workers of Vedisa." It merely records the makers and donors, but throws no light on the subject of the sculpture.

[25] Childers' *Dictionary* gives only *chûlâ*.

[26] At first sight the upward stroke looks like a mere production of the vertical stroke of *d* and hence the syllable may be mistaken for *de*. But if this be really what the mason wrote, it is clearly an error for *do*.

myself with my sword.'" Then taking his sword in his right hand and holding the plaited tresses (*chúlá*), together with the diadem on them, with his left, he cut them off. . . . . The Bodhisat saying to himself, 'If I am to become a Buddha, let it stand in the air; if not, let it fall to the ground;' threw the hair and diadem together, as he held them, towards the sky. The plaited hair and the jewelled turban went a league off and stopped in the air. The archangel Sakka (i. e., the Deva Indra) caught sight of it with his divine eye, and receiving it into a jewel-casket, a league high, he placed it in the Tâvatiṁsa (Trayastriṁśat) heaven, in the Dâgaba (or shrine) of the Diadem."[27] The sculpture represents the Devas holding a festival in honour of the head-dress in their palace, called "Vejayanta," *i. e.* "(*palace*) belonging to Vijayanta or the Victorious," which is an epithet of Indra. The story of how the palace came to be called by that name is thus related in the *Kulávaká Játaka.* Originally the Asuras dwelt in the heaven of the Devas; but the latter making them drunk ejected them. In consequence, a war arose between the two parties, in which the Asuras were at first successful, though finally Indra, the king of the Devas, by an act of pious self-abnegation succeeded in putting his enemies to flight. After his victory he "re-entered his heavenly city, and stood in the midst thereof, surrounded by hosts of angels from both the heavens. And at that moment the Palace of Glory (*Vejayantapásádo*) burst through the earth and rose up a thousand leagues in height. And it was because it rose at the end of this glorious victory that it received the name of the Palace of Glory."[28]

(26.) The next inscription, on the middle bas-relief of the Corner Pillar of the North Gate, on Plate xviii, middle, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 75, and referred to on pp. 79-82 and 137. In the former place it is read *Vitura Punakáya Játakam*, in the latter *Vitura Punakiya Játakam.* The second is the more correct reading, but strictly it is

Viturapunakiyajatakaṁ,

or, in full, *Viturapuṁnakiyajátakaṁ*, or in Sanskrit *Vithurapúrṇakiyajátakaṁ*, i. e., "the Vitura and Puṇṇaka Birth." The inscription has been already correctly translated and interpreted by General Cunningham, who also gives a very full account of the Birth-story to which it refers on pp. 79-82. I may add that the story of Vitura is alluded to in the Introduction to the Jâtaka book (p. 56 of Rhys Davids' translation): "In like manner there is no limit to the existences—as, for instance, in the times when he was the wise man Vidhûra, etc." The various portions of the story are represented on the three sculptures on Plate xviii, and I agree with General Cunningham's identifications of the various scenes. Only it seems to me that in Scene A, 2 (in the lower part of the upper bas-relief) the figure standing behind the Demon Puṇṇaka is, to judge from his dress, the Pandit Vitura. If this is correct, the scene represents the return of Puṇṇaka to the Nâga king's court in company with Vitura, and is, in fact, the last in the order of the events of the story. But General Cunningham's interpretation agrees better with the order of the scenes in the sculpture. In that case, I suppose, the figure standing behind Puṇṇaka must be taken to represent the Nâga princess for whose hand he is asking her father the Nâga king; but it does not look like the figure of a woman. In the uppermost line of the middle bas-relief, the two figures standing on the left-hand corner are, as Gen. Cunningham rightly says, Puṇṇaka and Vitura, but it is the Pandit Vitura who is placed in front, and the figure behind, with the upraised hand, is Puṇṇaka. This can be clearly seen from the difference of their dresses. The Pandit is always distinguished by a broad tight collar round his neck and a long necklace depending on his chest. On the other hand, the Demon has no collar, but instead of it he wears a square jewelled pad attached to the necklace on his chest. Just below, where the Demon is mounted on his horse and the Pandit hanging on to the tail, this distinction may be very clearly seen. As a sign of the minute accuracy of the drawing, it may be remarked, that when Vitura is shown head downwards, suspended by his feet, the long necklace is represented as having fallen back over the shoulder, as it would naturally do under the circumstances. In the inscription the Pandit is called *Vitura*. This is noteworthy. The

[27] See Rhys Davids' translation, p. 86; also Hardy's *Manual of Budhism*, p. 165.

[28] See Rhys Davids' translation, p. 287.

ordinary form in which the name occurs in Pâli is *Vidhura.*[29] But *Vidhura* is evidently a mere Pâli modification of the Sanskrit *Vithura*, just as Pâli *Madhurâ* stands for Sanskrit *Mathurâ*, "the town of Mathurâ" (see Part I, No. 5);[30] and *Vitura* is a different Pâli modification of the same Sanskrit *Vithura*. Both changes of *th*, into *dh* and into *t*, are of equally rare occurrence in Pâli.[31] In the form *punakiya*, there is again an example of the lax use of the nasal consonants, it ought to have been spelled *puṇakiya* (i. e., *puṁṇakîya*), with the cerebral *ṇ*, see No. 24.

[29] A various spelling is *Vidhûra*, though less correct. Fausböll's MSS. give both readings, see p. 46 of his edition of the *Jâtaka*; but the majority is for *Vidhura*.

[30] Both *Vidhura* and *Vithura* mean nearly the same thing; both occur in Sanskrit, which may have taken over the former from the Pâli.

[31] For some other examples of the change of *th* to *t*, see Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pâli Grammatik*, p. 41; thus *katikâ* for *kathikâ*.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL. WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from Vol. X, p. 352.*)

No. 12—SÂNSÎ CHARMS.

The Sâṅsîs are one of the "Criminal Tribes" of the Panjâb. They nominally profess Muhammadanism and are great charmers. As a matter of fact they have scarcely any religious beliefs beyond a profound faith in all surrounding superstitions, Hindu, Musalman, or Sikh. Their main object of veneration is the great Panjâbî saint Sakhî Sarwar Sultân. Very little appears to be known of them or to have been ascertained regarding their origin. They are inveterate thieves, especially of dogs, and are avoided by the other population. Mr. E. L. Brandreth, in the Settlement Report of the Firozpûr District, 1854, says:—"The lowest castes are the Sâṅsîs, Bâwarîs and Chûṛhas. The Sâṅsîs are a wandering tribe, and live in tents made of *sirkî* (a reed). They keep a number of cattle which they barter with the zamîndârs: they are also great thieves. Their favourite food is a kind of lizard (*sâṇḍâ*), which they dig out of the ground; these lizards are only found in the uncultivated land; the waste lands of the Rohî (uplands—the above-flood-level parts of the district) are very plentiful in them, and in many parts of the country the ground is so full of holes out of which the lizards have been dug that it is almost impossible to ride across it." (Sec. 82.)

Mr. Brandreth adds in a footnote:—"The Jats also eat these *sâṇḍâs*, but purchase them from the Sâṅsîs and Bâwarîs, who are alone skilled to find them."

It is disappointing to find that the charms and songs here collected show no trace of specialities of language or superstitions. The language is the vulgar Panjâbî of the district, and the religious references all strictly local. It is doubtful even whether the *mantras* themselves are peculiar to the Sâṅsîs, being probably common to all classes of Panjâbîs. Charm No. 3 for scorpion-bite is most probably of Pûrbiâ origin, as a Pûrbiâ servant in the Firozpûr Cantonment was heard to repeat something very like it on the occasion of his wife being stung by a scorpion. There are also linguistic indications in all the charms of a Hindî or Pûrbiâ origin for them, and it is probable,—although the *mantras* may now circulate among the Sâṅsîs as *bonâ fide* tribal folklore,—that they have been learnt from Pûrbiâ jogîs or faqîrs. In charm No. 4 the expression "*Jo hamrî kâr na mâne,*" "who disregards our charmed-circle," is decidedly a Hindî, not a Panjâbî expression, the word *hamrî* for *hamârî*, 'our,' being quite fatal to any Panjâbî claims which might be set up for the *mantra*, although *kâr* is not apparently a Hindî word.

The fact elicited from these *mantras* that the Sâṅsîs have no language of their own, properly so called, as popularly supposed, is firmly established by Dr. Leitner in his "*Detailed Analysis of 'Abdu-l-Ghafûr's Dictionary of the terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Panjâb.*"[1] Page i, he says "that criminals often borrow words from other languages than their own, in order to conceal their object from an ordinary listener, has been proved by the thieves in England borrowing from the language of the Gypsies; but whilst the latter have a language of undoubted Hindu origin, the former have no language at all, properly so called. Precisely the same thing has happened in India, as will be shown further on." Then after

[1] In the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

showing how this has occurred in the so-called "Language" of the Sâṅsîs, he says in effect (p. xvii) that there is no real language of the Sâṅsîs, but that it is a mere mutation of ordinary Panjâbî words for criminal or jocular purposes, having, however, slang applications of words and slang words in it.

(1.) Charm for Snakebite.

Jhâṛâ[2] *sap waḍḍhe*[3] *dâ.*

Gur[4] gunge, gur bâwaṛe, gur atar[5] amîr,
Gurâṅ[6] to[7] chêle vichhṛe kushṭî hove sarîr.
Ṭuk bâshkiâṅ, Naṭhâ bâshkiâṅ, Takhtu bâshkiâṅ, ghar ghar Guggâ gavieṅ,[8]
Chaṛhe Guggâ Chauhân, Guggâ maṇḍalî[9] sêveṅ,
Bâwar[10] pûjâṅ, sône dî battî, rûpe dâ tumbâ;[11]
Chal Mantar! Phur[12] wâz![13]
Guggâ Mahant,[14] têrî kâr chhaṛe; to chhaṛe!
Lûn dî khâî[15] vich galle.

Charm for Snakebite.

A gurû dumb, a gurû mad, is still a gurû good and great.
Followers who leave gurûs will lepers surely be.
Ṭuk snakes, Naṭhâ snakes, Takhtu snakes; Guggâ, sung in every house,
Guggâ Chauhân comes, the people worship Guggâ.
Jangal worship, golden candle, silver gourd; Work charm! Act voice!
Guggâ Saint, thy charm works; let it work!
And dissolve him in a mine of salt.

The idea of this charm is that the snakebite will be cured through the intervention of the Gurû (sacred teacher) Guggâ. Guggâ is therefore first praised and finally invoked, and the charm is then requested to work and cure the patient. After the praise of Guggâ the different kinds of poisonous snakes are invoked, as the charmer is uncertain which kind has bitten the sufferer, and hopes, by informing them all that he is about to invoke Guggâ, that the particular snake who has offended will be induced to take his poison out of the patient.

Ṭuk—I have been unable to trace this word, unless it means "little." *Bâshkî*, Panj., any venomous serpent. *Bâsak nâg* (= Vâsuki) is Śesha both in Hindi and Panj. *Ṭuk, Naṭhâ, Takhtu.* We have here these three names connected with *bâshkiâṅ* or Nâgas. Now *Nâṭa* and *Takshaka* were names of Nâgas, and may be the origin of these modern words—at least there appears to be no other derivation of them.

Guggâ, Gogâ, Gûgâ or *Gurû Guggâ.*—Information regarding this Saint is excessively conflicting and doubtful. According to accounts I have gathered he flourished any time between 1000 A.D. to 1600 A.D. It will be best perhaps to give the various accounts first, and then work out the deductions. Tod in his *Annals of Râjasthân* (Madras ed. vol. II, p. 413) in relating the annals of Bûndi says, "Gogâ, son of Vachâ Râjâ (Chauhân) held the Jangal Des or forest lands from the Satlaj to Hariâna, and had a capital Meherâ (= Gogâ kâ Mairî) on the Satlaj.[16] He fell in its defence with 45 sons and 60 nephews on Sunday (*Rabbwâr*) the ninth (*naumî*) of the month,[17] which day is held sacred to the *manes* of Gogâ through-

[2] *Jhâṛâ sap waḍḍhe dâ*, Panj. form of the Hindi words *Mantar sâṅp kaṭṭe kô.* *Jhâṛâ* is the Hindî and Panj. form for the classical *mantra*, a charm, exorcism. *Sap*, Panj. form of the Hindî *sâṅp*, a snake. All the North Indian modern words for snake, as *sâṅp*, *sâp*, *sap*, etc., spring from the Sansk. *sarpa*, through the Prâk. (and Pâli) form *sappo*, from the old fundamental root *sṛip* to creep.

[3] *Waḍḍhe* is the Panj. representation exactly of the Hindi *kaṭṭe*, though perhaps this itself is a Panj. pronunciation of *kâṭ*, a bite, cut.

[4] *Gur* vulgar for *gurû* both in Hindî and Panj. *Guṅgâ* is the Panj. pronunciation of the Hindi *gûṅgâ*, dumb. *Bâwaṛâ* one of the numerous (vulgar) pronunciations of *bâolâ*, mad, deranged; the usual Panj. word is *kamlâ*. Plurals here are used out of respect.

[5] *Atar* for *'itar*, essence, scent—here used for anything very valuable; *atar* is the pron. in the Panj. always, and the Panjâbîs usually spell it *atar*. This line is in praise of Guggâ.

[6] *Gurâṅ*, clearly a plural of *gur*, not of *gurû*, showing *gur* to be considered a *bonâ fide* word and not a poetical license for *gurû*.

[7] *To*, from, for the ordinary Panj. form *toṅ*. It is the same word as the Hindî *se*, cf. old Hindî forms *sûṅ*, *setî*, *te* and the Sansk. *sakâśat*, *tas* and *śas*. *Vichhṛe* from *vichharnâ* for *bichharnâ*, to be separated. *Kushṭî* for *kushṭhî*, leprous; another Panj. form is *kôṛî* (*koṛhî*). *Sarîr*, the body, and Sansk. *śarîra*. The praise of Guggâ is here continued.

[8] *Gâvieṅ*—Panj., is sung, praised. The charmer being uncertain what snake has bitten the patient now calls upon them all to leave him, and commences to invoke Guggâ.

[9] *Maṇḍalî*—*lit.* an assembly, the people. *Sêveṅ* worships; Hind. *sênâ*; Panj. *sêunâ*; Sansk. *sev*, to follow, seek, worship.

[10] *Bâwar* for *bâr*, the jangal, forest. This word appears to be Panjâbî purely. It is connected with Sansk. *vâra*, anything which covers or surrounds:—again Sansk. *vârksha* is a forest, from *vṛikshâ* (root doubtful), a tree.

[11] *Pâṅbâ*, pron. *tûmba*—a gourd used by faqîrs as a drinking cup—Sansk. *tumbâ*—a gourd, *Lagenaria vulgaris.* Hindî forms are *tômṛî*, *tumṛî*, *tombṛî*, *toṅbâ*. I have no explanation to offer for the expressions golden candle, &c.—they seem to be sheer nonsense.

[12] *Phurnâ*, Panj., to act (a charm), *jhâṛâ baṛâ phurtâ hai*—the charm acts well. *Phurnâ*. Sansk. *sphur*—to break forth, become evident.—Hindî, *phurtî*, quickness.

[13] *Wâz* for Persian *âwâz*, voice.

[14] *Mahant*, Sansk. *mahanta*; *mah*, great, the head of a religious order. As Guggâ was a Chauhân he would now be considered a Muhammadan saint in the Panjâb. Calling him Mahant here however does not really indicate anything as to his religion, for in another *mantra* Hanumân is called *paighambar*, and is invoked in connection with Allah and Muhammad.

[15] *Khâi*, a ditch, moat, Panj. and Hindi; *vich*. Panj. prep. in. Hindî *bîch*, Sansk. *vich* to separate.

[16] Also called Guggâ Morî: it is 24 miles from Sirsâ.

[17] *Sâwan sudî naumî* is the date of Guggâ's festival, = about 15th August: *Bhâdoṅ badî naumî*, a fortnight later, is sometimes also made the date.

out Râjpûtânâ, especially in the desert, a portion of which is still called Gogâ Deo-kâ Thal. His horse Javâdiâ became the favourite name for a Râjpût war-horse. Oaths are sworn by the *sâkâ* of Gogâ. The fight was against Mahmûd probably in his *last* expedition (A.D. 1024)." In a footnote on the same page he says, "Gogâ had no children, so his guardian deity gave him two barley-corns (*javâ* or *jâo*), one he gave his queen and one to his favourite mare who produced Javâdiâ (barley given)." This very natural account makes him a great Râjpût hero, who stemmed the first Muhammadan invasions in the true Râjpût manner. Subsequently he became deified or rather canonized, and legends were invented to account for this.

I will now give the Sirsâ account, as obtained for me by Mr. Kennedy, C.S., from Sirsâ itself. Gûgâ was the son of Jhewar and grandson of Umar, a chieftain of Bagar in the Bikaner State.[18] His real name was Ugdi, and he was a Chauhân Râjpût. He was born at Dadrerâ in Bikanêr, about 50 miles from Sirsâ, and according to local ballads he flourished in Aurangzeb's time, who is locally known as Naorang Shâh (A. D. 1658—1707). The story goes that his mother, Bachal, devoted herself 12 years to Gorakhnâth (*temp. circ.* A. D. 1500) in the hope of getting a son,[19] but unfortunately when the saint appeared to grant the request she was away, and her sister, Kachal, who was much like Bachal, tricked the saint into giving her two boys. When the saint found out his mistake he presented Bachal with some *gûgal* (incense offered to Hindu gods) as a special mark of his favour, and gave her also a son, afterwards the famous Gûgâ. She named the boy, Ugdi, but the name was changed to Gûgâ (*gûgal*) in honour of the saint's present. Kachal's twins on growing up demanded a share of Gûgâ's inheritance, who refused it. They then went to the Emperor Aurangzeb (Naorang Shâh), and exaggerating the value of the property induced him to send a force to oust Gûgâ. The force was however defeated, and the brothers had to retreat to Bharêrâ in Bikanêr, where they settled. After a while they raided Gûgâ's cattle who were grazing in charge of a herdsman, Mohan, whose wife, finding out what had happened when she went to give her husband his dinner in the field, told the story to Gûgâ's mother. She roused her son from his siesta and told him the story. Gûgâ then went, and recovered his cattle after a bloody fight in which he himself killed Arjun with a lance and Sarjan with a sword. His own horse (? Javâdiâ) was cut in two, but he made it whole again by his miraculous powers. On his return home, very thirsty, his mother induced him to tell the story by withholding water from him, and when she heard that he had killed his brothers with his own hand, she cursed him, and bade him "See her face no more." Gûgâ then went into the desert, and besought mother earth to receive him, but the earth refused as he was a Hindu.[20] He thereupon repeated the Muhammadan creed (*kalima*), and immediately "sank into her womb." This place now called Guggâ Morî is 24 miles from Sirsâ. Annual fairs are held here and at Dadrerâ, his birthplace, on *Bhâdoṅ sudî ashtamî* and *naumî* (Aug.-Sept.), and are largely attended by pilgrims from the North-West Provinces and the Panjâb. A further tale about Gûgâ current is—that he was faithful for 12 years[21] to his wife after his death, and visited her every night, but one night his mother discovering this upbraided him with want of filial affection, whereon he disappeared and was seen no more.

This legend appears to me to be pure fiction founded much on the lines of that first given, but there is an astounding difference in dates—Mahmûd of Ghazni lived A. D. 980-1030 *circ.* and Aurangzeb A. D. *circ.* 1658-1707.

The Ambâla account, pretty correctly recorded by Wynyard in his Settlement Report, 1859, paras. 113, 122, 131 and pp. 25-27, is substantially as follows. Gogâ Pîr was a Chauhân Râjpût of Gur-dâ-Dêra[22] in the Sirsâ district and third son of Râjâ Ganga. Hindus and Musalmâns alike worship him on *Bhâdoṅ badî naumî* at his various shrines with flags, money and sweetmeats: his worshippers are however all of the lowest classes, sweepers, carriers, potters and so on. High poles with blue and white flags, peacock's feathers, etc. on them, are raised in his honour and carried about, and the objects of worshipping are—to avoid being killed by snakes, to procure male offspring, and fulfilment of certain wishes. The belief in his power over snakes is universal, and is alluded to in the *mantra*. The origin of the numerous shrines in his honour is said to arise in the gratitude of those whose desires he has accomplished. These are attended by Bhagats or priests, who are self-elected and confirmed in the priesthood at the Gur-dâ-Dêrâ shrine! Wynyard adds that Musalmans say he was a follower of Rathan Hâjî, who is not known to me, and whose name sounds mythical if not an impossible combination.

[18] I cannot find any mention of this chief nor of any chief of Bagar now or in ancient times in Bikanêr or in Bhatnêr. The Chauhâns apparently never held sway in Bikanêr.

[19] This adoration by a mother for 12 years of a particular saint in the hope of getting a son is common in tales, and is probably based on the 12 years' apprenticeship a novice is supposed to undergo before he can become a saint or jogî.

[20] *i. e.* being a Hindu, he should have been burnt, not buried.

[21] See above for note on this term of 12 years.

[22] Gur-dâ-dêrâ does not exist *in fact*: probably Guggâ Morî is meant, or perhaps Dadrerâ.

From Wynyard's accounts of the Raipûr Râos of the Ambâla district (pp. 25-27, paras. 113 and 131) we get at a date for Guggâ. One Râṇâ Harâ, probably one of the Harâ Râjpût chiefs,[23] conquered Sambhal in the Morâdâbâd district, and from him are descended the Raipûr Râjpûts, whose chief is still a man of standing. According to the Sambhal Bhâṭs,[24] Râo Nathâ Singh, who died in 1854, was 26th from Harâ Râṇâ, which makes his time A. D. 1150 or thereabouts, and from other parts of Wynyard's accounts two other dates are possible for Harâ Râṇâ, viz. A. D. 1386 and A. D. 1400. Râṇâ Gaṅga, Guggâ's father, is made to predecease Râṇâ Harâ, and so Guggâ's date is thus made to correspond somewhat to Tod's account.

The worship of Guggâ has penetrated into the Himâlayas, and in the Kângrâ district the lower classes, as elsewhere, make pilgrimages to his shrines. This *jâtrâ* or pilgrimage is performed in honour of some vow being fulfilled, but not otherwise. The successful suppliant collects as many people as he can afford, and takes them on a pilgrimage to some shrine of Guggâ, and there entertains them at his own cost. This custom is taken advantage of by the more frolicsome of the women when tired of their home life. I give here a well-known catch sung in the Kângrâ district to illustrate this:—

Asáṅ Gugge diyá játrá jo jáná, sohnióṅ ní !
Asáṅ Gugge diyá játrá jo jáná, bo !
Baṭṭá bich bahí karí gallán, bo, jo karnián,
Sárá dukh chite dá miṭṭáná, sohnióṅ ní !
Asáṅ Gugge diyá játrá jo jáná, bo !

These lines I would translate metrically as follows to give the spirit of them:—

Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Guggâ !
Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Guggâ !
Sitting by the roadside and meeting half the nation,
Let us soothe our hearts with a little conversation.
Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Guggâ !

Fallon in his *New Hind. Dict.* art. بھگوان gives a proverb about Gûggâ worth quoting here: *Guggá bará ke Bhagwán?* 'Is God or Guggâ greatest?' i. e. both must be worshipped.

Lastly the Firozpûr legend of Guggâ and no doubt that referred to in this *mantra* is as follows. He was a Musalman faqîr and a Chauhân Râjpût by birth. He was a follower of Gorakhnâth, from whom he learnt the art of charming snakes, and finally turned into a snake and disappeared into the earth. He is however said to have burnt so many families of snakes that the remainder have vowed to leave any place on mention of his name. In the Panjâb many of the Chauhân Râjpûts are low-caste Musalmans employed as fishermen, etc., who say they have no connection with the Râjpûts proper. This accounts for Guggâ being called a Musalman faqîr, but says nothing for their non-Râjpût origin, as the Panjâbî M e u ṅ s, who are precisely similarly placed, say they have no connection with the M ô o s of the Mêwât, which is no doubt untrue.

I think there is little doubt that the true legend, or at any rate the most probable, is Tod's, and that we must place Guggâ about A. D. 1000. The others seem to me to be clear inventions, especially the one which makes him a follower of Gorakhnâth, who appears to have lived some 400 years after him. The portions of his modern cult, which make him a performer of vows and a giver of sons, are common to all saints, and the ones peculiar to him, *viz.*, the power over snakes and his heroic acts, are directly traceable to his supposed following of Gorakhnâth and the legend of his defence of his country against Mahmûd. At one time I thought Guggâ must have been a Bhagat, but I do not now think this possible or likely, as there is no mention of him in the *Âdi Granth* or in the *Janam Sákhí* of the Sikhs or in the *Bhaktamálá*, and had he been a Bhagat of any celebrity he could not have failed to find a place in one or other of these works.

Gorakhnâth, whom Guggâ is universally supposed to have followed, was one of the nine *náths* or *gurús* of the Jogis and was a contemporary of Kabîr, Nâmdev, Dhannâ, Ravidâs, Pîpâ and other reformers of mediæval India. Râmânand, whose disciples Kabîr and the others are said to have been, flourished, we know, about 1400 A. D., and Kabîr's date is well known, as he lived in the reign of Sikandar Shâh Lodi, 1488-1512. So that if Tod is right in placing Guggâ in Mahmûd's time, his being a follower of Gorakhnâth is a manifest impossibility. Why Gorakhnâth is so universally credited with power over snakes I do not know, as he seems to have been merely the Brâhmaṇical opponent of the free-thinking doctrines of Kabîr and his sect In the *Janam Sákhí* or *Life of Bábá Nának* there is an account of a meeting between the Bâbâ and Gorakhnâth, and Dr. Trump has remarked in a footnote (*Âdi Granth*, p. xxxvi) that this was impossible as they were not contemporaries. This does not, however, seem to be correct, as Bâbâ Nânak lived A.D. 1469–1538, (see *Âdi Granth*, pp. xxvi, xliii, cxix, 3, 93, 127).

Kár, Panj., a charmed circle. The *kár* is a circle drawn round a person by way of protection. The term is employed frequently to invoke protection and is in every-day use; it constantly

[23] I cannot however trace this chief in Tod's *Râjasthân*.

[24] Râjpût Court singers and repositories of the family history of Râjpût Chiefs.

occurs in charms and *mantras*. *Gurû Nânak*[25] *terî kâr* or *Bhâî Phêrû têrî kâr*.—'Gurû Nânak protect you,' or 'Bhâî Phêrû protect you,' are common Sikh exclamations on seeing one of those "devils" or small sand-whirlwinds so common in Sindh and the Panjâb. The exclamation is used much in the same way as a Roman Catholic peasant would cross himself or mutter a *paternoster* on seeing some repulsive sight, and corresponds to the Muhammadan *lâhaul parhnâ* (God forbid !).

In these *mantras*, *kâr* occurs again in the same sense as here, and also obviously as the charmed circle, for in *Mantra* 4, we have *Jo hamrî kâr na mâne galle vich kâr*, "Who disregards our charmed circle let him dissolve in the circle." The idea is that no outsider can enter the *kâr* to injure the person round whom it is drawn. The word *kâr* is apparently purely Panjâbî, and I can find no trace of it in Hindî. There is also no mention of it in the Hindustani or Panjâbî dictionaries at my disposal. In Sansk. we have *kârâ*, root doubtful, a prison:—the root *kaṭ* means to surround, whence *kaṭaka*, a zone, Hindî *kaṛâ* and *kaṛî*, ring, bracelet: so perhaps the word is of Prakrit origin. To illustrate *kâr* and the idea it conveys to the modern native, I may as well relate the following:—There was a wandering painter going about the streets of Firozpûr with what he called "pictures illustrating Hindu classical subjects." These were gaudily coloured in a style not fit to be seen in our nurseries in England and wholly devoid of perspective. They were painted on any paper the man could get—backs of accounts, &c. One was on an old Commissariat account during the Mutiny, and another on a native soldier's kindred roll. However, they were readily bought by the lower classes of natives who took great interest in them, and understood them at once. One which I bought for half an anna (three farthings) represented the abduction of Sîtâ by Râvaṇa, an episode in the *Râmâyaṇa*. In the distance, *i. e.* at the top of the picture, are Râma and Lakshmaṇa hunting a stag, who is characteristically jumping over the tops of the trees. In the foreground is Râvaṇa dressed up partly as a Sikh and partly as a Bairâgî mendicant, enticing Sîtâ to come out of her house and *across the kâr* by asking her for alms. She is dressed as a Panjâbî woman, and is coming out of the house with a bowl of food. The *kâr* is represented by a strong red-line round the house *and* Sîtâ. Its purport is unmistakeable if one reads the account in the *Râmâyaṇa* and compares it with the above description. The "learned" in Firozpûr among the Brâhmaṇs say that the *kâr* on that particular occasion was merely a line across the door, and that *kâr* represents the classical *rekhâ*, a line, but that is impossible, and its derivation must be looked for from *kârâ*, a prison.[26]

Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 88, quoting Al-Idrîsî, who wrote in Sicily at the Court of Roger II. (Elliot, p. 74) in the beginning of the 11th century, on the country of the Balharâ, makes a remark which evidently refers to the custom of the *kâr*. "The Indians are naturally inclined to justice and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well known, and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side, hence the country is flourishing and their condition prosperous. Among other characteristic marks of their love of truth and horror of vice the following is related. When a man has a right to demand anything of another, and he happen to meet him, he has only to draw a circular line upon the ground, and to make his debtor enter it which the latter never fails to do,[27] and the debtor cannot leave the circle without satisfying his creditor and obtaining remission of the debt."

(2.) CHARM FOR TOOTHACHE.

Jhâṛâ jâhaṛ dî pîr dâ yâ Jhâra[28] *ghuṇândre*[29] *dâ.*

Kâlâ kîṛa kajlâ[30] batîs dant chare,[31]
Barkat Shekh Farîde kâlâ kîṛa vich mare.
Huddâ[32] Pîr Ustâd dâ, ik, do, tin, châr, panj, chhi, sat,
Foh[33] ! Foh ! Foh !

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[25] Gurû Nânak was the great saint and founder of the Sikh religion. Bhâî Phêrû and Bhâî Bîrsingh mentioned in a later *mantra* are celebrated Sikh saints or holy men. Phêrû lived about 65 years ago, in Sirdâr Shâmsingh's time, and his tomb, much reverenced, is in the village of Mîânke, *tahsîl* Chûniâṅ, district Lâhor. After him is named Phêrûshahr, the celebrated battlefield called by Europeans Ferozeshah; heaven only knows why, perhaps because of its proximity to Firozpûr! *Bhâî* is a title given to the disciples of the Sikh Gurûs, and *bhâî* or *granthî* is also the title of the men who sit at the public free inns or *dharmśâlas* and read the *Âdi Granth* or sacred book of the Sikhs.

[26] I referred the point to Dr. Hoernle who kindly considered it, and says he has no doubt this is its origin.

[27] On this custom see *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 267 and references there given.—ED. *I. A.*

[28] *Jâhaṛ* for *dâhaṛ* Panj. a molar tooth, tusk. Cf. Sansk. and Pâlî *daśana*, *das*, *danś* whence also *danshtra* a large tooth, tusk. Prakrit *dâḍha*, a tooth. *j* for *d* is not uncommon. Cf. *Tasrat* for Dasrat = Dasaratha, the father of Râmachandra.

[29] *Ghuṇândrâ*, *ghuṇâhdâ*, *ghuṇâṇdâ*, *ghuṇâḍhâ*, Panj. the tooth weevil—the weevil supposed to cause toothache. *Ghuṇ*, Sansk. and Panj., *ghun*, Hindi, a weevil, also the dust caused by a weevil in wood.

[30] *Kajlâ*, lampblack applied to the eyes. Sansk. *kajjala*, Panj. *kajjal*, Hindi *kâjal*, *kâjar*, *kajrâ*.

[31] *Chare*, feeds on; *charnâ*, to graze.

[32] *Huddâ*, Panj., corruption of the Arabic *'ohda*, a word in common use in India, commission, occupation, office, charge, here meaning order. Similarly Panj. *huddêdâr*, Hindost. *'ohdedâr*, officer.

[33] *Foh*, *foh*, *foh*, represent three powerful puffs with the breath to drive out the weevil. This charm is repeated as often as necessary till the toothache disappears.

Charm for Toothache, or *the Tooth-weevil*.

Weevil, dark as lamp black, eating two and thirty teeth,

By the blessing of Shekh Farîd, black weevil in the midst will die.

By the order of the Teacher Saint, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven,

Foh! Foh! Foh!

This mantra turns on the superstition that toothache is caused by a weevil which eats into decayed teeth and destroys them as a weevil will produce powder in wood. The blackness of decayed teeth is said to be caused by the black colour of this weevil. The object of this charm is to kill the weevil by invoking Shekh Farîd.

Shêkh Farîdâ or Farid, Farîd Shakar Ganj, Bâwâ Farîd, Shekh Farîdu'd-dîn, was a celebrated saint of the Sûfî or free-thinking sect of Muhammadans. He is well known in Central India, the Panjâb and elsewhere. He was a contemporary of Bâbâ Nânak, the founder of the Sikh religion, and in the Panjâb is worshipped by all classes and creeds, Sikhs, Hindus, Musalmans and sweepers. He appears as a kind of *deus ex machinâ* in many folk-tales (*vide* Miss Stokes's *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 95 and 271) and there is any quantity of stories about his miraculous powers. Farîdkôṭ,[34] a small Independent State in the Panjâb, is named after him in consequence of the following legend. Some 300 years ago, at the building of the Fort of Farîdkoṭ, sufficient coolies were not forthcoming, so forced labour was ordered. Bâwâ Farid was among those impressed, and was told off to carry a basket of wet mud to the top of the wall. As he went up the ladder the basket went up with him, suspended in air four feet above his head. The workmen took him to the Râjâ reporting the miracle, and Farîd was at once released. The Saint on leaving the Fort by the North Gate wiped his wet muddy hands against the trunk of a *pilû* tree (*ban, quercus arcana*) which was standing there, and the marks are still to be seen. The tree has ever since been visited by devout Hindus and Musalmans, as it has the miraculous power of granting sons to expectant parents, and round it has been built a temple (*mandir*), resorted to on Thursdays by Muhammadans and Hindus alike.

Farîdî is the name for a preparation of sugar made in Farîd's honour, and set aside for him (Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.*). This custom has arisen from the supposed power of Shekh Farîd to turn stone into sugar whence his title of Shakar Ganj or Ganj Shakar, "Treasury of Sugar." Farîd had, besides the power of granting sons above referred to, the power of giving a quick delivery to women in childbirth, from which arose another custom in the North-West Provinces of inscribing his name with a couplet on an earthen plate (*chapnî, ḍhaknî, jhapnî, chấprîn* or *chappṇî*) and placing it on the woman's head. The couplet or charm is as follows:

Likhkar chapnî sir par dharî
Nikal paṛâ yâ nikal paṛî.

"The inscribed plate is placed upon her head, come fairy boy or fairy girl!" (Fallon. Art. چپني). There is a tomb to Shêkh Farîd at Pâk Paṭṭan in the Panjâb and I believe also one somewhere in Central India. The *Târîkh Makhzan Panjâb*, a local vernacular work in the form of a Gazetteer containing much curious information about the Panjâb, says, "about the commencement of the 6th century Hijarî (*circ.* A. D. 1200) Shêkh Farîdu'd-dîn Ganj Shakar Chishtî went to Pâk Paṭṭan from Hânsî (in the Hisâr district, Panjâb), and converted the people to Muhammadanism. The name of the place was then changed from Ajodhan to Pâk Paṭṭan (? the Holy Bridge). The saint died and was buried there, and the place was freed from Government rent in consequence of the presence of this tomb." And again, "every year five days after the Moharram there is a grand fair at Pâk Paṭṭan in the Saint's honour, when the Heavenly Gate, which is one of the gates of the shrine, is opened," the superstition being that whoever goes through this gate on this particular day will secure a place in heaven.

Mr. Tolbort (*District of Lûdiânâ—J. A. S. B.*, 1869) gives the Lûdiânâ version of the above story, placing Shekh Farîd in A. D. 1251, which is, I think, manifestly too early. His story is (p. 90):—"About the year 1308 Saṁvat, there was a Râjâ of Jaysalmîr and Bhaṭnêr, named Dulchî Râm or Bersî. His ancestor, Râjâ Mokal, had built a fort called after himself where Farîdkoṭ now is. Mokal's servants inadvertently seized the famous saint Farîdu'd-dîn Shakar Ganj, whose shrine is still at Pâk Paṭṭan, and compelled him to labour. On discovering the saintly character and miraculous powers of his workman, Râjâ Mokal called the city by his name, Farîdkoṭ. Dulchî Râm had a son, Tulsîdâs, who came in the direction of the Panjâb to see Farîdkoṭ. At that time Sayyid Makhdûm Jahâniyân resided at Jaysalmîr, and through his influence Tulsîdâs embraced Islâm and assumed the name of Shekh Châchû." Though it is quite possible a Râjpût came to found the modern Farîdkoṭ in 1250 A.D. (Griffin, *Râjâs of the Panjâb*, pp. 2-4), there was no

[34] For an account of the Farîdkoṭ State see Griffin's *Râjâs of the Panjâb*, pp. 546, 566.

Farîdkoṭ properly to speak of till the 16th century (Griffin, pp. 456-8), and there is little doubt that Farîd should be placed with Bâbâ Nânak A.D. 1500, and if Sayyid Makhdûm Jahâniyân is Makhdûm Bahâu'd-dîn (or Bahâu'l-haqq) of Multân, his date is the same.[35]

There is still a body of Faqîrs in the Panjâb called the Farîdîs or Shekh Farîdîs, who profess to be followers of this saint.

Farîd had a good deal to do with Bâbâ Nânak and the *Âdi Granth*, and this fixes his date in the latter half of the fifteenth century A. D. Dr. Trump (*Âdi Granth*, introd., p. cxix) enumerates him as one of the Bhagats, who had a finger in that very miscellaneous pie, though *Bhagat* is a curious title to give a Muhammadan *Pîr*. The learned translator of the *Granth*, however, gives but little information regarding Farîd. In the *Janam-sâkhî* or life of Bâbâ Nânak the great Gurû is said to have met Farîd in the country of Âsâ, and pages of the book are taken up with their conversation and intercourse (see Trump, introd. *Âdi Granth*, pp. xxi—xxiv). Where Âsâ was is not now known: it probably means some district in the south of the Panjâb.

There are two short contributions of Farîd's to the *Granth* given at pp. 669-70 of Dr. Trump's translation, and one long one at pp. 685-694. They have no interest except from a linguistic point of view.

(3) CHARM FOR SCORPION-BITE.

Jhârâ bichhu de ḍaṅg[36] dâ.

Kâlâ bichhwâ kankarwâlâ,[37]
Ḍangoṅ putthâ[38] puchchhoṅ[39] kâlâ!
Sone dî garvî,[40] rûpe dâ parnâlâ![41]
Chhiṛ,[42] re bichhwe chhiṛ! âyâ Gorakhnâth dâ sâlâ.

Charm for Scorpion-bite.

Black scorpion of the stones.
Black-tailed and curved of sting!
Golden pot, silver spout!
Go, you scorpion, go! Gorakhnâth's friend has come.

In this charm the scorpion is supposed to be frightened into taking away the pain of his sting by the invocation of Gorakhnâth's friend, *i.e.* Guggâ.

Gorakhnâth dâ sâlâ is literally Gorakhnâth's brother-in-law, *i. e.* Gorakhnâth's friend, probably Guggâ. The term *sâlâ* is used in two very widely differing senses—ordinarily it is a term of the strongest abuse as implying the dishonour of the sister of the person to whom it is applied, but it is also used to imply the protection of some great man, and is then a term of high compliment as here, *Mat mâro, Tahsîldâr kâ sâlâ hai!* "Don't strike him, he is the Tahsîldâr's friend!" Dr. Fallon (*New Hind. Dict.*) quotes a proverb illustrating this use of *sâlâ*. *Râwan kâ sâlâ*, the brother-in-law of the great Râvaṇa,—said of one who tyrannizes under the protection of a powerful person.

Mr. S. R. Bunshah informs me that in Bombay the expression *Rânî kâ sâlâ*, *Rânî no sâlô*, and *Rânî châ sâlâ* (brother-in-law of the Queen) is often used vulgarly by the Muhammadan, Gujarâtî, and Marâṭhî-speaking portions of the community respectively, for one who acts unjustly and arbitrarily, without listening to reason —indicating that he is either a nominee, a favourite or a *protégé* of the Queen, whose action or decision cannot be appealed against.

(4). CHARM FOR HEADACHE.

Jhârâ sir pîṛ dâ.

Rakh, rakh, Allah Muhammad dî rakh!
Lohe dâ kôṭ,[43] samundar dî khâî,
Hanumân Paighambar têrî dohâî.
Sat Jinnât, Bâra Zât,
Hindgî, Musalmânî,
Sunâri, Chammârî,
Chûṛhî, Bâwarânî,
Mochan, Julâhan,
Gandhêlî, Sensiânî,
Qalandarânî, Mâchhiânî, hâzir!
Shâh Walî, hâzir kar!
Sawâ sêr dâ toshah agge,
Sawâ sêr dâ toshah pichchhe.

[35] Mr. Rehatsek (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, p. 154) says that in the *Akbar Nâmah*, vol. II, pp. 448 *seq.* Lithog. ed, printed by order of the Mahârâjâ of Pattiâlâ at Lucknow, there is an account of Shekh Farîd, but I have not been able to procure the book.

[36] *Dang* also *ḍaṅk*, the sting or bite of a scorpion or serpent; Hind. *ḍank*, Sansk. *danta*, *dañś*.

[37] *Kankar* properly a peculiar lime formation of the Indian soil; here any stone or pebble.

[38] *Puṭṭhâ*, Panj. subverted, curved, not straight (?) same as Hind. *pulṭâ* and *palaṭerâ*, which Dr. Fallon says are the Sansk. *parivrit* turned round, and whence also are the Pali *parivattati*, *parivatto* and *parivaṭṭo*: and *pulṭâ* and *puṭṭhâ* may be modern contractions of similar Prak. forms.

[39] *Puchchhoṅ*, *pûchh*, *puchchh*, *puchhal*, Panj. a tail. Sansk. *puchchha*, Hind. *puchchh*, *puchchhî*. The forms *dangoṅ* and *puchchhoṅ* are here used rhythmically for *ḍang* and *puchchh*.

[40] *Garvî* dim. of *garvâ*—Panj. and Hind. a waterpot. The *garvi* is a small *lôṭâ* or brass pot for water, whence *garvâî*, Panj. the person who accompanied the Sikh chiefs to the closet.

[41] *Parnâlâ* (Sansk. *pranâlâ*, a drain) Panj. the water-spout from the roof of a house. The golden pot and silver spout of this *mantra* is the same kind of nonsense as the golden candle, etc. mentioned above.

[42] *Chhiṛnâ*, Panj., *to go to pasture (of cattle). Here to* go off "Be off! Go!"

[43] *Lohe dâ kôṭ*, etc., *i. e.* the protection of God and Muhammad is like a rampart of iron with a moat as wide and deep as the ocean.

Bânsâ Rânî têrî dohâî,
Anârsingh Jodhâ têrî kâr,[44]
Bhâî Bîrsingh Jodhâ têrî kâr.
Jo hamri[45] kâr na mâne galle vich kâr![46]
Chal, re mantar! Phur wâz![47] mantar têrî kâr.

Charm for Headache.

The protection of God and Muhammad is round you!
A rampart of iron with moat like the ocean,
Hanumân, the Messenger, protects you.
Come you seven demons, come you women of the twelve castes,
Be you Hindu, Musalman,
Goldsmith, Leather-worker,
Scavenger, Bâwariâ,
Cobbler, Weaver,
Gandhêlâ, Sânsî,
Bearleader, Fishwife;
Shâh Walî make them come!
Two and a half pounds good food in front,
Two and a half pounds good food behind.
Bânsâ Queen protects you:
Anârsingh, the warrior, charms you,
Holy Bîrsingh, the warrior, charms you.
Who disobeys our charm, may he in the charm dissolve!
Work on, you charm! Act you voice! The charm charms you.

This is a characteristic *mantra*, and shows most of the peculiarities of the Sânsî superstitions. The invocations include all classes of saints and objects of worship, thus there are invoked Allah, Muhammad and the Jinns (Musalmân); Hanumân, Bânsâ Rânî and Anârsingh for Narasimha (Hindu); Bhâî Bîrsingh (Sikh). The charm mainly turns on the superstition that headache is produced by the malignant action of a *jinn* or of a *churêl*, popularly the ghost of a woman who dies in childbed. The demon or ghost is first invoked and then propitiated by a small offering of food.

Rakh, Hindi and Panjâbî, Panj. form also *rakhrî*, Sansk. *rakshâ* (cf. Hindi and Panj. *râkhâ*, a man sent to guard a field), in the Panjâb is a protecting amulet[48] consisting of a paper encased in silver or copper, and attached to an armlet worn on the upper part of the right arm as a protection against evil. On the paper are usually quotations from the *Ḳurân* or Hindu religious books, according to the faith of the wearer. Here the word means merely protection, like the Hind. *rakshâ*, which is taken direct from the Sansk. *rakshâ*, protection. Monier Williams (*Sansk. Dict.*) says of *rakshâ* or *rakshî* that it is a piece of thread or silk bound round the wrist on particular occasions, especially on the full moon of *Śrâvaṇa*, either as an amulet or preservative against misfortune, or as a symbol of mutual dependence, or as a mark of respect: among the Râjpûts it is sometimes sent by a lady of rank or family to a person of influence whose protection she is desirous of securing, and whom she thus adopts as it were as a male relation or brother. Fallon (*New Hind. Dict.*) says of it, "A red or yellow thread of silk or a tinsel bracelet bound round the waist of a brother, or sent him by his sister on the festival of Salono[49] or the full moon of *Sâwan*, as an amulet or preservative against misfortune, or as a symbol of mutual dependence, or as a mark of respect."

Tod was much taken with the Râjpût custom of the *rakhî*, and in his grandiloquent way he twice mentions it in the Annals of Mewâr; p. 263, (Madras ed.) of the *Râjasthân*, he says: "the festival of the bracelet (*rakhî*) is in spring, and whatever its origin, is one of the few when an intercourse of gallantry of the most delicate nature is established between the fair sex and the cavaliers of Râjasthân. Though the bracelet may be sent by maidens, it is only on occasions of urgent necessity or danger. The Râjpût dame bestows with the *rakhî* the title of adopted brother; and while its acceptance secures to her all the protection of a '*cavaliere servente*,' scandal itself never suggests any other tie to his devotion. He may hazard his life in her cause, and yet never receive a smile in reward, for he cannot even see the fair object who, as brother of her adoption, has constituted him her defender. But there is a charm in the mystery of such a connexion, never endangered by close observation, and the loyal to the fair may well attach a value to the further recognition of being the *Rakhîband Bhâî*, the 'bracelet-bound brother' of a princess. The intrinsic value of such a pledge is never looked to, nor is it requisite it should be costly, though it varies with the means and rank of the donor, and may be of flock silk and spangles, or gold chains and gems.

"The acceptance of the pledge and its return is by the *kâchlî* or corset of simple silk or satin or

[44] *Kâr*, see notes to 1st *mantra*.
[45] *Hamrî* for *hamârî*, our; this is not a Panjâbî, but a Pûrbiâ form.
[46] *Vich kâr*, i. e. *kâr vich*, in the circle.
[47] *Chal, re mantar! Phur wâz!* see 1st *mantra*.

[48] A vulgar Panjâbî word for this amulet is *tavit*,(?) a corruption of the Arabic *ta'avîz*, an amulet, charm.
[49] *Salono* is the day of full moon in the month of Sâwan (Panj. Sâûn), or our July-August.

gold brocade and pearls. In shape and application there is nothing similar in Europe, and as defending the most delicate part of the structure of the fair it is peculiarly appropriate as an emblem of devotion. A whole province has often accompanied the *kâchlî*, and the monarch of India (Humâyun) was so pleased with this courteous delicacy in the customs of Râjasthân, on receiving the bracelet of the Princess Karnâvati, which invested him with the title of her brother and uncle and protector of her infant Udaya Singh, that he pledged himself to her service even if the demand were the 'Castle of Ranthambor.' Humâyun proved himself a true knight, and even abadoned his conquests in Bengal when called to redeem his pledge, and succour Chittûr and the widows and minor sons of Sângâ Râṇâ. Humâyun had the highest proof of the worth of those courting his protection: he was with his father Bâbar in all his wars in India, and at the battle of Biânâ his prowess was conspicuous, and is recorded by Bâbar's own pen. He amply fulfilled his pledge, expelled the foe from Chittûr, took Mându by assault, and as some revenge for her king's aiding the king of Gujarât he sent for the Râṇâ Bikramajît (Karnâvati's son) whom, following their own notions of investiture, he girt with a sword in the captured citadel of his foe," all to redeem his *rakhî*! This was in the fifteenth century, and Tod writing in 1820 shows that the idea had lost nothing in strength three centuries later, for he adds in a footnote to the same page "many romantic tales are founded on the gift of the *rakhî*. I who was placed in the enviable situation of being able to do good, and on the most extensive scale, was the means of restoring many of these ancient families from degradation to affluence. The greatest reward I could, and the only one I would, receive was the courteous civility displayed in many of these interesting customs. I was the *Rakhîband Bhâî* of, and received the bracelet from, three queens of Udaypur, Bûndi and Koṭâ, besides Châṅdbâî, the maiden sister of the Râṇâ, as well as many ladies of the chieftains of rank with whom I interchanged letters. The sole articles of 'barbaric pearl and gold' which I conveyed from a country where I was six years supreme, are these testimonies of friendly regard. Intrinsically of no great value, they were presented and accepted in the ancient spirit, and I retain them with a sentiment the more powerful because I can no longer render them any service." At p. 498, on the customs of Mewar, he is less grandiloquent and gives more information: "The festival of the *rakhî*, which is held on the last day of Sâwan, was instituted in honour of the good genii when Durvâsas, the sage, instructed Salonî (the genius or nymph presiding over the month of Sâwan) to bind on *rakhîs* or bracelets as charms to avert evil. The ministers of religion and females alone are privileged to bestow these charmed wristbands. The ladies of Râjasthân either by their handmaids or the family priests send a bracelet as the token of their esteem to such as they adopt as brothers, who return gifts in acknowledgment of the honour. The claims thus acquired by the fair are far stronger than those of consanguinity. Sisters also present their brothers with clothes on this day, who make an offering of gold in return. This day is hailed by the Brâhmaṇs as indemnifying them for their expenditure of silk and spangles with which they decorate the wrists of all who are likely to make them a proper return."

Hanumân paighambar. Paighambar for *paighâmbar*: Pers. a messenger, a prophet, from *paighâm*, *paigâm* and *pagâm* a message, mission. It is entirely a Muhammadan word, and is used with regard to Muhammad and 'I s â (Christ) especially. Its application here to the monkey god, Hanumân, may arise from the legend that he was the spy of Râma when the latter was seeking for Sîtâ after her abduction by Râvaṇa, but it is much more likely that the ignorant bard merely intends it to be a sort of honorific title.

Dohâî, an exclamation, pity! mercy! a cry of grief or pain. = (?) Sansk. *dur* + *hâ*. Usually an exclamation by the weak against the strong as a sort of claim or demand for protection. *Dohâî mângnâ* to ask protection. Here the word is used directly to mean protection. *Âṅgrêz Bahâdur dî dohâî*.—I claim the protection of the English! A common expression of natives in court—also when oppressed by the rich and powerful. *Dohâî* also is used to express poetical justice, and the *dohâî* of several persons is proverbial in Indian history;—of Akbar for instance. In the Panjâb the *dohâî* of Mûlrâj, the powerful ruler of Mûltân in the earlier portion of this century, is celebrated and many stories regarding it are told. It is popularly said that no thief would plunder when Mûlrâj's *dohâî* was claimed, and regarding this the following story is commonly current in the Panjâb.

Mûlrâj's Dohâî.

A merchant once met a gang of robbers on the Mûltân road, who robbed him of everything he possessed. He called out "*Mûlrâj dî dohâî*," and they thereupon returned him everything, but conjured him not to tell Mûlrâj. The merchant, however, on his arrival in Mûltân, told Mûlrâj how he had been robbed, whereupon Mûlrâj made him point out the place where he had been robbed, and sent soldiers to catch the gang. The robbers

were duly caught and brought before Mûlrâj, but defended themselves by asserting that they had observed his *dohâî*, whereas, in not keeping the affair a secret, the merchant had not, and that in their opinion the merchant should be taught a lesson not to act in the same manner again. Mûlrâj thereupon directed that the whole of the property returned to the merchant by the robbers, should be given back to them.

Mûlrâj, like Akbar, is looked upon as a sort of peg on which to hang popular tales, and the following is another story of his *dohâî* or sense of poetical justice, for the historical truth of which I will not vouch.

Mûlrâj and his son.

Mûlrâj had a beautiful garden, in which was some fruit which he kept for himself, and his gardener was directed not to give it to any one on pain of death. His favorite son, a boy, however took some of it despite the cry of *Mûlrâj dî dohâî* from the gardener. When Mûlrâj heard of this he had his son executed, in order to preserve the sacred character of his *dohâî.*

The story has too much of the legend about it, and is too much like the old Roman legend of Brutus, to be easily swallowed.

Sat jinnât. Jinnât is the purely Arabic plural of *jinn*. This is an allusion to the seven kinds of *jinns*. *Bâra zât*: women especially of the twelve castes mentioned in the text, become malignant ghosts or *churêls* from dying *in bed* if Hindus, in *child-bed* if Musalmâns. Headache being popularly supposed to be caused by Jinns or Churêls, all the different kinds are now invoked. Why twelve castes are fixed on is not clear. The Settlement Report in a somewhat incomplete list of local castes mentions 21 Hindu castes in the district of Firozpûr, besides 32 "Muhammadan castes," and the "castes" here mentioned include Musalmâns and Hindus.

Hindgî, properly the Hindî language, is in the text used for *Hindnî* or *Hindunî*, a Hindu woman. This term and *Musalmânî* following will include most women in India. This list of castes however can hardly be taken to be anything more than purely imaginary, and of the list the S u n â r s and J u l â h â s[50] are low-caste Hindus; M o c h î s and M â c h h î s are low Musalmans; B â w a r i â s, G a n d h e l a s, and S â n s î s are Criminal Tribes; Q a l a n d a r s[51] are not very reputable Musalman religious mendicants; C h a m m â r s are a peculiar caste or race considered lower than the orthodox low-caste Hindus (see Monier Williams. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII, p. 209) and the C h û ṛ h s[52] are sweepers, outcasts, the lowest of the low. The M â c h h î s are low Muhammadan fishermen who will also turn their hand to most menial occupations as water-carriers (*bhishti*), grain parchers (*bhujwâ* and *bhâṛbhûnja*), messengers at marriages and deaths (*lâggi*), huntsmen (*shikâri*), &c. The Panjâbî M a l l â h s, *i. e.* boatmen, river-men, are divided into M â c h h î s, who fish with nets, and M ê û ṅ s, who fish with hooks. The following is a list of those ordinarily considered low-caste Hindus or Ś û d r a s in the Panjâb, many of the orthodox not including them among the Hindu people:—

1. S u n â r, goldsmith.
2. C h h î m b â, (dhôbi) washerman or dyer (also Musalman).
3. T a r k h â n, carpenter (also Musalman).
4. J u l â h â, weaver (also Musalman).
5. L ô h â r, blacksmith (also Musalman).
6. D a r z î, tailor.
7. N â î, barber; *bâlwar*, a very common term, is a corruption of the Eng. barber. Cf. *Khetar lain* the Cattle Lines. The corruption of *barber* into *bâlwar* was perhaps facilitated by the Hind. word for *hair* being *bâl*.
8. K a l â l, publican, seller of liquor (also Musalman).
9. K a m b ô, cultivators.
10. J â ṭ H i n d u, cultivators.

B â w a r i â from *bâwar*, a net for catching birds and small game. The Bâwariâs appear to be a separate tribe; they are one of the Criminal Tribes of the Panjâb, and live principally by what they can catch in the jangals; they are inveterate thieves. They call themselves Hindus of Râjpût origin, but this is doubtful, as they are popularly said to have a language of their own which other Panjâbîs profess not to understand.[53] Near cities they eke out a living in winter by the sale of firewood, some of them however are respectable enough, and own and cultivate land.

Mr. E. H. Brandreth, in the report above quoted, says (paras. 83 and 84):—"The Bâwarîs are nominal cultivators but professional burglars. They are the most skilful *khojîs* or trackers in the district. The system of tracking is carried on with very

[50] *Julâhâ*, a weaver. This is a trade rather than a caste: they are low-caste Hindus and Musalmâns.

[51] *Qalandars*, worthless Musalmân faqîrs who go about begging with monkeys and bears. They are very different from the world-forsaking *Qalandars* (calendars) of the books.

[52] *Chûṛh* and *chûṛhâ*, also *bhangî*, Panj.; a sweeper, scavenger: (honorifically *Mehtar, i. e., lit.* master). These are *the lowest of the low* and *eat all kinds of* animal food. Their saint is Guggâ. Among the Sikhs they are known as *Majbis* or *Mazbis* written in Persian (? incorrectly) *Mazhabi; Mâsbi*, Musalmân shoemaker.

[53] This however is very doubtful. *Vide* Dr. Leitner's pamphlet before quoted.

great success in this district, and is the principal means by which crimes of all sorts are detected. The Bâwaris are the most successful trackers, and every Bâwarî has more or less knowledge of the art, but it is also practised by other castes, and there are many Jaṭs who are very good trackers. It appears to me a most wonderful art. In almost every village there are one or two persons who have studied it. When a theft takes place the sufferer immediately sends for a tracker with whom he makes an agreement to pay him one or two rupees, and take his chance of the property being recovered, or to pay him a larger sum in the event only of its being found. It is in the case of cattle thefts that the tracking system is most successful. I suppose about half the stolen cattle are recovered in this manner. It must not be supposed, however, that half the number of thieves are also apprehended, for the practice of the cattle stealer is this. He drives the stolen animal as far as he thinks it safe to do so, and then ties it up in some desert spot, and leaves it there. After a few hours he returns to the spot: within that period it is decided whether the track has been lost or not. If the trackers are successful they come to the spot where the animal has been left and carry it back with them, but give themselves no trouble about the thief: if unsuccessful, the thief returns and appropriates it. The best *khojîs* however do not confine themselves to this species of tracking alone, they are able to recognise a man by his footprints. Where other people would study a person's face with the view of recognising him again, they study the print of his foot. I have met with some extraordinary instances of their knowledge in this respect. Only lately I committed a man to the sessions for the murder of a child for its ornaments who was detected solely by the impression of his feet being recognised. The head men of the village went with the tracker to the spot where the murder had been committed. He followed the tracks of the murderer to some distance towards the village, and at last said: 'These are evidently the footprints of so and so,' naming one of the residents of the village. The headman immediately went to the home of the person indicated, and found the ornaments buried in the wall. The man confessed his guilt. In taking his evidence I asked the tracker how he was able to recognise the prisoner by his footrints, his reply was that 'it would have been very strange if he had not, when he saw them every day of his life.'"

The skill of the trackers has in no way diminished since the above report was written, despite their ever-increasing enemy the metalled roads. Two Bâwariâs were detected in a theft lately in the Firozpûr Cantonment by a Bâwariâ *khojî*, who knew their tracks apparently as a matter of course. In a recent case of horse-stealing the prisoner in his confession said he had been advised to tie up the horse in the jangal, and regretted he had not followed the advice.

Gandhelâ, or Gandhîlâ, a wretched low wandering tribe of the Panjâb, usually described in the courts as "homeless sweepers." They are Musalmans of a very low order of intelligence, and in appearance more like beasts than men. They come principally from the Montgomery district, and are inveterate thieves, especially of dogs, which they eat. They will also eat animals that have died a natural death, and putrid flesh.

Shâh Walî is evidently some saint, and contraction for some other name.—*Shâh* and *Walî*, both being titles assumed by Muhammadan saints and faqîrs. But which saint is meant the narrator could not say. However, as he was a native of Firozpûr the chances are that the particular saint alluded to is Nûr Shâh Walî, a local saint of some celebrity whose tomb and shrine are in Firozpûr city. The tomb is an object of weekly adoration on Thursdays by the neighbouring inhabitants, and there is a yearly fair in the saint's honour soon after the Moḥarram. The following characteristic story about Nûr Shâh Walî current in the Firozpûr district and neighbourhood is worth recording as showing how living is the belief of the natives in saints and miracles, even in those which can but be referred a few years back.

Nûr Shâh Walî and Sir Henry Lawrence.

When Captain (afterwards Sir Henry) Lawrence first came to Firozpûr some 40 years ago the tomb of Nûr Shâh Walî was in a very dilapidated condition and the neighbouring houses bad and insanitary. Capt. Lawrence directed the whole of that portion of the city, including the tomb, to be levelled and cleared for new houses. The saint, however, appeared to Capt. Lawrence in the middle of the night, and tied him to his bed by strong cords, nor would he release him until he had promised to withdraw his order regarding the tomb. Next morning Capt. Lawrence went to the city, and ordered the Kotwâl to repair the tomb. Ever since then the English have been afraid to interfere with the tomb, though they have pulled down and cleared away all the houses in the neighbourhood.

The facts on which this is founded are, I believe, that Sir Henry Lawrence cleared away the houses in the neighbourhood of the tomb and had the tomb itself repaired and put in order as a sanitary

measure in consequence of the large quantities of people who frequented the place.

I may as well add another tale current in the Firozpûr neighbourhood, and thence I believe throughout the Panjâb, to illustrate the fact that legends of miracles are growing up around us every day in India.

A Story of Gurû Râmsingh, the Kûkâ.

About 1861 Râmsingh was employed in Firozpûr Arsenal as a foreman carpenter (*bhaṛ'âî mistrî*), and like all the other skilled workmen used to employ his Sunday holiday in working for the public. One Sunday he was employed as usual to put a roof on a poor man's house in Firozpûr city. One of the beams proved a foot too short, and the owner begged Râmsingh to remedy the defect without obliging him to buy a new beam, which was more than he could afford. Râmsingh thereupon kept the beam up, and behold! by his miraculous power, he had lengthened it to the required length without adding to it—the beam had in fact grown a foot. Râmsingh then gave up his trade and became a religious teacher, and founded the sect of the Kûkâs, obtaining 500 followers that very day.

Hundreds of persons in Firozpûr will attest the above tale, many being "eye-witnesses," and the house can be shewn to the curious. The name, Kûkâ, is said to mean "the Whisperers,"[54] from the whispering of the secrets of the religion into the ear. The Kûkâs are a sect of Sikhs and are purists in religion, aiming at the destruction of saint worship and the power of the Brahmans; they inculcate a belief in one God, a strict adherence to *truth* and the *Granth*, etc. In 1872 they took to murdering the Musalman butchers, which embroiled them with the British Government, and Râmsingh is now a political prisoner at Rangun. The Kûkâs are not now so numerous as they were a few years ago, but are still numerous enough about Amritsar, Lûdiâna, and elsewhere. In the Firozpûr Cantonment the gateways put up to protect the Butchers' Quarter during the Kûkâ scare were only pulled down this year.

Râmsingh was the son of Jassâsingh and came from Bhaini about 15 miles east of Lûdiânâ. He was born about 1815, and is a carpenter by trade. He served in the Sikh armies in 1844 and 1846, and about 1850 went to Râwal Pindî, where he became the disciple of an Udâsî faqîr named Bâlaksingh; in 1858 Râmsingh began to proselytize, and in 1860 Bâlaksingh died. At about the same time, as the Firozpûr story attests, Râmsingh founded his sect and assumed the priesthood. Tolbort, *District of Lûdiâna—J. A. S. Beng.* 1869, pp. 95-97.

The point of this charm is that a *ser* and a quarter[55] weight of sweetmeats is put down on the ground in two places, between which the persons invoked are supposed to have come in answer to the charm. They are then supposed to intercede the ghost or *chuṛêl*, causing the headache, to let the sufferer alone, and these lumps of food are ostensibly the offering to the intercessors (their *tôshah* or road expenses), but really constitute the fee of the charmer, who takes half or the whole of them as his perquisite. When he is satisfied with half only, the remainder is distributed to the lookers-on.

Bâṅsâ Râṇî, Queen of the Fairies, is worshipped in the Kâṅgrâ district as a goddess. Is she meant for one of the Vana-dêvatas or Forest Gods, or perhaps the name stands for *Vana Râjṇî*, Queen of the Forest, Panj. and Hind., *ban* a forest, Sansk. *vana*? Bâṅsâ Râṇî is worshipped at Kâṅgrâ as the goddess inhabiting the Bambu jangal (*bâṅs*) between the villages of Chaṛî and Rehlu near Dharmśâlâ and about 12 miles from Kâṅgrâ.

Anârsingh Jodhâ. *Jodhâ*, a warrior, for *Bahâdur*, is evidently an honorific term only. Anârsingh, Nârsingh and Narsingh is for Narasiṁha, the fourth *avatâr* of Vishṇû, the man-lion.

Bhâi Bîrsingh was a celebrated Sikh saint (see note on *kâr*, 1st *mantra*). His tomb known as *Bhâî Bîrsingh dî samâdh* (Sansk. *samâdhi* tomb) is at Muṭhâṅwâlâ, a village near the Nagar Bridge of Boats over the Satlaj (Gârâ) about 12 miles to the north-east of Firozpûr. The lands attached to it have been freehold since the days of Sardâr Shâmsingh, son of Sardâr Nihâlsingh, of Atârî near Amṛitsar (*circ.* 1810).

[54] Also "the Howlers," from the noisy ecstasies of these sectarians. *Kûk* means a cry in Hindi. and Panj.

[55] *Sawâ sêr*, lit. $1\frac{1}{4}$ *sêrs* = $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. 1 *sêr* = 2 lbs. *Tôshah*, also *tôshâ*, travelling expenses: here the money paid in charity, the allusion being to *parlok dâ tôshâ* (*lit.* travelling expenses to the next world), good works, charity, almsgiving, thank-offerings of food, etc. This is a common notion in the Panjâb.

Mil matte gal samjhâe; hukum sharâ dâ râh batâe.
Mattîn dîn, "Khairâyat changî 'âqibat pâr langhâve.

"The matter was considered together in council, and the way of the law explained.

"The council was given, charity is best to pass into the next world."—*Songs of Sakhî Sarwar.*

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(*Continued from p. 24.*)

CRIERS.

It is difficult to draw the line between the vagrant and the petty hawker, as the pursuits of the habitual vagrant are of the most varied character. One day he is a beggar, another he is a crier. To deal comprehensively with all the deceptions and designs of these rascals, there is hardly any human suffering or passing calamity of any magnitude which they do not endeavour to turn to advantage.

LEECH SELLERS.

These are Mahârs, Mângs, or Musalmans. They hawk about the town or squat by the way-side. When on the move they cry aloud *Lagâv jalu jokh*, meaning 'Apply leeches.' When a person requires leeches he purchases them from the hawker at the rate of from two to three annas per dozen, and applies them either himself or with the aid of a servant or relative; meanwhile the hawker goes away for a time, or waits till the leeches have dropped off, and been returned to him; he then draws off the blood by pricking them with a needle, washes them, and replaces them in a piece of cloth containing wet earth. When this is done, he buries the blood in the ground, receives his payment, and departs. People of the higher castes, or in easy circumstances, do not use leeches that are hawked about by the street criers, but obtain them from a Muhammadan who keeps a shop on the Kâlkâdêvî road, and pay about an anna for each. This shop has been here for upwards of 50 years, but the business dates from the time of the present owner's great-grandfather—now 108 years ago. When a Hindu female requires leeches, a Muhammadan woman applies them, if she objects to a male doing so, for a Hindu has no objection to a Muhammadan touching him. The Muhammadan leech-seller follows the same course after they have been made over to him as his fellow professionals the Mahârs and Mângs, for no Hindu will allow his blood to be thrown to dogs or on the road.

LEMONADE AND SODA-WATER HAWKERS.

These are both Muhammadans and Marâṭha-Hindus. The time of hawking is from 11 a.m. to 12 p.m. The most favourable time for them is the hot season. They make from two to four annas per day as gain, and on this they maintain themselves. Carrying their baskets on their heads, they sell the contents of their bottles at half an anna each. Each Muhammadan hawker takes a tumbler in his basket. The Hindu hawker scarcely ever does so, since Hindus object to drinking from tumblers polluted by the touch of others. The hawker uncorks the bottle and hands it to his customer, who empties it without touching his lips with the bottle, for if it did so, the bottle would be polluted, and not fit for another Hindu to use.

COCOANUT SELLERS.

These, male and female, are Marâṭhâs by caste, and start on their selling expedition early in the morning. Amongst them are Salsette and Bandora Christians, known as Gâondekars, or villagers. The Gâondekars come from Mâhim, and the Mâhim cocoanuts which they sell are considered superior to those brought from other places. The cocoanuts are fresh, and the rind is removed before they are hawked for sale in the baskets which the vendors carry on their heads. These baskets contain from 20 to 50 cocoanuts, and the price of each cocoanut varies from 8 pies to one anna. The Gâondekar cries *Zia rê Mâimi nârôl*, 'Have Mahim cocoanuts.' The cry of the Hindu hawker is *Ghyâ rê Nârêl*, or simply *Nârêl*. When the vendor is called to a house, the purchaser selects the largest and best of the cocoanuts, then he shakes each close to his ear, in order to hear the sound of the water within, which is always distinctly audible when the cocoanut is good. If no noise is heard it is pronounced to be *muka* 'dumb,' and *jad* 'heavy,' is returned as unripe, or as not having attained the desired perfection. The selected cocoanuts having been paid for, and the basket put on his head, the hawker is off again with the usual cry for further sale. The Gâondekar's labour stops by 10 or 11 o'clock, as by that time she has disposed of all her goods.

The Marâṭhâs purchase cocoanuts from *vakhârs* or stores in different parts of the market. The *vakhârs* contain both Mâhim and Kâlikoṭi (Calicut) cocoanuts, but the Marâṭhâ

hawker gives preference to the Kâlikoṭi ones, because, being inferior, they are cheaper, the price of one ranging between 4 to 8 pies. There is no certainty of their always being found fresh and good when broken. The higher castes and better classes of Hindus always buy the Mâhim cocoanuts, as they yield a comparatively large supply of what is called "milk" when scraped into fine particles on an instrument (*khaoni*) for the purpose. When this is done, the pulp called *choya*, is ground on a stone called *páṭá*, when a quantity of 'milk,' a white oily substance, is obtained. There is scarcely a dish cooked amongst the well-to-do Bombay Hindus, in which this 'milk' does not find a place. Cocoanuts are used throughout India, and the milk is put in dishes cooked by Hindus, Europeans, Portuguese, Muhammadans and Pârsis. The cocoanut is broken into two equal pieces with a hatchet or other instrument, but often on a stone.

Kâlikôṭ cocoanuts are generally given as presents to Brâhmaṇs by the Hindus, and to women who have been paying a visit at the house, and offered to gods at the time of *pújá*, which subsequently are taken away by the *Upádhyá* after the *pujá* is over.

No Hindu will take off the stalk of the cocoanut—that by which it had clung to the tree; if this be cut off, the cocoanut is considered as impure, and it cannot therefore be used for *pujá* or given away as a present to another, though with feelings akin to dissatisfaction, he may not object to its use in his own house. When a cocoanut is deprived of this appendage, it is called *mundá* or 'bald,' and styled an outcaste. When one Hindu sends another a present of fruit, or of anything else, the party receiving the gift places a cocoanut in the plate when returning it, rather than return it empty.

The majority of the Gâondekar hawkers are Bhandâris or toddy-drawers, and the business of selling goes on all the year round. These people are generally poor. The sons or husbands of a few are employed as clerks, but the majority of the men and women work as grass-cutters, cart-drivers and cultivators. The Marâṭha hawkers, in addition to selling cocoanuts, have shops where they sell vegetables, and generally they are better off than their brethren the Gâondekars. They spend their afternoons or evenings at the *vakhárs* at which they haggle for the purchase of cocoanuts for next day's supply.

"The cultivation of the two principal products in the *bágáyat* or garden land, viz. cocoanut and betelnut, is as follows:—After the nuts have become quite ripe, which is ascertained when they fall of themselves to the ground, they are buried about two feet in the soil, which is previously loosened and levelled, and after the plants are a year old they are transplanted, and buried about two feet deep. The soil is then enriched by mixing up with it salt and *nágli* (*cynosurus corocanus*). The chief thing afterwards is the watering, and great expense has to be gone to in making wells and watercourses, and wheels. After the 8th, 9th, or 10th year, the trees commence to bear, yielding twice a year, and sometimes thrice: 120 cocoanuts and 250 supâris is about the annual average produce of each tree. A great many cocoanut trees are also tapped: the toddy is extracted by cutting off the tops of the young shoots when they are little more than two feet long, and tying them very tight at intervals of a few inches. The trees tapped, while the juice is extracted, yield no cocoanuts. The instrument for cutting the shoot is called *áut*. It is as sharp as a razor. The juice of the tree drops into an earthen vessel which hangs on the top of the shoot, and is emptied every morning and evening into a calabash, which the Bhandâri carries up the tree, hanging it behind him on a hook. A sêr and a half is about the average daily quantity extracted from each tree. The *táḍî* is mostly made into liquor; a little of it being sold in a raw state. Bhandâris are expert in climbing cocoanut trees. No string is used as is the custom in some parts of Bombay and the Northern Konkan, but they ascend by means of notches cut in the trunk of the tree about 2½ ft. apart. The calabash into which the *taḍi* is emptied is hung on a hook which is tied to the waist."

Bangle Sellers.

These are Hindu coppersmiths by caste. They go about the town with a small-sized box tied up in a piece of cloth, and slung across the shoulders, containing glass bangles—both Chinese and country-made. Most of these men are in easy circumstances. They go about from

noon to 5 p.m., and cry out in a long smart voice *Chinaî bângḍi* (China bangles). They buy their stock from a store. Some of these men own houses in Bombay or the Mufasal.

Bangles are of seventy-five kinds, and they vary in price from half an anna to nine rupees per dozen, according to the degree of estimation in which they are held. Their names are:—*Gajarâ*[1]—like a flower wreath, *Raśî*—out of a heap, *Bilorî*—made of glass, *Râjawargî*—royal sort, *Kâpîva*—cut ones, *Nâgmoḍi*[2]—like a serpent's walk, *Jarîbuṭî*—gold embroidery, *Ice-cream*—so called from their colour, *Kolâvâṭar* (*Eau de Cologne*)—also named from the colour, *Morapîsi*—of peacock's feather colour, *Anâr, Motiâ, Pistâi, Zirmi, Soneri, Hirvâ, Khulâ-Motiâ, Pivlâ, Kâchê-Kairi, Piroz, Dâlambi, Khulâ-Dâlimb, Galâs, Nâringi, Sâkaryâ, Asmâni, Moti-Kâpiva, Parvâri, Kâjali, Pârvâ, Popati, Kâpiv-duchyâ, Khulâ-pistâî, Champâ, Anâras, Châi, Hiravâ, Ghâs, Gandaki, Kânji, Ambâli, Khulâ-Kirmij, Nârangi, Khulâ-ice-cream, Tulsi, Gulâb, Khulâ-morpisi, Lemonade, Phul-gulâb, Dagdi-asmâni Kâthva, Khulâ-phul-gulâb, Vâlshet, Dagdi-ballu, Hândi-gâlâs, Taktaki, Nuri, Kairi-popti, Râtâ, Gulâb, Mulichâ-kolâ, Tâmbdâ, Morchut,* and *Gulkhâr*.

The lowest class or *Raśî* bangles can be had at half an anna a dozen, and the highest, *Râjavargî*, at nine rupees per dozen, and the other sorts at from eight to twelve annas. The bangles are put on the wrists of females by the hawkers, some of whom from long experience can manipulate the hand in a way that enables them to put on the smallest bangles that can possibly go over the hand. Women of course like the well-fitting bangles better than those which are larger and easily slipped on. It is understood that if a bangle breaks while the hawker is putting it on, the loss is his. After her wrists have been encircled with them, the woman pays the value, bows to the hawker, and retires. It is the custom among the Hindu women after childbirth (when she is unclean for 40 days), to put on new bangles in place of the old ones. This they call *Bâlant chuḍâ* (confinement bangles). At such seasons a present called *tali* is made to the hawker, consisting of from one to four sêrs of rice, betelnut and leaves called *vidâ*, a cocoanut, and from four annas to one rupee or upwards in money. This of course more than covers the value of the bangles, for the better sort are not used on this occasion; when the bangles have been put on, and the present placed on a plate before the hawker for his acceptance, the woman as usual bows to the hawker with her hands joined, and withdraws. But before withdrawing, she receives a benediction from his mouth, in these terms:—"May you remain a married woman for ever!" meaning thereby that she may die a married woman and even in a future birth may never become a widow. The hawker is looked upon by the woman almost in the light of a parent, inasmuch as he furnishes her with what is the badge of a married woman. No Hindu woman will ever say that she bought the bangles on her wrists, or that she paid for them, for who can fix the price of a married woman's bangles? In like manner if a Hindu female pleads on her husband's behalf, she will beg to make her *Chuḍêdân*, that is, save her bangles. But however dear her bangles may be to her, and though considered meritorious to be worn by her sex, they are nevertheless broken on her very wrists, and cast away or carried along with the hair of her head, tied in her bodice when the remains of her husband are being removed from the house, and she becomes a widow! No one ever sees a Hindu married female with bare wrists so far as bangles are concerned. Should these by some accident be broken from either wrist she forthwith covers it, so that nobody may see her bare wrist or become aware of her misfortune, and she will not even taste water until she makes good her loss. The bangles put on the wrists at marriage are called *Lagna chuḍâ*.

HAWKERS OF PISTACHIOS, APRICOTS, &c.

The hawkers of these are both Musalmans and Hindus (Banyans). They deal in Persian dried fruits. They cry: *Badâm, pistâ, akhrud,* &c. Some keep shops about Bhulêśwar, Mumbâdevî, the Market, &c. They also sell mangoes of superior sort when these are in season, English apples, &c. Among them is an old Mussalman, who, while hawking about, sings a song of his own composition and repeats each verse at short intervals. He deals mostly in pistachios dipped in salt, and parched. The song he sings is:—

खारा पिस्ता भुंजेला,
मगजना फाटेला,

[1] *Gajarâs* are of eight kinds.

[2] Nâgmods are of four kinds.

दुनीयाना सुधरेला,
सुरतथी आवेला,
एक खाय तो बीजानु मन थाय,
तो तीजो पैसालेवा जाय,
चखे सो याद रखे बारा बरस.

This literally means :—"Salted pistachios, parched torn of the head, reformed of the world, come from Surat, if one eats, so becomes the mind of the other, and the third goes to fetch money. He who tastes remembers for twelve years"—putting emphasis on the words 'twelve years.'

These hawkers are very few in number, and go about from 11 a.m. to 10 p.m. With the exception of about three or four, they are to be seen chiefly about two days or so previous to the Hindu holidays, for their goods are then sought after by the Natives to prepare a dish or so. There are some who cook almonds as they do vegetables, adding *dolichos spicatus*, salt, red pepper, cocoanut scrapings, and butter or sweet oil, heated with assafœtida and mustard seed.

Bottle Buyers.

These are both Muhammadans and Mahâr-Hindûs, but the majority of them are of the first sect. They go about the town in the early afternoon, crying "*Bâtlê, Bâtlê â sodâwâterni, kulumwâterni bâtlê hosê to ânâ*"—"if you have sodawater or eau de cologne empty bottles, bring them." They purchase bottles of all sorts; also old and broken furniture, waste paper, old clothes, &c., at the cheapest price possible.

The Mahârs confine themselves to buying bottles only. They also pick up bottles thrown into gullies by respectable Hindûs, who would not openly sell bottles the contents of which they had consumed in secresy.

Ice Hawkers.

The ice hawkers are Muhammadans, who go about from 12 to 2 p. m. and from 7 to 9 in the evening. They cry, "*Vilâeti pâni, ice,*" "English water, ice." They retail ice from one pie upwards. Their business lasts all the year round, but falls off very much during the rains. They are generally poor and of the lower classes of the Muhammadans. They gain from two to four annas a day, and on this maintain themselves.

Ice Cream Hawkers.

These are chiefly Muhammadans, with a very few Marâṭha-Hindûs. The Muhammadan cries "*Ice cream,*" and the Hindus "*E-ice cream,*" putting emphasis on the word ice, and then "*A Hindu ice cream,*" making it known thereby that he is selling for Hindûs only. This hawker does not carry his box on his own head, but employs a Hindu coolie or porter for the purpose. His time of hawking is from 7 in the evening to 2 the next morning, and the hot season is the most favourable for him. He sells his cream at one and two annas a glass. Perhaps, on an average, he may make six or eight annas per night.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

REMARKS ON THE BHARHUT SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—I have been much interested in the papers which Dr. Hoernle has lately contributed to the *Indian Antiquary*, and in none more than that which appears at pp. 324f of vol. X; the subject being "Readings from the Arian Pâli."

In that paper the phrase *yathiṁ aropayato*—"putting up his staff"—occurs; and Dr. Hoernle in his text invites attention to this phrase.

I think I can throw some light upon it by translating a portion of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Mahâsaṅghika school of Buddhism, which relates to the erection of S t û p a s, and providing the accessories thereof. The passage occurs in the 33rd Kiouen of the Mahâsaṅghika copy of the *Vinaya*, and the 15th page. The subject is "Laws respecting (the erection of) Stûpas." The passage runs thus:—

"Buddha was travelling to and fro in the K o s a l a country. At this time there was a Brahman ploughing his land; seeing the Lord of the world, he went in advance of him, and fixing his ox-goad staff in the ground, he fell down and paid him reverence.

The Lord having witnessed this, smiled gently, on which the Bhikshus asked Buddha the occasion of his smile[1]; "Oh! that we might hear the reason of it," they said.

On this Buddha addressed the Bhikshus thus—

"This Brahman indeed is now worshipping two Buddhas."

[1] The gentle or subdued smile of Buddha is supposed to be predictive of some event; vide *Romantic Legend*, p. 12n.

The Bhikshus then asked Buddha who the two Buddhas were.

Buddha replied: "He worships me and underneath his staff is a Stûpa belonging to Kasyapa Buddha, which he also worships."

The Bhikshus answered: "Ah! that we might be allowed to see the Stûpa of Kasyapa."

Buddha rejoined: "Request this Brahman to give you a clod of the earth (where his staff is erected)."

They did so, and having received the clod, the Lord caused to appear from the earth a seven-jewelled Stûpa of Kasyapa, in height one *yojana*, and in breadth half a *yojana*.

The Brahman having seen this Stûpa, immediately spoke to Buddha thus: Lord! my family name is K a s y a p a, this then is my Stûpa (erected in honour) of Kasyapa.

Thus then the Lord in that place where the staff was put caused to be seen the dâgaba of Kasyapa.

The Bhikshus then asked—"Shall we accept this clod of earth (as a token of the Brahman's religious merit)?"

Buddha said—"Accept it!" and then he added this verse:—

"A hundred thousand fold of gold
Given in charity
Is not equal to a clod of earth
Given reverently in honour of a Tower of Buddha."

Then the Buddha himself erected (or, himself caused to appear) a Stûpa of Kasyapa Buddha, its foundation four-square, surrounded by an ornamented railing, in the middle of it a four-cornered double-staged plinth, above which rose a lofty staff with a circular ball (or, with circled rings).

Then Buddha said: "Let all Stûpas be fashioned in this way. This is the model of the old Towers of the ancient Buddhas," &c.

Then the Bhikshus said: "And may we now pay reverence to this Stûpa?"

Buddha replied in the affirmative, and added this *gâtha*:—

"Though men used a 100,000 gold pieces
In charitable gifts,
This would not equal the true heart
Reverencing a Tower of Buddha."

After this follows an account of the accessories of a Stûpa, niches, lakes, railings, &c.

It would seem then that fixing the staff would be synonymous with "cutting the first sod" for the erection of a Stûpa.

I add a translation from the Chinese author I-tsing relating to Buddhist worship and other matters in India in the 7th century of our era: this may perhaps throw some light on archæological discoveries now being brought to light:—

"The land of China," he says, "from ancient times, according to traditional teaching, has only known the worship of Buddha by setting forth his names. But in the Western countries the Chaityas which stand by the roadside are reverenced (*châityavanda*). And every afternoon or evening the assembly coming from the gates (by the convent) three times circumambulate the Stûpas with incense and flowers; and then sitting down cross-legged, they caused some skilled brother to accompany himself with music as he sings with clear voice the praises of the Great Master; and for this purpose they have hymns consisting of ten or even twenty ślokas. They then return to the temple, and having taken their seats in the usual place, they cause a preacher to mount the pulpit (lion-seat), and there to read through some short sermon (*sûtra*). The pulpit is not far from the chief Sthavira's seat, and is not so high or so large. In reading the *sûtra* (or whilst reading) they generally recite (sing) from the Saṅgita (or, *threefold collection*)[2] (*San-k'he*) which Aśvaghosha Ayusmat compiled, selecting ten ślokas or so, and as they catch the meaning of what is read, they recite the hymn of praise[3] to the three honoured names; (the preacher then) sets forth the place where the several passages occur in the true *Sûtra* spoken by Ananda.[4] The hymn or psalm being ended, they then select ten other ślokas to recite whilst they perform the usual votive procession (round the apse[5] [*hwui hiang*]). This is also composed in three parts or sections, and hence it is called *San-k'he*. All this being ended, the congregation says "*Svasti*" (Be it even so) [Amen]; this is a very favourite or choice exclamation of assent used during the recitation of the Scriptures. They also say "*Vatthu*," which is the same as "It is well" (*saddhu*). The preacher after this descends (from his pulpit). The president then first rises and bows to the lion-throne (the pulpit), (in token of) the preparatory instruction (or the service) being finished, and afterwards he bows to the holy assembly, and then returns to his place. The second priest then

[2] This expression is afterwards explained to refer to the three *sections* or *divisions* of the compilation which Aśvaghosha made. It may have been in the form of a *triptych*.

[3] Probably the *Saranâgamana*, or "glorious hymn," as Buddhaghosha terms it, in honour of the Buddha, the Law, and the Church. *Vide* Childers, *J. R. As. Soc.*, (*N. S.*) vol. IV, p. 325.

[4] So at least I understand the expression *Fo-ts'in*.

[5] The Chinese expression *hwui-hiang* exactly corresponds to the Greek ἄψ or ἄψ ἴεναι. The last portion of the Buddhist ritual in worship consists of a processional circuit round the spot where, in old times, the *dâgaba* or relic shrine stood, viz., in the chord of the apse. I am not suggesting that the word *apse* is derived from ἄψ, but simply pointing out the coincidence.

bows to the two places (viz., the pulpit and the assembly), and then salutes the president, and then resumes his seat. The third priest then does likewise, and so on to the end of the assembled priests. If the number of priests is very great, then three or five, as they think proper, rise at the same time and salute as before. This done, they depart.

"This is the rule of the priesthood throughout the holy land of the East from Tamralipti to Nâlanda. In the latter monastery the number of priests and disciples is so great, amounting to about five thousand, that such an assembly in one place would be difficult. This great temple has eight halls, each able to hold about three hundred at a time; in these the various congregations are assembled. The rules here are (in consequence of the numbers) somewhat different from other places. They select one singing-master (precentor), who, every evening towards sundown, goes through the various halls where the priests are assembled accompanied by a *pure brother*[6] a young man [acolyte], who precedes him, holding flowers and incense; and as they pass through the assemblies the members of the congregation bow down, and at each bow with a loud voice they chant a hymn of three ślokas or five, with the sound of drums and music. At sundown, when all is just over, the precentor receives from the temple property a certain allowance as an offering (offertory), after which he again takes his place opposite an incense heap (a large censer), and singly recites with his heart (or heartily) a hymn of praise; and thus until nightfall, when after the congregation have given three complete prostrations, the assembly is broken up. This is the traditional custom of worship in the West. The old and sick occupy small seats apart.

"There were some ancient practices not exactly the same as the present Indian customs; such, for instance, as the custom of chanting a hymn when at the time of worship the distinctive marks of Buddha were recited; this was a grand chant of ten or twenty ślokas; this was the rule. Again, the "Gâthas of the Tathâgatas" and others were originally intended to be laudatory hymns in praise of the virtues of Buddha, and were in long or short verses arranged harmoniously. And because the meaning of these verses was difficult to be got at, it became customary during the religious seasons, when the congregation was assembled in the evening, to call on some distinguished member to recite 150 to 400 stanzas in praise of Buddha (and explain them) with other hymns.

"There have been certain leading men of great talent who have contributed hymns of praise for use in the worship of Buddha—such as the venerable Mâtrijâta, a man of great talent. Of him it is said that his birth was predicted by Buddha when a certain parrot saluted him as he passed through a grove. Having become a convert, he first composed 400 laudatory verses and afterwards 150, arranged according to the six paramitas, illustrating the most excellent qualities of the world-honoured Buddha.

"Other hymns were composed by the Bodhisatwa Asaṅgha, others by Vasubandha. All who enter the ministry are supposed to learn these beforehand, whether they belong to the Great or Little Vehicle. There are also the hymns composed by Channa Bodhisatwa, by Sakyadêva of the Deer Park, and also by Nâgârjuna, who composed the work called *Sukrita*. This he left to his old patron, the king of a great southern kingdom called Sadvaha.

"We cannot pass over the special notice of the *Játakamálá*, which is also a book of this sort. If translated it would make about ten chapters in Chinese. The origin of the book was this: Śilâditya[7] Râja was extremely fond of literature, and on one occasion issued an order that all the chief men of the kingdom who loved poetry should assemble the next day morning at the palace, and each bring a verse on paper. In consequence five hundred assembled, and on their papers being opened the verses were put together, and this is the *Játakamálá*.[8] Of all books of poetry known in India, this is the most refined. The islands of the Southern Sea and the ten countries all use these verses, but in China they have not yet been translated.

"Again, the venerable Aśvaghosha composed a book of chants, and also the *Alaṁkára Śástra*, and also the Life of Buddha in verse. The whole book if translated might be included in about ten volumes. It describes the life of Tathâgata from the period of his birth in the palace, to his death between the trees. This is used also throughout India and in the Southern Sea."

S. BEAL.

With reference to Dr. Hoernle's papers (vol. X, pp. 118f, 255f) the Rev. Mr. Beal remarks that if one 'read carefully any of the many lives of Buddha he will see that "the two persons who stand by the side of the tree, and whom bad perspective has apparently placed in the air" (p. 256) are Dêvas worshipping the Tree, (or Buddha *symbolized* by the Tree) in common with the human

[6] A similar expression is used by *Fâ-hien* (cap. 3). The Essenes also had *pure brothers* to wait on them.

[7] Śilâditya died 550 A. D. Julien's *Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.* tom. I, p. 215.

[8] This may be the copy of the *Játakamálá* alluded to lately by Dr. Frankfürter (I think) in the *Athenæum*.

beings below. It seems to escape the memory of many persons that Buddha was the Saviour of gods as well as men. Then, they are not "eating the berries of the Tree," but whistling with the thumb and first finger in harmony with the celestial choir. This whistling with the thumb and finger is repeatedly mentioned as a mode of praise in the Lives of Buddha (e. g. in the *Romantic Legend*).

'Then when Dr. Hoernle speaks of the Dêvas scattering the berries of the tree from baskets, (p. 256, n. 3), he overlooks the constant assertion that Suddhavara and other Dêvas poured down sandal-wood dust and other perfumes on the seat where Buddha attained wisdom (*Rom. Leg.* pp. 67, 225, 227). The ornaments or ornamental marks on the thrones in all the plates of the *Bharhut Stûpa* represent the flowers and perfumes rained down from heaven.

'Then again (p. 256), he speaks of "two persons" knocking off berries with their scarves; but they are only waving them in the air, as we might wave our handkerchiefs in token of joy or triumph. In the *Sutta Nipâta* by Fausböll (*Sacred Books*, vol. X, p. 125, § 679, 680) is an expression which illustrates this waving of their garments by the Dêvas.

'I have no doubt too that the Erâpato Nâgarâja plates (p. 258, No. 16) refer to the legend of Elâpatra and the two Nâgnis, as I have given it in the *Romantic Legend* (p. 277), and it occurs in nearly the same form in the *Vinayapiṭaka*.'—(*From a private letter.*)

BOOK NOTICE.

HINDU LAW: or Mayûkha and Yâjnavalkya, by Râo Saheb V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I., M.R.A.S., &c. &c. Bombay: Education Society's Press. 1880.

It has been known for several years past, that Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik was engaged on a considerable work on Hindu Law. And as the result of his labours, we now have before us the Sanskrit text of the *Mayûkha*, and the *Yâjnavalkya Smṛiti*, with English translations; an elaborate introduction on the sources of Hindu Law; and a series of Appendices discussing special topics with reference to the decisions of British tribunals.

Firstly, as to the text of the *Mayûkha*, an important consideration concerns the *apparatus criticus* by which it has been settled. There are certain deficiencies which strike one here, and which are to be regretted. It does not appear that any MS. from Nâsik was consulted. Yet Nâsik is, or at least was, one of our chief centres of learning in Western India. No MS. again appears to have been obtained from the Nâgpur district, which having been governed by a family of Marâthâ Râjâs, would probably have yielded some useful copies of the legal work of a Marâṭhâ Brâhmaṇa. Lastly, no MS. from Gujarâth has been consulted; the one obtained having been discarded as incorrect. This, I think, was a very great mistake, having regard to the established doctrine of our courts, that the *Mayûkha* is of special authority in Gujarâth. And it was but lately that the practical importance of this was illustrated. In a case argued before a Full Bench of the High Court in 1879, a passage having been cited from the text of the *Mayûkha* as printed, but not then published, in the volume before us, Sir Michael Westropp inquired if there was any note in Mr. Mandlik's edition upon the genuineness of that passage; and on its being stated that there was not, His Lordship pointed out, that Mr. Borrodaile had said that the passage was not to be found in the Gujarâth MSS. examined by him. (See Stokes, *Hindu Law Books*, p. 70.) It is manifest that, as Sir Michael Westropp said, a text constructed without reference to any Gujarâth MS. whatever cannot be satisfactory on such a point as this. It is unnecessary to say anything on the text of the *Yâjnavalkya Smṛiti*, except to point out that only one MS. has been used in settling it, the other copies used being printed ones.

One very important part of this volume is the translation of the *Mayûkha*. The only translation available before the present one was Mr. Borrodaile's; and I may add the Marâṭhi translation published in 1844 under the direction of the Government of Bombay. The latter, so far as I have examined it, is a good one, but being in Marâṭhi, is not readily available to all. Mr. Borrodaile's translation was made almost in the infancy of European Sanskrit scholarship, by one who was not himself an advanced Sanskritist; and it was, therefore, full of obscurities, inaccuracies, and mistakes. The translation before us is much better than Mr. Borrodaile's; but even this is far from being all that is to be desired, or that might have been expected. In the Introduction it is said: "I have tried to reproduce the original as nearly as possible." But in the very first stanza the words—"A small [*treatise*] laying down juridical rules"—involve a very wide and a very unnecessary, departure from Nîlakanṭha's text. "A little [*treatise*] on the determination of judicial proceedings" appears to me to be a much more literal, and at least equally intelligible, rendering. The particular inaccuracy here is doubtless a very small one. But I point to it, first, to show that the claim of the translator to have "reproduced the original as nearly as possible" cannot be admitted,

and secondly, to illustrate what I conceive to be the *beau ideal* of a translation. A translation should be, so far as the varying idioms of the language of the text and translation permit, a rendering of the original word for word. This principle, which ought to be observed in all translations, requires to be specially so in the case of a work like the *Mayûkha,* on the interpretation of which by judges, often not conversant with the original, depends the decision of questions of the highest practical importance. This principle, however, appears to be but little observed in the translation before us, and the passage just commented on furnishes one example of such non-observance. Another is furnished by the definitions of *Vyavahâra* which are to be found on the same page. The translation gives three alternative definitions; the text gives only two. According to the translation, a *Vyavahâra* or judicial proceeding is "a transaction which inculcates rules." The original does not give this, which is a rather strange definition. "The determination of [*the party who has committed*] the unrecognised wrong (*as*) between the disputing parties" is an awkward expression, and not a very lucid one. I would suggest the following rendering of the whole definition: "A judicial proceeding is an operation instrumental in making known [*where*] the unknown violation of right [*lies*] as between contending parties." The alternative definition, which is wrongly split up into two in the translation before us, may be rendered as follows:—"Or it is an operation in which plaintiff and defendant are the actors, in which there are possession witnesses and evidence, and which is instrumental in deciding between conflicting arguments." In the translation under review, the words, "which proposes to decide," are inaccurate, and have nothing corresponding to them in the translation of the first definition, while, nevertheless, the original expression occurs in the text in both places. This variance in the translations is the more remarkable, as the expression in the original is an established form in such cases (compare the notes on *Siddhânta Kaumudî*, vol. I., 253, in Târânâtha's ed.) To proceed, however; two lines after these definitions, we read in the translation: "The latter part [of the definition] is" &c. What is the "latter part," and of which of the three definitions given in the translation? On these points no explanation is forthcoming. The words really refer to the latter part of the second definition, by which *vâda* and *vitaṇḍâ* are excluded from the definition of judicial proceedings. *Vâda* and *vitaṇḍâ*, I apprehend, do not mean what the translator says they do, but bear here the same meaning as in the *Nyâya* philosophy. For a brief English explanation of the terms, I may refer to Colebrooke's *Essays* (1st ed.), vol. I, pp. 293, 294.

I cannot dwell on other inaccuracies of this sort which occur in the earlier sections of the translation, but proceed to the section on Inheritance, which, for all practical purposes, is most important in these days, and mistakes and inaccuracies in which stand in special need of correction. Here, too, the limits of this notice preclude the possibility even of a full enumeration —let alone a discussion—of the mistakes and inaccuracies which I have noted. I can only cull a few of the more important ones. And first, I note sundry instances of variances in the rendering of identical expressions. These may be, and often are, immaterial. But having regard to the possible results of such variances (cf. on this the remarks at pp. 498-513 of this volume), they ought to be carefully avoided. *Pitâmahopâttâ* in Yâjnavalkya II. 121, is translated "*received from* the grandfather" at p. 32 (see also p. 215) and "*acquired by* the grandfather" at p. 43. At p. 39 "if the mother be past child-bearing," and "provided the mother's courses have ceased," are two renderings for identical words in the texts of Nârada and Brihaspati. At p. 51, "the definition and the defined" in l. 4, and "an *object* and its attribute" in l. 39, both correspond to संज्ञासंज्ञी in the original, which, accurately, is equivalent to "a technical name and that of which it is the name." In the same passage, 'imply' in l. 39 of p. 51, and "there arises the knowledge of" in l. 5 of p. 52 are both renderings of परामर्शो which, be it remarked too, is expressed in one place only, and is to be understood and supplied from the context in the other.

This is one class of inaccuracies. Another is to be found in the denotation of what words belong to Nîlakaṇṭha and what to his translator. These inaccuracies again are only sometimes material, but they detract from the value of the work, and it must be remembered, too, that it is not easy to say in any given case, that the inaccuracy can in no possible event be material. At p. 33 l. 20, the words 'in the second half of the text' are printed between brackets, thus indicating that they are the translator's; but if so, there is a word *anantara* in the original which remains untranslated. Similarly in p. 34 l. 16 'it is better to conclude' is printed between brackets, and *yuktam* in the original remains untranslated. At p. 47 again, *anapatya* (childless) is omitted, and 'who has no other son' is printed between brackets. At p. 50, l. 28 *vâkyât* is not translated; in the next line *kathaṁchit* meets the same fate. At p. 51, l. 26, *api* is omitted from the translation; and so is *eva* at p. 52, l. 1.

These are instances of omissions in the translation. There are others of additions made by the

translator which are not shown as such. At p. 40, l. 3 "could not be recovered" is the translator's; the original is "had not been recovered." Again at p. 50, l. 16 "the donee" is an addition: it is not in Manu, and seems to be inconsistent with Nilakantha's interpretation of Manu. The words "provided the boy be" are also an addition not marked as such. The whole text of Manu, in truth, is here translated with much looseness. At p. 59, l. 14 the words 'the two expressions' are interpolated by the translator, and not merely inaccurately but erroneously. There are no two 'expressions' to be considered here at all.

Another class of defects to be noted is the manner in which Nîlakaṇṭha's notes on texts cited by him are translated. For instance, at p. 51, l. 13 we read, "Now *sadṛiśam* means alike," &c. To one who reads the translation only without looking at the original, this must prove something of a *crux*. And in this particular passage there is a very special difficulty. The passage, on which the remark quoted is made, is the passage from Manu at p. 50, which is at a considerable distance from this remark itself. And *sadṛiśam*, too, has there been already translated "of the same class," whereas we read here that it means "alike by family and qualities, not by class." Further remarks on this passage will be made in the sequel. Another instance of this kind of defect occurs on the same page. At l. 35 we read "*sarvam* [means] wealth." It is not, however, necessary to multiply these instances. They appear to be scattered over the whole book. The defect could have been easily avoided by saying, instead of the last sentence, for instance, "'the whole' [means the whole] wealth." And so in other cases.

We now come to a far more important class of defects, those, namely, where we find positive mistakes. At p. 34, l. 12f. we have Nîlakaṇṭha's opinion as to the effects of partition on ownership. The translation before us is liable to exception on more than one ground. The following I suggest as more close and more correct—" As to that, some (*say*) that the pre-existing ownership attaching to the aggregate wealth is extinguished, and a new one is created in one part of it. But as the supposition of the extinction of a pre-existing ownership and the creation of another, involves a breach of the law of parsimony, the correct (*opinion*) is, that ownership, which even at first is produced only as attaching to a portion (*of the aggregate wealth*), is by partition shown to attach to particular articles (*out of the aggregate wealth*)." In the translation in the volume before us, I think 'joint' is wrongly construed with 'ownership,' as *samudita* in the text goes with *dravya*; and "particular ownership" is not a very lucid phrase, besides being not a close rendering of *vilakshaṇa svatva*, of which it seems to be intended as an equivalent. I say "seems," because at l. 16 the expression "particular ownership" recurs, but the text has not *vilakshaṇa svatva* there, but *ekadêśasthita*, which does not occur in the previous clause. At p. 35, ll. 25 *et seq.* the text is wrongly construed, and the translation is consequently erroneous, and in fact seems to make the text self-contradictory, which it by no means really is. According to our translator, the view of the *Pûrva Mîmâṁsâ*, as stated by Nîlakaṇṭha, would be, that by the precept *Viśvajiti sarvasvam dadâti*, the gift of a son or a daughter in the *visvajit* sacrifice is laid down. But Nîlakaṇṭha does not say so at all. He first says that ownership and its sources are to be learnt from popular usage, not the *Śâstra*. And he gives an illustration. The owner of a cow is the owner of the cow's young ones. This, he says, is learnt from popular usage, not from the *Śâstra*, which nowhere lays down that birth from one's cow is a source of ownership in the progeny. On this an objector says—" If so, a man will be the owner of the children born of his own wife." Nîlakaṇṭha concedes this for the sake of argument, and says, "What then?" The objector replies—" If a man is the owner of his children, he must give them away when he makes a *visvajit* sacrifice. But the *Pûrva Mîmâṁsâ* has decided that "children must not be given away." The objector thus resorts to a *reductio ad absurdum*. Nîlakaṇṭha meets him by saying that his reasoning is right except at its initial stage. He says, it does not follow, because the young of one's cow are one's property, that therefore the children of one's wife should be also one's property, and he assigns the reason that one's wife is not one's property as a cow is. This analysis will show that the representation of the doctrine of the *Pûrva Mîmâṁsâ* contained in the translation before us is wrong; in fact, it makes the *Pûrva Mîmâṁsâ* entirely set aside a distinct Vedic text, a bold proceeding which the text of the *Mîmâṁsâ* shows it did not venture upon. The translation also, as we have said, makes the passage self-contradictory. For, according to it, the *Pûrva Mîmâṁsâ* says children are within the rule about the gift at the *visvajit* sacrifice. They can be so only by being regarded as a man's property. And thus, although the *Mîmâṁsâ* might decide that they are not to be given, it would be conceding that they are property. Yet Nîlakaṇṭha, who denies that they are property, is by the translator made to say, that there is no difference between his doctrine and that of the *Mîmâṁsâ*.

I have dwelt at some length on this, because the mistake in construing made here is one which

recurs with some frequency in the translation, and because here it could not otherwise be made clear. Indeed, I am afraid, even a fuller discussion than this might be desirable. There are other instances of this sort. At p. 42, l. 16 the passage about the "two shares" is confused by a mistake in construing it. According to the translation, the words "This text relates to one having an only son" appear to be Nîlakaṇṭha's; and the words "for in the *Madana Ratna*, &c.," appear to be added in support of the opinion expressed in the preceding clause. This is quite wrong, and the translation should run thus:—"[It is said] in the *M. R.* that this relates to an only son, on account of the text of Sankha and Likhita, 'if a man has one son (एकपुत्र) he may take two shares to himself.'" The translation, however, proceeds—"The word *eka* (one) is used to denote excellence," &c. Whose words are these? To what do they refer? The translator gives no information. The translation ought really after setting out the text of Sankha and Likhita to go on thus: "[But] in the *Pârijâta* [it is said] the word *eka* (one) means excellent—according to the text of Amara—*eka* [means] chief, others, and only. The ultimate meaning (of *ekaputra*) is one who has a meritorious son." The result is that Nîlakaṇṭha has here, as elsewhere, only given the conflicting opinions of other writers. But the translation, so far from making this clear, rather obscures it. At p. 46, l. 2 *et seq.* again, we have a faulty translation. But this is not so important as that at p. 47, l. 28, where it is positively wrong. The correct translation is: "In the event of there being only debts, however, he (namely, the unseparated son) need not pay the debts at all, without taking a share from those previously separated." This is the opinion of the *Mayûkha* and also good sense. Now contrast with this the rendering before us—"If there be only debts, the previously separated son is not at all bound to pay debts without receiving a share of the heritage." This is neither correct translation nor good sense. As, by the hypothesis, there are only debts, it is difficult to perceive of what "heritage" the separated son is to claim a share before paying them. At p. 50, l. 26 *purushârtha* is wrongly rendered by "affect visible interests." At p. 51, l. 13f. we have again a serious blunder. The correct translation is, "[*Now*] Medhâtithi [*says*], that alike [means *alike*] by family and qualities, not by caste, and that therefore Kshatriyas and others also can become the adopted (*sons*) of Brâhmaṇas and others. But Kullûka Bhaṭṭa [*says*] alike [means *alike*] by caste. And this is correct. Because Yâjnavalkya, after premising all the twelve [*classes of*] sons [*in the verses*] "the legitimate *son is one born of* a lawfully-wedded wife," &c. concludes thus:—"This law is propounded by me with regard to sons of the same caste." If the reader will compare this rendering with that in the translation before us and both with the original, he will perceive how "possible" it was to "reproduce" that original much more "nearly" than the translator has done. In the latter portion he will note the omission of *api* which we have translated "all"; he will note that "after enumerating . . . . observes" does not correctly represent anything in the text, and on turning to Yâjnavalkya II. 133 at p. 138 of the volume, he will find also that there is no "*enumeration*" *there as distinct from the* "observation"; he will note, too, that the words "in this manner," after "enumerating," do not answer to anything in the text, and are inexplicable where they stand. In the former portion, the reader will perceive an error of translation which makes the *Mayûkha* appear self-contradictory. There, according to the translation before us, Medhâtithi is cited only for the proposition about a Kshatriya being adopted by a Brâhmaṇa, but the interpretation of Manu in the previous sentence is put as if it was Nîlakaṇṭha's own, which it clearly is not. For in the very next line but one, Nîlakaṇṭha quotes Kullûka Bhaṭṭa against Medhâtithi, and agrees with and supports the former. Lower down, on the same page at l. 27, we have again an important mistake. I translate the text thus: "This might be a prohibition to the giver alone, if it had the character of being a prohibition of the gift of an eldest [*son*]. But that [*character*] does not exist, as there is no proof [*that it does exist*], and as [*the text*] is only intended to declare the *discharge of* the [*ancestral*] debt by the mere declaration—(contained) in the words 'becomes possessed of a son'—of the status of being possessed of a son." In the translation before us, the familiar *expression mânâbhâvât* is mistranslated—"*for there is a* want of affirmative [*command*]." How this meaning is evolved out of the expression referred to, I cannot imagine. Nor can I understand why an "affirmative *command*" is required to prescribe a "prohibition." The lines 30-32 are also exceedingly obscure, mainly because they do *not* "reproduce as nearly as possible" the text of Nîlakaṇṭha, which is lucid enough.

I cannot now dwell on the mistake in the translation at p. 52, l. 7 of the sentence about the word *dattrima* (which is left uncompleted); nor can I stop *to do more than* inquire how the boy 'bearing the *reflection of a son*' can be, what it is said he should be, *same* or equal; nor to show that at p. 57, l. 21, the rendering of दृष्टार्थत्वात् by "for evident worldly reasons" is at least inaccurate; nor yet to consider the important inaccuracies (*amounting*, in one instance, almost to a positive

error) in the passage immediately following, which are mainly due to unnecessary deviations from the text. The space at my disposal being limited, I will only add two or three more cases of important errors. The first is the sentence summing up the discussion in the passage last referred to. The translation runs as follows: "Therefore that permission of the husband indicated for a particular state (by Yâjnavalkya) is laid down here [by Kâtyâyana following Yâjnavalkya], and is not a new rule laid down (without prior authority)." This is all wrong. The translation should run thus: "Therefore in whatever state the permission of the husband is already laid down, [*for*] that [*state*] only is [*it*] repeated here (*i.e.* in the text of Vasishtha). Permission not already [*prescribed*] is not prescribed. Therefore the widow has a right (to adopt) even without the direction of the husband." It is necessary to explain this passage, a translation alone can never suffice in such cases. Nîlakantha is dealing here with the text of Vasishtha, in which it is said, among other things, that a woman should not adopt without the husband's permission. Upon that the question arises—is the necessity for this permission absolute? Nîlakantha says—No; this is only a special case of the general rule, that a woman cannot perform any spiritual acts without the leave of some male relations. And as the general rule is that the husband superintends the wife's proceedings during his lifetime, and other relations do so after his death, so the permission of the husband required is only for an adoption during his life-time—after his death his permission may be dispensed with. In the light of this explanation, let us now examine the translation before us. In the first place this passage is in the translation made to appear as a comment on Kâtyâyana's text. This is wrong. A bare outline of the argument shows this. After setting out Vasishtha's text, Nîlakantha says the permission of the husband is only for a woman whose husband is alive, not for a widow. Therefore Yâjnavalkya has laid down the doctrine of woman's dependence on the husband only in a particular state of life, and on others in other cases, and Kâtyâyana also mentions the permission of husband, father, &c., in particular states of life only. Therefore, &c. as above set out. I think this shows the correctness of my view. That view is also supported by the fact, that the sequel of the passage is again a commentary on another expression in the same passage from Vasishtha, and by the further fact that Kâtyâyana says nothing expressly about adoption, which is the subject of discussion throughout this section of the *Mayûkha*, and in the particular passage before us. Again *apûrvâ* is translated "new, without prior authority." In the first place, this is not in accordance with the *Mîmâmsâ* acceptation of the word, which is plainly intended here by the contrast with *anuvâda*. Secondly, if the question of Kâtyâyana's rule being not "new" is material, is not the question of Yâjnavalkya's rule being such also material? And if it is, what answer is forthcoming of that question? The truth is, there is no question here of "novelty" or "authority" at all. The only question is, is the rule of Vasishtha to be treated as a distinct rule by itself,—in which case the limitations laid down in it are those which must be followed,—or is it to be treated as a repetition, with respect to one particular subject, of a general rule laid down elsewhere—in which case the limitations laid down elsewhere will be imported into the rule? The latter is the correct view, according to Nîlakantha.

We now come to another passage. At p. 61 l. 16 begins a discussion about the two classes of adoptions. This passage in the translation is quite confused, owing to the translator talking now of the *phrase* 'simple adopted,' now of the *rite* of simple adoption, and now of the 'simple adopted' *son* himself. That confusion has nothing answering to it in the text of the *Mâyûkha*. I will not, however, go into details here, except to draw attention to the word 'illegal' in l. 33, which ought not to be used, the original being merely 'prohibited.' Take again the passage at p. 63, l. 37. A very important word is here omitted in the translation—namely *eva*. The sentence is so condensed that it is difficult to render it quite satisfactorily. I suggest the following rendering: "As to that, the power belongs to all who have more than one son, only as regards giving [*one*] not the eldest. And as regards acceptance [*it belongs*] to those whose sons are dead, or to whom no sons have been born." Still another mistake occurs at p. 77, l. 24. Noting, *en passant*, that in the text of Brihaspati there cited, there should be the word 'even' before 'if partition' (line 23), I would draw attention to the remarks on that text which follow. Here again we have a mistake in construing the original of a similar nature to those already referred to. The translation should run as follows. . . . "As for the text of Brihaspati . . . . [*it is said*] in the *Smriti Chandrikâ*, that that refers to a wife having no daughter, but that one having a daughter obtains the immoveables also,—[*while*] Mâdhava [*says*], that it is intended as a prohibition of the sale, &c., of the immoveables without the consent of the heirs." I need not say anything upon the rendering in this volume, except that the sentence "the prohibition of sale," &c. at line 26ff. requires some explanation, according to the view of the translator. As it stands, it seems to be quite irrelevant.

I need not go into further details to support the assertion I have made, that this translation falls very far short indeed of just expectations. The defects I have shown, and they are only a few out of those I have observed, will, I think, bear out that assertion. They seem to fall into four classes. We have words inserted in the translation which are not in the original, and are not always necessary for understanding it, and which too are not always denoted as translator's additions. We have words in the original which are not represented at all in the translation. We have renderings which involve quite unnecessary deviations from the original. And lastly, we have renderings which are based on positive misconceptions of the text. Before closing this branch of the subject, I have only to add, that there are sundry passages where some note by the translator in explanation of the text was desirable. The passages at p. 73, l. 30f. or p. 74, l. 20f. may be referred to among other instances.

This examination of the translation of the *Mayúkha* has occupied so much space already, that I am unwilling to embark here upon a similar examination of that of the *Yájnavalkya Smṛiti*. And for more than one reason such an examination is not necessary. I will, therefore, proceed now to make a few remarks on what is the more original portion of the volume before us, namely, the Introduction and the Appendices. The former mostly deals with the sources of Hindu Law. Passing over minor matters, on which something might perhaps be fairly said by way of criticism of the author's positions, we come to the discussion of the *Smṛiti* literature. In addition to a very considerable body of interesting and useful information regarding this, we have an attempt made to fix the chronological positions of several of the principal *Smṛiti* writers. As that attempt is based merely upon the quotations in each *Smṛiti*, and as the critical accuracy of these *Smṛitis* is not above suspicion, these chronological conclusions must necessarily be taken as provisional only. I do not, however, clearly understand what our author means by saying (p. xxvi.) that "the mention of ancient *ṛishis* or sages in the *Ṛigveda* as *pathikṛitah* (indicators of the right path) would be an argument in favour of the antiquity of *Smṛitis*; because no works on *Dharmaśástra* are ascribed to *ṛishis* except *Sútrás* and *Smṛitis*." If it is meant that the "indication of the right path" was given in *Smṛitis*, the argument proves too much; for these *Smṛitis*, if any such ever existed, must have been older than the *Vedas*. Besides being unlikely, this conclusion is inconsistent with the Sanskrit Preface (or *Upodghâta*), where the old orthodox view is expressed, that the authority of *Smṛiti* texts results only from their being based on the *Vedas*. This brings us to the suggestion made in more than one place by our author, that the *Smṛitis* record the customary law of the people (see pp. xxvi, xliii, lix). If this is so, it is difficult to understand in what sense the authority of the *Smṛitis* rests on the *Vedas*. Again in speaking of Yâjnavalkya (p. xl), our author speaks of the penances prescribed by him as being "now merely nominal caricatures of an ideal society which probably had no existence at any period beyond the mind of the writer of that digest, but which is certainly entirely inapplicable to the Aryan society as it exists at the present day." This sentence is not particularly lucid or precise, but it seems to say that Yâjnavalkya's rules were never the actual governing rules of any existing society. These passages taken together leave a very vague and unsatisfactory impression as to what is our author's precise view about the *Smṛitis*. Two distinct lines of thought seem to be indicated which are not anywhere brought into harmony. In one place, it is suggested, "that each *Smṛiti* refers to a separate Śâkhâ." This is not a very precise expression, but I understand it to mean that each Smṛiti records the practices of one Śâkhâ or another. I do not know of any sufficient authority for this view; and the passage from the *Nirṇaya Sindhu* referred to as such appears to me rather to point the other way.

We next come to the *Puráṇas*. Our author's language here is rather misleading. For after enumerating the eighteen *Puráṇas* and *Upapuráṇas* he goes on to add that "the *Puráṇas* are distinctly alluded to in the *Vedas*." One not familiar with the facts on this point is likely to carry away from this sentence the impression, that the *Puráṇas* "alluded to in the *Vedas*" are the eighteen mentioned. But I cannot think that our author intended to convey so entirely erroneous an impression. At the same time I must point out, that the note on the passage above cited refers to and sets out the *Bháshya* of Sâyaṇa, which specifically mentions the *Bráhma Puráṇa* as one of those referred to. If our author really thinks that the *Bráhma Puráṇa*, &c., were those alluded in the passage cited by him, I think it desirable to point out, that in the comments on the passage from the *Taittiríya Áraṇyaka* also cited by him, Sâyana gives a different interpretation, and what is, perhaps, of more importance, that in the *BṛihadÁraṇyaka Upanishad* where *Puráṇas* are mentioned in the same way as in the *Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa*, that is to say in company with the four *Vedas* and *Itihása*, Śankarâchârya interprets the word to mean something very different from

the *Bráhma* and other *Purâṇas*. I do not wish to withdraw the dissent I have already expressed elsewhere from the late Prof. Wilson's views about the *Purâṇas*, especially having regard to what has been recently said by Dr. Bühler on that subject in his volume on the *Âpastamba* and *Gautama Sûtras*. But the view which is apparently suggested in the passage under discussion seems to me to run into the opposite extreme.

I cannot stop to discuss here some of the other interesting points touched on in the Introduction, such as the identification of the Âryas and their country; the relations between the *Manusmṛiti* (as we have it) and the *Mahâbhârata*; the confusion about Janaka and Yâjnavalkya. But I may express my regret, that our author has given no indication of the "very considerable bearing" of topics such as the *Śântis* and the *Vratas* on "all questions of partition, succession, alienation, and contract." That those topics form part of the Hindu *Dharmaśâstra* is undoubted. And I do not deny that an appreciation of those topics may be of help in understanding the underlying principles of the *Dâyabhâga* section of the *Dharma Śâstra*. But I still think that Rao Saheb Mandlik makes a larger claim on their behalf than is quite sustainable, and at all events that some indications should have been furnished by him of the grounds upon which he bases that claim.

The first two appendices are both the result of very considerable labour, and embody some very interesting information. The others deal more particularly with questions which interest the practical lawyer. It is unfortunate, that the Rao Saheb's views upon the important questions discussed should have been expressed too late for any practical effect on our Courts. The propositions on the law of adoption and marriage, and the *Sapinda* relationship[1] so laboriously discussed in these Appendices, are now too well established to be upset. The last has been settled by a decision of the Privy Council; that about the adoption of an only son has been settled by a decision of a Full Bench of the High Court of Bombay; and the principle of decision regarding marriage customs has been laid down probably by too many judges of the High Court to be now upset by any Bench whatever. The points touching the *Sapinda* relationship, and the adoption of an only son, are both difficult ones. I cannot say, however, that Mr. Mandlik's discussion of the grounds on which the positions he assails are based is satisfactory.

The appendix on customary law contains a very useful collection of facts touching marriage customs in various parts of India, which must be of interest from more than one point of view. On customary law I would remark, that custom is necessarily vague; and everybody who has any practical acquaintance with the trial of cases in our courts, in which questions of custom arise for decision, must be aware of the very great difficulty there is in getting any satisfactory information with regard to such questions from the witnesses called who generally take one side or the other in the struggle. There is no disinclination on the part of our courts to give effect to customs when proved, except, indeed, such customs as the courts deem to be immoral or contrary to the positive legislation binding upon them. The difficulty is in ascertaining what the customs really are. A few months ago a case was tried in the High Court, in which one party alleged a custom of the Telangi Fulmâli caste to the effect that the father of a minor might cancel his marriage during his minority without reference to the minor's wishes. The documents produced from the caste records gave no support to the allegation, showing it to be based on a confusion of two very distinct matters. And yet some respectable members of the caste came into court to support that allegation. The truth seemed to be, that the witnesses—some of them intelligent ones—could not appreciate distinctions, which, to others, were quite manifest. Our author says that in his opinion, "it is wrong to apply English rules of custom to the determination of our native usages." But he does not specify what English rules he objects to. Just before this he had said, "It will appear from this text that our indigenous law does not support the English law in respect to custom, that it must be of a certain kind before it can be upheld." I cannot make out whether 'certain' here means invariable, well-established. But if it does, the word *nitya* in the text cited (and of *pâramparyakramâgata* &c. at p. xlvi seems to show that the Hindu rule and the English rule are not very different. If that is not the sense in which "certain" is used here, it is unfortunate that the Rao Saheb has not made his meaning more specific and clear.

This notice has already extended to such limits, that I must forego the discussion of many other topics which are suggested in the volume before us. I can only say in conclusion that the volume is evidently the outcome of a great deal of labour; and embodies a great deal of very interesting and useful information, to which, I am afraid, the very imperfect Index at the end does but scant justice.

KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG.

[1] I may note here that in this Appendix the word शृंगमाहिका is wrongly explained at p. 362. The idea is not that of defiance of opposition but direct specification. Cf. *Udyoga Parvan*, chap. xlv, st. 9, Commentary.

TUKÂRÂM.

BY THE REV. DR. J. MURRAY MITCHELL.

In these days, when so much attention is devoted to what is called folk-lore, no apology is necessary for an attempt to bring the writings of Tukârâm under the fuller notice of the public. We heartily rejoice in every effort that is made to explore the ancient literature of India and so give a vivid presentation of a life which has, in a great degree, passed away; but it is at least of equal importance that we should understand the present and be able to enter with intelligent sympathy into the thoughts and feelings of the people among whom we live.

Tukârâm has not unfrequently been styled "the national poet of the Marâṭhâ people." The designation may be accepted, with the proviso that, in a country so full of castes and sects as India is, no writer can, in the full sense of the word, be denominated *national*. All that we can say is that, among the Marâṭhâ people generally, no writer enjoys a popularity equal to that of Tukârâm. His fame and influence are especially great among the middle and lower castes, which constitute the great mass of the population. The Brahmans, as a rule, were at first opposed to him; and it certainly ran counter to all their prepossessions and predilections that a man of the middle class—a Wâṇî, or shopkeeper,—should become the chief religious teacher of Mahârâshṭra. Still, even among the Brahmans, his fame and authority are great and apparently not decreasing. The estimation in which he is generally held is strikingly stated in the following words—

Avaghâ goḍa, avaghâ goḍa,
Tukâ mâzhâ pântsavâ Veda—

All is sweet, all is sweet,
Tukâ is my fifth Veda,

—language which boldly violates all Hindu orthodoxy by placing the people's poet on a level with the greatest Rishis of the ancient time.

Even among those who have received a good English education, and so been brought into pretty full contact with western thought, Tukârâm is generally held in high esteem. In the public worship of the Prârthanâ Samâj, both of Bombay and Poona, the poems of Tukârâm are freely used. They are indeed expurgated so far as to deprive them of idolatrous sentiments and mythological allusions; still, the verses are not materially altered. In the interesting work of Mr. Mahâdeva Moreśvar Kunte, entitled *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization in India*, the following estimate of Tukârâm's influence is given: "He preached with a power, an originality, and a devotion which soon organized an important sect, the beneficial influence of which is discoverable wherever the Marâṭhî language is spoken." "When Tukârâm protested against idolatry, the lower orders seceded from Brahmanism." I shall have occasion by and by to state how far I can agree with this high opinion of the character and influence of the teaching of Tukârâm; but that such should be the estimate formed by well-educated men is an important fact. On the whole, then, Tukârâm, more than any other writer, is entitled to the proud appellation of "the national poet of the Marâṭhâ people;" and his fame hardly seems to be fading away even when the "fierce light" of western civilization is made to beat upon it. Such a writer then deserves, and will repay, the best attention of those who seek to understand the religious thought and life of the Marâṭhâ people.

Let me first state in two or three sentences what has been already done to bring the poet and his works to the notice of European scholars. As far back as 1849 I presented to the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society a somewhat lengthy account of the life of Tukârâm, as given in the *Bhakti Lilâmṛita* of the Marâṭhî poet Mahipati. It will be found in the third volume of the Society's *Journal*. In 1867 Sir Alexander Grant gave a thoughtful paper in the *Fortnightly Review*, entitled "Tukârâm; a Study of Hinduism." In 1869, under the patronage of the Bombay Government, there appeared an edition of the poems of Tukârâm in two large volumes, with a "critical preface" in English, in which the chief events of his life were discussed with considerable fulness. Other editions of his poems have also been published.[1] To the great majority, however, even of the members of the Asiatic Society, Tukârâm is little more than a distinguished

[1] Unhappily the readings considerably differ in different MSS. and printed editions.

Humbly the saints' feet embracing,
Think not, hear not, in thy blindness,
All of malice or unkindness;
And, says Tukâ, as thou'rt able,
Be thou good and charitable.[4]

4

Hechi hvâvî mâjhî âsa—

'Tis the dearest hope I have
Thro' all births to be thy slave;
Faithful pilgrim still to be,
Visiting dear Paṇḍharî;
Saints for my companions ever,—
Love o'erflowing like a river,—
Bathing in the Bhîmâ waves;—
This the boon that Tukâ craves.

5

Paṇḍharîsî zâû—

We shall march to Paṇḍharî,
Rukmâdevî's lord to see;
Ear is there refreshed, and eye,
And the heart o'erflows with joy;
Saints we meet, a noble band;
Joyful dance we on the sand;
Oh, says Tukâ, here is bliss;
Nought in life compares with this.

6

Sundara tè dhyâna ubhè vitevarî—

Beautiful that object, upright on the brick,
Resting the hands upon the loins:
Makar-like[5] rings are glancing in the ears;
Sparkles on the breast the *kaustubh* gem;
A garland of *tulasî* round the throat—a yellow garment round the waist;
Evermore this form delighteth me.
Says Tukâ—This is all my happiness—
I shall see the blessed face of Viṭhobâ.

7

Âdhî kâ mazasî lâviyelè save—

Why didst thou at first give me the habit?
For now I cannot remain without thee.
Why didst thou not cast me off at the beginning?
Now thou hast disregarded me; but I leave thee not.
O thou ocean of mercy! I care not for *nirwâṇ*;
Apart from thee I have become agonized.
Says Tukâ—Where, O Hari, liest thou hidden?
Oh! now come quick, O Pâṇḍurang!

8

Aparâdha zari zhâle asankhyâta—

Although my faults are numberless,
Yet Merciful is thy name;
I am thy darling, let mercy come to thee;
For whom besides thee can I look?
My mother and father is Rukmâdevî's lord—
This is the firm persuasion of my heart.
Says Tukâ—Any matter of difficulty
I cast not on thee; only meet me, O Nârâyaṇ!

9

Bâ re Pâṇḍurangâ kehvâ bheṭî desî—

Alas! O Pâṇḍurang, when wilt thou meet me
Full sorrowful have I become without thee.
Besides thee I can see no friend;
I feel I must embrace thy feet.
Let me twine[6] my body round thy feet—
When, O holder of the *discus*, wilt thou ... me?
Says Tukâ—Fulfil my joy; quickly leap to ... O Nârâyaṇ!

10

Sarva nâśavanta eka tuzaviṇa—

All is perishable save thyself alone;
Imperishable thou, and mighty;
Mighty, yet I do not cast a burden on thee;
Only, great is my wish to meet thee.
Of me the hapless fulfil the longing,
If thou callest thyself merciful.
If thou art ashamed of me, why didst thou bring me forth?
Who now will cherish me?
The child is waiting; the mother has hidden herself;
Is such a mother kind?
Says Tukâ—Not so, O Nârâyaṇ!
But make good thy spoken word.

11

Âvaḍîtsè uttar vâhû pushpânjûlî—

We shall offer the expression of desire as a handful of flowers,
We shall worship Dwârakâ's wearer of the wild-flower chaplet,
The god of gods, the prince of Yogîs,
The life of the life of the universe;
Without him there goes not to us an hour;—
More and more let us feel thy love!
Give us thy love, thy worship, says Tukâ,
Thou lord of Vaikuṇṭh, O Nârâyaṇ!

12

Udaṇḍa dekhilè udaṇḍa aikilè—

Much has been seen, much has been heard,

[4] This metre is also frequent.
[5] A *makar* is a crocodile or alligator.
[6] Literally, *wave*.

Much has been said, of the greatness of holy
places;
But like to Pandharî there is no holy place
Even were Vaikunth itself exhibited.
Such a Chandrabhâgâ—such a Bhîmâ bank—
Such a god upon the brick—where is there?
Such slaves of Hari—such sweetness of love—
Such resounding of the name—where is there?
Says Tukâ—For us, unhappy ones,
Was Pandharî created by the god.

13

Âpuliyâ baḷè nâhî mî bolata—

Of his own providing nought the poet singeth;
God, the gracious, bringeth
Strains melodious.
When the sweet *solankhî* her clear note outpoureth,
He gives, as she soareth,
All the rapture.
I can offer nothing of my heart's own treasure;
All from His good pleasure
Flows the music.
Tukâ says, His marvels no one comprehendeth;
To the lame He lendeth
Feet to walk with.

14

Dharma rakshâvayâ avatâra ghesî—

To preserve religion thou becomest incarnate;
Thine own worshippers thou dost preserve;
For Ambarishi thou didst endure several births;
Various wicked men hast thou destroyed;
Blessed ocean of grace will they call thee.
Thine own word do thou make good!
Tukâ says—The Purâṇas celebrate thee;
Thou art a cloud of mercy; an ocean of grace.

15

Tû mâjhî mâuli mî tuzhè leñkarû—

Thou art my mother, I am thy child;
Send me not from thee, O Viṭhâbâî![7]
Thou art my mother-cow, I am thy calf;
Keep not back the milk, O Viṭhâbâî!
Thou art my mother-deer, I am thy fawn;
Cut not off my hope, O Viṭhâbâî!
Thou art my mother-bird, I am thy chick;
Give me to eat, O Viṭhâbâî!
As the glance of the tortoise falls on its young,
So show me kindness, O Viṭhâbâî!
Says Tukâ—Quick, run swiftly to me,
I sink in deep waters; draw me forth!

16

Pakshiṇî prabhâte tsârâyâsî zâya—

As when the mother-bird at dawn goes to feed,
The brood remain fasting at home,
So longeth my heart for thee;
The whole night it thinketh of thy feet.
When the unweaned calf is bound, O god,
In his heart is the cry for his dam.
Says Tukâ—Thou art of near kin to me;
Quickly show kindness, O helper of the helpless!

17

Untsa nîcha kâhî neṇe Bhagavanta—

Of high and low Bhagavân nothing knows;
He stands (revealed) on beholding faith and devotion.
The son of a female slave, Vidur—he ate his grain;
In the Daitya's house he rescued Pralhâd;
For Sajan the butcher he set to selling flesh;
For Sâvatâ the gardener he set to weeding;
With Rohidâs he set to colouring leather;
At the loom of Kabir he wove scarfs;
For Narhari, the goldsmith, he set to knocking and blowing;
With Tsokhâ meḷâ he bore off (dead) cattle;
With Nâmâ he dined—no narrowness in him;
The wall of Jñânî he made to move;
With Mirâbâî he took the poison-cup;
For Dâmâjî he became a *Paṭevâr* (Mhâr);
On his body he bore a load of clay for Gorâ the potter;
The *huṇḍîs* of Mehetâ he paid himself;
With Nâmâ's Janî he picked up cowdung;
In the house of Dharm Hari carried water;
For Punḍalik still he stands upright;—
Says Tukâ—His wondrous doings no one comprehends.

18

Toṇḍî bole Brahma jñâna—

Ah, he speaks the words of heaven
With a heart to murder given,—
Loudly praise to God he sings,
But his soul to lucre clings,—
Tukâ says—A wretch so base—
Smite him, slap him on the face!

19

Kâya tuzhè vetse maza bheṭi detâ—

What will it cost thee to meet me,
And to speak a word or two?

[7] The god is here addressed as a female.

Why art thou afraid? who wants to seize thee?
To meet thee, this is my one desire.
What? would I steal thy form from thee?
And fearing this, dost thou lie hidden?
What should I do with thy Vaikuṇṭh?
Fear not; only meet me now.
Says Tukâ—Not a thread of thine do I seek;
All my delight is in seeing thee.

20

Karâvâ uddhâra hè tumhâ uchita—

It is your duty to deliver;
I have performed my part.
I have uttered a cry, saying "Haste!"
Now let him to whom it belongs, take care!
Blame is to the deceiver, he must be thought a liar,—
Such is my full persuasion.
Says Tukâ—My body, tongue, mind—
Have no other object of regard save thee.

21

Soḍûni kîrttana na karî âṇi kâza—

I shall not leave off the *kîrttan*[8] to do aught else;
I shall dance without shame in thy court.
Clapping my hands, I shall say, Viṭṭhal!
So shall I destroy the delusion of existence.
Let the longing of my love be satisfied, O king of Paṇḍharî!
Suppliant for this am I at thy feet.
Says Tukâ—Neglect me not,—
Lead me to thine own dwelling place!

22

Mâzhâ tuzhâ devâ âhe vairâkâra—

Is there enmity, O god, between me and thee?
Thou overwhelmest me[9] with mountains of grief.
Violently hast thou bound me and given me into the hand of Death.
By this what has come into thine own hand?
Much hope had I entertained of thee;
Greatly, O lord of Ramâ, hast thou exalted thyself!
By such exaltation, high will be thy name;
But yet I shall call thee god.
Says Tukâ—Hear my piteous cry;
Or else, I shall give up my life.

23

Koṇatâ upâya karû bheṭâvayâ—

What means can I use to meet thee?
I think I shall burn this body.
Quitting my village, I will go to the desert,
To see the lord of Rukmâdêvî.
Shall I use this means—to let my body wither?
I can bear it no longer, O Nârâyaṇ.
The few days of life are passing away—
When, therefore, O Hari, wilt thou meet me?
Says Tukâ—Consider and say something—
O Viṭhu, whatever is in thy mind.

24

Dhanya dhanya Paṇḍharpûra—

Blessed, blessed Paṇḍharî;
Viṭṭhal lo! and Rukmiṇî!
Glideth past the Chandrabhâgâ;
Kâśî, Gayâ, and Prayâga,[10]
And great Dwârakâ,—all are here—
With the Pâṇḍavas' friend so dear;
And, says Tukâ, here we see
Puṇḍalik, blest devotee.

25

Râma nâmâ viṇa toṇḍa—

He who says not Râm—the fool,
His mouth is just a tanner's pool.
He who is not Viṭṭhal's slave
Wretch! he must two fathers have;
He who loves not Pâṇḍurang
Scoundrel! is in caste a Mâng;
Aye, says Tukâ, on that day
Mhâr and whore together lay.

26

Kanyâ sâsâryâsî zâya—

When the girl is going to the house of her father-in-law,
Turning she gazes back.
So is it with my soul;
When wilt thou meet me, O Keśava?
The doe has lost her fawn—
And she seeks it in every place.
The mother has lost her child—
Then back she looks, grieving, grieving.
Like a little fish drawn from the water,
Even so is Tukâ agonized.

27

Nâma gheṭâ wâṭ tsâlî—

If one walks repeating the Name,
There is a sacrifice at every step.
If one does his daily work, repeating the name—
He is (as if) continually wrapt in meditation.
If one eats, taking the name at each mouthful—

[8] *Kîrttan* is celebration of a deity with musical instruments and songs.

[9] Literally—showest me.

[10] Tukâ's rhymes are often very imperfect. We have simply followed him in this case.

Even when he has dined he has fasted.
Blessed, blessed is his body,
The maternal abode of holy place and rite.
Repeating the name let him enjoy or reject,
Blame soils him not;
He who continually sings the name of Râm
Tukâ worshippeth his feet.

28

Nâma âhe jayâ pâsî—

He with whom is the Name,
Kâśî is there wherever he dwells.
Such is the glory of the name—
Vâlmik, Shankar, Umâ knew it.
The boy Pralhâd knew the name;
Knew it, the wicked Ajâmel;
Nârad also knew it;
The Name (gave) a changeless station to Dhruv;
The Name saved Ganikâ;
It delivered the elephant Gajendra;
Hanumân knew the Name;
The great saints knew it;
Śuk himself knew the Name;
Knew it king Parîkshit;
Tukâ, the shopkeeper, knows the Name,
And has bidden the world farewell.

29

Âmachî mirâs Paṇḍharî—

My heritage is Paṇḍharî;
I dwell on Bhîmâ-bank;
Rukmâdevî is my mother;
Pâṇḍurang is my father;
My brother is Puṇḍalik Muni;
The Chandrabhâgâ is my sister;
A place has been given me at the feet—
Tukâ is an old proprietor.

30

Bhâgyavanta mhaṇâ tayâ—

Call them the fortunate
Who have gone suppliant to the king of Paṇḍharî.
They have been saved, and will be—this conviction
Is the stamp on him who invokes the Name.
This is the place of *bhakti* and *mukti*;
It is pure to simple believing men.
Hari is celebrated in the Purâṇas;
Tukâ speaks the voice of the Veda.

31

Sarva dharmâte ṭâkona—

Casting away all *dharm*,
Come wholly suppliant to me.
Is the desire of *moksh* to thee?
Then come suppliant to me.
Egoism is grievous sin,—
Know thou this assuredly.
Says Tukâ—Through *mâyâ*[11]
He[12] speaks this secret in the Gîtâ.

32

Abhakta Brâhmaṇa kâḷe tyâtse toṇḍa—

A Brahman without *bhakti*, black is his face;
What? did not a whore bring him forth?
But a Vaishṇava Châmbhâr, pure is his mother,
Pure both his race and caste.
This is the decision made in the Purâṇas—
It is not only a statement of mine.
Says Tukâ—Let his greatness go hang;
Let not my eye fall on such a wretch!

33

Zaḷo zâḷo te sakaḷa—

Hang all that kind of thing—
First-rate caste, first-rate family!
He whose speech is vile
His ear is but a rat's hole.
Abandoning Hari,
He foolishly fusses about many things.
Says Tukâ—What multitudes
Have madly gone thus to ruin!

34

Para strî te âmhâ Rukmiṇî samâna—

The wife of another man is with me equal to Rukmiṇî;
I swear it by thee, O Pâṇḍurang!
Mother, do not give me trouble,
We, slaves of Vishṇu, are not of such a sort.
This fall of yours I cannot bear;
Do not speak such a wicked word.
Says Tukâ—If you must have a husband,
Whatever you may be, are people few?

35

Aho sakaḷ tirthâhûnî—

Oh, of all the holy places
Paṇḍharî's lord is the crown jewel.
Blessed, blessed is Paṇḍharî
The indestructible city of *moksh*;
Lo! the place of rest:
That is my lord of Paṇḍharî.
Says Tukâ—I tell it plainly—
Paṇḍharî is a second Vaikuṇṭh.

[11] Mâyâ means either *illusion* or *affection*.

[12] Viz., Krishṇa.

36

Hechi karî kâma—

Do this work,
O my soul, repeat the name of Râm.
Take, take, O my tongue,
The sweet name of Viṭhobâ.
Hear, O my ears,
The excellencies of my Viṭhobâ.
Take O my eyes, this happiness—
To behold the face of Viṭhobâ.
My soul, run thither—
Rest at the feet of Viṭhobâ.
Says Tukâ—O my soul,
My soul, forsake not Keśav.

37

Divâlkhora Nârâyaṇa—

A very bankrupt is Nârâyaṇ,—
He is in debt to multitudes;
Rising in the morning, at the great door
They cry—Give me, give me my own, O Hari.
He, the while, remaining in the house,
Draws the screen of *mâyâ* across.
The bond is thy name;
Thy feet are the pledge.
Art thou not willing to give to any,
And therefore keepest thou silence?
Creditor is Tukâ the shopkeeper;
Debtor is Viṭṭhal the master.

38

Viṭṭhalâtsè nâma ghyâvè—

Take the name of Viṭṭhal—
Then thrust forward the foot.
All auspicious times and omens
Are in contemplating Viṭṭhal in the heart.
This is the necessary conjunction;
What gain is lacking then?
Says Tukâ—To the slave of Hari
Propitious times occur perpetually.

39

Jaisè taisè tarî—

Even such as I am,
Suppliant have I come to thee, O Hari.
Now thou must not
Falsify thine own pretensions.
Pure my heart is not,
Yet I call myself worshipper.
Whoever asks about poor me,
It is thy name that Tukâ mentions.

40

Deva bhâvâtsâ bhukelâ—

The god, hungering for faith,
Became his servant's slave.
Taking not a *cowrie* of wages
He washes the horses of Arjun.
Having no love of sensuous things
His delight was in Kubazâ.
Says Tukâ—The supporter of the universe
Became a milkman's child.

41

Karitâ devârchana—

When engaged in worshipping the gods
If saints come to your house,
Let the gods be set aside,
And first the saints be served.
(Like) the śâlagrâm, the image of Vishṇu,[13]
Are the saints of whatever caste.
Says Tukâ—First of all
Worship the circle of the Vaishṇavas.

42

Tuza pâhatâ samorî—

Looking on thee
My gaze does not return.
My heart is at thy feet;
It has embraced them, thou king of Paṇḍharî!
Separate from the stream is not
The salt, which is mixed with the water.
Yes, says Tukâ, as an offering[14]
My life is laid beneath thy feet.

43

Aho dâtâ Nârâyaṇa—

Yes! the giver is Nârâyaṇ;
And he is himself the enjoyer.
Now with my own tongue I say nothing,
Henceforth we shall speak his words.
Yes, says Tukâ, even my dull
Senses have become Govind.

44

Aisâ jyâtsâ anubhava

He whose experience is this
That the universe is the true god,
God is near to him;
On looking, He appears in view.
Lust, anger, are not in his heart;
Equality with all beings is attained,
Says Tukâ—Duality, non-duality,—
All such question is utterly gone.

[13] Or *Vishṇu's self.*

[14] Or perhaps, *like (king) Bali.*

45

Dhyânî dhyâtâ Paṇḍharîrâyâ—

Meditating on the king of Paṇḍharî,
With the mind the body changes;
Then, what more need be said?
Mine, myself, have become Hari.
Mind and deity embrace;
One sees the whole universe as Hari's form.
Says Tukâ—What can I say?
At once Hari's form overflows all.

46

Vishayâtsè sukha ethè vâṭe goḍa—

Worldly joy here seemeth sweet;
Hereafter the pains of Yama are dreadful.
They strike, they cut, they horribly slash—
Those servants of Yama—for many years.
There is a tree with sword-like leaves; live coals of *khair*;
Flames of boiling oil come forth;
They are made to walk on burning floors;
They embrace fiery pillars with their arms.
Therefore, says Tukâ, my heart is sorrowful;
Enough of coming and going and being born.

47

Tuza viṇa tila bhara rîtâ ṭhâva—

Without thee the least speck of space
Is not; so speaks the world.
Yogîs, Munîs, Sâdhus, saints, have said it.
Thou art in this—in every place.
With this belief have I come suppliant;
From of old am I thy child.
Thou fillest unnumbered worlds and overflowest;
Yet nowhere hast thou become (visible) to me.
"Limit there is not to my form;
What meeting can I give my servant?"
Is it so thinking that thou comest not?
Tell me, O Ṛishikeśî, my father and mother!
Says Tukâ—Run, my life is spent;
Show thy feet, O Nârâyaṇ!

48

Nirdayâsî tumhî karitâ daṇḍaṇa—

It is thou that punishest the unkind,
Where then shall I take my complaint against thyself?
I intreat kindness; thine ear regards not;
Causelessly thou remainest silent.
Sorrowfully I gaze, clasping thy feet,
With a sad voice I make intreaty;
Says Tukâ—Loose the knot in my mind;
What, O Viṭṭhal, art thou waiting for?

49

Sarva devâtsè daivata—

The god of all gods
Stands upright—all-perfect.
Snatch the delight, my friend;
With pure faith measure it out truly.
The delight has been snatched by many,
By Dhruv, Nârad, and other saints.
Tukâ snatches the delight;
Pâṇḍurang has become his helper.

50

Mâya bâpe kelî âsa—

Father and mother hoped much from him,
But he became the slave of his wife.
He attends to the babble of women,
But answers not his own brother.
His wife gets a yellow silk garment,
His mother a ragged *sovaḷê.*
Says Tukâ—Such a fellow—
Deal him out blows with a shoe!

51

Lâhânpaṇâ degâ deva—

Place, O God, oh place me low!
Deals the rider blow on blow
To the lordly elephant,
While on sweetness feeds the ant.
See exposed to perils oft
Him who holds his head aloft.
Hear, says Tukâ—This is all;
Be thou smallest of the small.

52

Sadgurûwâṇtsonî sâmpaḍenâ soya[15]*—*

Without the true Guru no good can be obtained;
Let the feet of him be held fast, first of all!
At once he makes you like unto himself;
Him there befals no chance or change.
As no comparison can be made between iron and the *paris,*
So the glory of the True Guru is great exceedingly.
Says Tukâ—How blind are these people!
They have forgotten the true God.

53

Antarî nirmaḷa vâchâtsâ rasâḷa—

He who is pure in heart, and gentle in speech—
Be there, or be there not, a garland round his neck;

[15] This abhang is not found in some editions; but is generally ascribed to Tukâ.

He who by self-experience has purified his
ways—
Be there, or be there not, a *jaṭhá*[10] on his head;
He who before another's wife is passionless—
Be there, or be there not, ashes on his body;
He who is blind to others' wealth, and deaf to
censure on others,—
Behold! that man, says Tukâ, is a saint.

54

Andhalyâsî jana avaghechi andhale—

To the blind man every one is blind;
For to him their eyes are invisible.
To the sick man even sweetmeats are like
poison;
For in his mouth there is no power to taste.
Says Tukâ—He who is not pure himself,
To him the three worlds are all false.

55

Dhanavantá lâgî—

To the prosperous wight
All is respect in the world.
Mother, father, brother, people—
Every one pays attention to his words.
So long as his great employment lasts
Even his sister addresses him, Dâdâ.
His wife, covered with ornaments, with reverence bows before him.
Says Tukâ—Wealth and fortune
Know thou to be perishable things.

(To be continued.)

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 20.)

No. CXIX.

The present inscription, No. 10 of those noticed in Vol. X., p. 244, is edited from the original plates, which were found somewhere in the Karnul District and were forwarded to me by Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S.

The plates are three in number, each about $7\frac{7}{8}''$ long, by $2\frac{1}{2}''$ broad at the ends and $2\frac{5}{16}''$ broad in the middle. In fashioning the plates, the edges were made somewhat thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing on the surface of the plates; and both the plates and the inscription are excellently preserved. The ring, on which the plates were strung, had not been cut; it is about $\frac{1}{3}''$ thick and $3\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter. The seal on it is slightly oval, about $1\frac{5}{8}''$ by $1\frac{1}{4}''$, and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, the usual Western Chalukya boar, standing to the proper right. The three plates weigh $47\frac{3}{4}$ tolas, and the ring and seal 23 tolas,—total weight, $70\frac{3}{4}$ tolas. The language is Sanskrit. The characters are square and upright, and are of the usual Western Chalukya type of the period.

It is a Western Chalukya grant, and gives us a new name in that dynasty, in the person of Âdityavarmâ, the son of Satyâśraya I. or Pulikêśî II. He is probably the Âdityavarmâ whom the later account, or rather tradition, of the Miraj plates[1] makes the son of Naḍamari and the *grandson* of Pulikêśî II. In the present grant, the genealogical portion commences with Pulikêśî I., to whom it wrongly allots the name of Satyâśraya, which was properly possessed first by his grandson Pulikêśî II.; but, though this is a mistake, the present grant does not stand alone in allotting the name of Satyâśraya to an ancestor of Pulikêśî II. The only other respect in which it differs from the usual style of the Western Chalukya grants is in the use of the word *kuśalin* in line 13. But on neither of these two grounds is there any reason for questioning the authenticity of the grant; it is undoubtedly genuine. It records an allotment at the villages of Muṇḍakallu and Palgiṟe. Not knowing exactly where the grant was found, I do not know where to search the map for the modern identification of these villages. The grant was made at the time of the great festival of Paitâmahî and Hiraṇyagarbha, on the day of the full-moon of the month Kârttika, in the first year of the reign of Âdityavarmâ. Unfortunately the Śaka year is not recorded; nor does this inscription state whether Âdityavarmâ was older or younger than his brothers Chandrâditya and Vikramâditya I. But, on palæographical grounds, and because the two grants of Vikramâditya I. from Karnul, Nos. 11 and 12 in Vol. X., p. 244, and also the Nêrûr and Kôchrê grants of Chandrâditya's wife,[2] give some

[10] Matted.
[1] Vol. VIII., p. 10.
[2] No. XLI., in Vol. VII., p. 163; and No. LIII., in Vol. VIII., p. 44.

indications of being amplified in their concluding portions from the draft of the present grant, I am inclined to consider that Âdityavarmâ was the eldest of the three brothers.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti [||*] Jayaty=âvishkritaṁ Vishṇôr=vvârâhaṁ kshôbhit-ârṇṇavaṁ dakshiṇônnata-daṁshṭr-âśra(gra)-viśrânta-

[2] bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ [||*] Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavyasagôtrâṇâṁ Hâritî-pu-

[3] trâṇâṁ sapta-lôkamâtribhis=sapta-mâtṛibhir=abhira[3]bhivardhitânâṁ Kârttikêya-parira-

[4] kshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-para[ṁ*]parâṇâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-va-

[5] râhalâṁchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitâṁ Chalukyânâṁ kulam=alaṁkari-

[6] shṇu(shṇô)r=aśvamêdh-âvabhṛithasnâna-pavitrîkṛita-gâtrasya Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivîvallabha-

Second plate; first side.

[7] mahârâjasya prapautraḥ parâkra[4]m-âkkrâ(krâ)nta-Vanavâsy-âdi-paranṛipatimaṇḍala-praṇi-

[8] baddha-viśuddha-kîrtî(rti)-patâkasya Kîrttivarmma-vallabha-[ma*]hârâjasya pautraḥ samarasaṁsakta-

[9] sakalôttarâpathêśvara-Śrî-Harshavardhana-parâjay-ôpalabdha-paramêśvara-

[10] śabd-âlaṁkṛitasya naya-vinay-âdi-sâṁ(sâ)mrâjya-guṇa-vibhûty-âśrayasya Sa-

[11] tyâśraya-śrîpṛithivîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvarasya priya-tanayaḥ

[12] sva-bhuja-bala-parâkkra(kra)m-âkkrâ(krâ)nta-sakala-mahîmaṁ(ma)ṇḍal-âdhirâjyaḥ śrîmaḥ[5](ma)-

Second plate; second side.

[13] d-Âdityavarma-pṛithivîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvaraḥ kuśalî sarvvâ-

[14] n=âjñâpayati [|*] Viditam=astu vô=smâbhiḥ Maudgalôya[6]-sagôtrâya Pâḷiśarmmaṇaḥ

[15] putrâya Rôvaśarmaṇêḥ(ṇê) Agniśarmmaṇê cha pravardhamâna-vijaya-râjya-pra-

[16] thama-saṁvatsarê Kârttika-paurṇamâsyâṁ Paitâmahî-Hiraṇyagarbha-mahôtsava-

[17] samayê Muṇḍakallu-grâmasya Palgiṟe-grâmasya cha uñchha-manna-pannâsa-vṛittiḥ râja-

Third plate.

[18] mânêna dattâ [|*] Mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âvâptayê udaka-pûrvvaṁ dattaṁ [|*] Tad=asmad-vaṁśa-

[19] jair=anyaiś=ch=âgâmi-nṛipatibhiś=cha svaṁ(sva)datti-nirvviśêshaṁ paripâlanîyam=anumantavyañ=cha [|*]

[20] [Tad-apahartâ*][7] sa pañchabhir=mahâpâtakṛi(kai)s=sa[ṁ*]yuktô bhavati abhirakshitâ cha dâtus=sadṛi-

[21] śa-puṇya-phala-bhâg=bhavati [||*] Uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna [|*] Bahu-

[22] bhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[ḥ*] tasya tasya tadâ phala[m*] ||*

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of Vishṇu,—which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right-hand tusk!

(L. 2.)—The great-grandson of the favourite of the world, the great king, Satyâśraya,[8]—

[3] These two syllables, *bhira*, are repeated unnecessarily.

[4] The dot, like an *anusvâra*, after and half-way down this letter *kra*, is only a slip of the engraver's tool. There are similar slips after the *na* of *naya*, and in the *i* of *vinaya*, in l. 10.

[5] This *visarga*, on the rim of the plate, is probably due to the engraver having at first omitted the *Visarga* of *yaḥ* immediately above, which also is on the rim of the plate, and having then inserted it here before inserting it in its proper place.

[6] The *lô* of the third syllable is a mistake for *li* or *lu*. But the proper form, according to Prof. Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*, and Max Müller's *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 382, is *Maudgalya*, and I adopt that in my translation.

[7] These words are supplied from one of the Karnul grants of Vikramâditya I.

[8] *i. e.* Pulikêśî I.; see para. 3 of the introductory remarks.

whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalukyas, who are glorious; who are of the Mânavya *gôtra*, which is praised over the whole world; who are the descendants of Hâritî; who have been made prosperous by seven mothers, who are the seven mothers of mankind; who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of Kârttikêya; and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa:—

(L. 7.)—The grandson of the favourite, the great king, Kìrttivarmâ, the banner of whose pure fame was established in Vanavâsî and other territories of hostile kings that had been invaded by his prowess:—

(L. 8.)—The dear son of the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, Satyâśraya,[9]—who was decorated with the title of 'Supreme Lord,' which he had acquired by defeating Śrî-Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north; and who was the asylum of the glory of the virtuous qualities of prudent behaviour, modesty, &c., and of universal sovereignty:—

(L. 11.)—The glorious Âdityavarmâ,—the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, who possesses supreme sovereignty over the whole territory of the world which has been overrun by his own strength of arm and his prowess,—being in good health, thus issued his commands to all people:—

(L. 14.)—"Be it known to you! In the first year of (*Our*) increasing and victorious reign, on the day of the full-moon of Kârttika, on the occasion of the great festival of Paitâmahî and Hiraṇyagarbha, the allotment, (*known as*) the gleaning . . . .[10] fifty, by the king's measure, of the village of Muṇḍakallu and of the village of Palgiṟe, has been given by Us, to Rêvaśarmâ, of the Maudgalya[11] *gôtra* and the son of Pâḷiśarmâ, and to Agniśarmâ.

(L. 18.)—"The gift has been made, with libations of water, in order that (*Our*) parents and Ourself may acquire religious merit. Therefore it is to be preserved and assented to by future kings, whether those who belong to Our lineage or others, just as if it were a grant made by themselves. [The confiscator of it*] becomes invested with the (*guilt of the*) five great sins; the preserver of it enjoys an equal reward of religious merit with the giver of it!

(L. 21.)—"And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the *Vêdas*:—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it!"

No. CXX.

There has come to notice quite recently the only inscription that is as yet known to be extant of the Early Chalukya king, Kîrttivarmâ I. It is on a stone-tablet in Survey No. 69 at the village of Âḍûr, about eight miles to the east of Hângal in the Dhârwâḍ District. I edit it from an ink-impression of the original stone. The only sculpture at the top of the stone is a floral device, apparently half of a waterlily.

The stone contains altogether twenty lines of writing, covering a space of 3′ 1″ high by 2′ 3½″ broad, all in characters of the same early type and period. Lines 1 to 14 are a Sanskrit inscription which records the grant of a field for the *dânaśâlâ*, or 'hall for the distribution of charity,' and the other purposes, of a *Jinâlaya* or Jain temple which had been built by one of the *Gâmuṇḍas* or village-headmen. Vaijayantî or Banawâsi seems to be mentioned in line 4; but lines 2 to 5 are so much damaged that whatever historical information they may have contained appears to be now hopelessly illegible. An examination of the original stone might render a letter clear here and there, but is not likely to result in any consecutive passage being deciphered.

Lines 15 to 20 are almost perfect,[12] and contain an Old-Canarese inscription which records that, while Kîrttivarmâ was reigning as supreme sovereign, and while a certain king Sinda was governing at the city of Pâṇḍipura, Dôṇagâmuṇḍa and Eḷagâmuṇḍa and others, with the permission of king Mâdhavatti, gave to the temple of Jinêndra, for the purpose of providing the oblation, unbroken rice, perfumes, flowers, &c., eight

[9] Pulikêśî II.
[10] The meaning of *manna*, l. 17, is not apparent.
[11] See note 6 above.

[12] Except that here, as also in the upper inscription, two or three or more letters have been broken off at the ends of the lines all the way down.

mattals of rice-land, by the royal measure, to the west of the village of Karmagalûr.

This inscription is not dated. But the titles that are given in it to Kîrttivarmâ, and the style of the characters, leave no doubt whatever that the king Kîrttivarmâ spoken of is the Early Chalukya king Kîrttivarmâ I., whose reign, according to the inscription of his younger brother and successor Mangalîśa in the Vaishṇava Cave No. III. at Bâdâmi, terminated in Śaka 489 (A. D. 567-8).[13] And the existence of this inscription at Âḍûr, in the ancient Kadamba territory, affords an interesting corroboration of the statement of the Aihoḷe Mêguṭi inscription, that Kîrttivarmâ I. conquered the Kadambas.[14]

Pâṇḍîpura was the ancient name of Âḍûr itself, the modern form being evidently arrived at by a contraction, combined with first the usual substitution of *h* for *p*, and then the loss of the initial letter altogether. The name is preceded in this inscription, l. 16, by two doubtful syllables, which may have been an early prefix to the name; but it appears in Râshṭrakûṭa inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. as simply Pâṇḍîpura, and in later inscriptions of the Western Châlukyas and Kâdambas as simply Pâṇḍiyûr, without any prefix. Paralûr, which is mentioned in both these inscriptions, is possibly the modern Harlâpur, five miles to the north of Âḍûr. I cannot at present identify Karmagalûr.

Transcription.

First inscription.

[1] . . . . Jayaty=anêkadhâ viśvam vivṛiṇvann=aṁśumân=iva Śrî-Varddhamâna-dêvê . . . .

[2] . . . . .n(?)yapa-dûḥ-prabâdhanaḥ [||*] Prabhâsa(?)ti bhuvaṁ bhûyô . . . .

[3] . . . . pratâpa-kshata- . . . . . i . . . . . . i . . . . dâna . . . .

[4] . . . . ku(?)ra(?)-têjasâ Vaijaya . . . . ra . . . .

[5] . . . . . t=pâśabhṛid=vishamô Yamaḥ chittaṁ vâ mânasaṁ satyaṁ si(?sthi)tam . . . . [||*] Tên=êpa(?) . . . .

[6] . . . gâmuṇḍa-nirmmâpita-Jinâlaya-dânaśâḷâdi-saṁvṛiddhyai vijñaptêna yaśasvinâ [| *] pa[ñcha-viṁ]-[15]

[7] śati-saṁkhyâna-nivarttana-kṛita-pramaṁ kshêtraṁ râjaja[16]mânêna dattaṁ tv=ahita-rakshaṇaṁ [| *] [vi]-

[8] śrâvya sâkshiṇaḥ kṛitvâ Uñchhôrinda-pradhânakân=anyair=api cha râjanyai rakshaṇ[î]yaṁ sa . . . . [||*]

[9] Uktaṁ cha [| *] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭây[â]ṁ [jâya]-

[10] tê kṛimiḥ [||*] Svan=dâtu[ṁ] su-mahachchhakyaṁ duḥkham=anyasya pâlanaṁ dânaṁ vâ pâlanaṁ v=êti dânâch=chhrê[yô=nu]-

[11] pâlanaṁ [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhi[ḥ*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=[tasya ta]-

[12] sya tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Âsîd=Vinayanand=îti Paralûra-gaṇ-âgraṇîr=Indrabhûtir=iva dhârât chat . . . . . . [saṁ]-

[13] gha-saṁhatêḥ [||*] Tasy[17]=ântêvasann=âsît Vâsudêvô gurur=guruḥ tasya śishya[ḥ*] Prabhâ . . . .[18] [||*]

[14] Śishya[ḥ*] Śrîpâla-nâm=âsya Dharmmagâmuṇḍa-putrajaḥ prâtishṭhipach=chhilâpaṭṭaṁ sthêyâd=[â]-cha[nd]r[a-târakaṁ] [||*]

[13] No. LXXXI., Vol. X., p. 57.

[14] No. LV., Vol. VIII., p. 237.

[15] The metre and the context together make certain the syllables that I supply here.

[16] *Râjaja*, 'king's son,' is employed, instead of the usual word *râjan*, 'king,' to suit the metre.

[17] The metre is faulty here.

[18] This line must have been longer than any of the others by seven or eight letters.

Second inscription.

[15] Svasti Śrîmat-pri(pṛi)thu(thi)vîvallabha râjâdhirâja paramêśvara Kîrttivarmm-arasar prithu(thi)vir[âjyaṁ-ge]-
[16] ye Sind-arasar=gga(?ggâ; ?ggaṁ)gi(?dhi) Pâṇḍîpuramân=âḷe paramêśvaraṁ Mâdhavattiy-arasargge vi[jñâpanaṁ-ge]-
[17] ydu Dôṇagâmuṇḍaruṁ Eḷagâmuṇḍaruṁ Maḷḷeyaruṁ Uñchharâdhâ(?vâ)savereyaruṁ ha . . . .
[18] karaṇa-sahitam=âgi havir-akshata-gandha-pushp-âdigaḷge Karmmagalûrâ paḍuvaṇa ma . . . e . . . .
[19] ya keḷage eṇṭu mattal=gaḷde râjamânaṁ Jinêndra-bhavanakk=ittor=Idân=âr-âr=salippor=a[va]-
[20] rtê dharmmam=âr-âr=idâ[n*] kiḍippor=avarttê pâpa[ṁ] [||*] Paralûrâ chêdiyada[19] baḷi Prabhâchandra-gurâvar=paḍedâ[r] [||*]

Translation.

First inscription.

(L. 1.)—Victorious in many ways is the *Dêvêndra* Śrî-Vardhamâna,[20]—who illuminates the whole world, as does the sun; and who destroys the pain of . . . . ! Greatly illuminates the earth . . . . destroyed by prowess . . . . by the splendour . . . . Vaijayantî(?) . . . . fearful is Yama, the bearer of the noose . . . . thoughts or tacit truth . . . .

(L. 5.)—By him, the illustrious one, when requested to augment (*the endowments of*) the *dânaśâḷâ* &c. of the *Jinâlaya* which . . . . gâmuṇḍa had caused to be built, there was given a field measuring twenty-five *nivartanas* by the royal measure; (*let there be*) protection (*of it*) from enemies! Having proclaimed (*the grant*), and having made those who are headed by Uñchhôrinda the witnesses (*of it*), it is to be preserved . . . . by other royal persons also!

(L. 9.)—And it has been said:—He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! It is very easy to give one's own property, but the preservation (*of the gift*) of another is troublesome; (*if it is asked*) whether giving or preserving (*is the better*),—preserving is more meritorious than giving! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it!

(L. 12.)—There was the chief of the sect of (*the village of*) Paralûra, by name Vinayanandî, who, as if he were a very Indrabhûti, from his continuance in rectitude . . . . of the assemblage of the sect. His pupil was the venerable preceptor Vâsudêva; and his disciple was Prabhâ . . . . This man's disciple, named Śrîpâla, the son's son of Dharmagâmuṇḍa, set up this stone tablet; may it endure as long as [the moon and stars may last!]

Second inscription.

(L. 15.)—Hail! While king Kîrttivarmâ, the glorious favourite of the world, the supreme king of kings, the supreme lord, was ruling the world, and while king Sinda was governing . . . .[21] (*the city of*) Pâṇḍîpura;—

(L. 16.)—Having [preferred their request] to the supreme lord, king Mâdhavatti,—Dôṇagâmuṇḍa and Eḷagâmuṇḍa and the Maḷḷeyas and the Uñchharâdhâsavereyas, together with . . . ., gave to the temple of Jinêndra, for the purpose of providing the oblation and unbroken rice and perfumes and flowers &c., eight *mattals*[22] of rice-land, by the royal measure, below the . . . . to the west of (*the village of*) Karmagalûr.

[19] This letter, *da*, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line. There is a mark above the line to indicate the omission.

[20] The last of the twenty-four Jain *Tîrthaṁkaras*.

[21] See para. 5 of the introductory remarks.

[22] This, which occurs in other early inscriptions also, is evidently the original form of the *mattar* of later inscriptions. By the details given in ll. 47-50 of an inscription at Bâḷaṁbîḍ (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I., p. 585), one *mattar* was equivalent to one hundred *kammas* or *kambas*; but the value of a *kamma* has not been ascertained yet.

(L. 19.)—Those who continue this (*grant*), theirs is[22] religion; those who injure it, theirs is sin!

(L. 20.)—The *Gurâva* Prabhâchandra, residing at[24](?) the *chaitya*[25](?) of Paralûr, acquired (*this grant*).

SANSKRIT GRANTS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF GUJARÂT KINGS.

No. II.

A COPPERPLATE GRANT OF KING BHÎMADEVA II. DATED V. S. 1256.

EDITED BY H. H. DHRUVA, B.A., LL.B.

Through the kindness of the then surgeon at Pâtaṇ, Dr. Balabhai M. Nânavati, I obtained a loan of these plates, from which copies were printed for the photolithograph accompanying this. The plates were picked up from the old rubbish lying in the Pâtaṇ Kachêri, but were in an excellent state of preservation.

Plate I.

(1) ॐ स्वस्ति राजावली पूर्ववत् समस्तराजावलीविराजित परमभट्टारक महारा-
(2) जाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजा-
(3) धिराज परमेश्वर श्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजा-
(4) धिराज परमेश्वर श्रीदुर्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजा-
(5) धिराज परमेश्वर श्रीभीमदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज
(6) परमेश्वर त्रैलोक्यमल्ल श्रीकर्णदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
(7) धिराज परमेश्वरावंतीनाथ त्रिभुवनगंड वर्ब्बरकजिष्णु सिद्धचक्रवर्ति श्रीज-
(8) यसिंहदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर प्रो(प्रौ)ढ-
(9) प्रताप उमापतिवरलब्धप्रसाद स्वभुजविक्रमरणांगणविनिर्जितशाकं-
(10) भरीभूपाल श्रीकुमारपालदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधि-
(11) राज परमेश्वर परममाहेश्वर प्रबलबाहुदंडदर्प रूपकंदर्प कलिकाल-
(12) निष्कलंकावतारितरामराज्य करदीकृतसपादलक्षक्ष्मापाल श्रीअजय-
(13) पालदेव पादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वराहव-
(14) पराभूतदुर्ज्जयगर्ज्जनकाधिराज श्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टा-
(15) रक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वराभिनवसिद्धराज श्रीमद्भीमदेवः स्वभुज्य-
(16) मानदंडाहीपथकान्तःपातिनः समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तन्नियु-
(17) क्ताधिकारिणो जनपदांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ श्रीमद्विक्रमादित्योत्पादित-
(18) संवत्सरशतेषु द्वादशसु षट्पंचाशदुत्तरेषु भाद्रपदमास-
(19) कृष्णपक्षामावास्यायां भो(भौ)मवारेऽत्रांकतोऽपि संवत् १२५६ लौ० भाद्रपद
(20) वदि १५ भौमेऽस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षवारपूर्व्विकायां तिथावद्येह श्रीम-
(21) दणहिलपाटकेऽमावास्यापर्वणि स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानी-

Plate II.

(22) पतिमभ्यर्च्य संसारासारतां विचिन्त्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं प्रा-
(23) णितव्यमाकलय्यैहिकमामुष्मिकं च फलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य-
(24) यशोभिवृद्धये कडाग्रामे पूर्व्वदिग्भागे महिसाणाग्रामीयश्रीआनलेश्वरदे-
(25) वसत्कभूमीसंलग्नपाश्व(?र्श्व)उलिग्राममार्गवामपक्षे भूमि वि ९ नवविंशोपेके(?)र्जी-

[23] *Avarde* seems to be an old form of *avaradu*, 'belonging to them,'—the change of the final *u* into *e* being for the sake of emphasis.

[24] *Boli.*

[25] *Chêdiya* seems to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *chaitya*. The Pâli corruption was *chêtiya*.

(26) तहल ४ चतुर्णां हलानां भूमी स्वसीमापर्य्यन्ता सवृक्षमालाकुला सहिरण्यभा-
(27) गभोगा काष्ठतृणोदकोपेता सर्वादायसमेता रायकवालज्ञातीयब्राह्मण-
(28) णज्योतिसोढलसुतआसधराय शासनेनोदकपूर्व्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्ता ॥ अ-
(29) स्या भूमेराघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्वतो बारडवलयोः क्षेत्रेषु सीमा । दक्षिणतो रा-
(30) जमार्गः । पश्चिमतः श्रीआनलेश्वरदेवक्षेत्रेषु सीमा । उत्तरतो वांऊयवि-
(31) शेपेक ग्रा० गांगासक्तडोहलिकाग्रामयोः सीमा । एवममीभिराघाटैरु-
(32) पलक्षिता(sic) भूमिमेनामवगम्य एतद्ग्रामनिवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभा-
(33) गभोगकरहिरण्यादिसर्व्वं सर्व्वदाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वाऽमुष्मै ब्राह्मणाय
(34) समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यमेतत्पुण्यफलं मत्वाऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृ-
(35) भिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोऽयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं भगवता व्या-
(36) सेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव
(37) नरके वसेत् । १ [॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरानरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि निर्म्मा-
(38) ल्यतानि प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ २ [॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता रा-
(39) जभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । ३ [॥*] दत्त्वा भूमिं भाविनः
(40) पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ! सामान्योऽयं दानधर्म्मो नृपाणां स्वे स्वे
(41) काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । ४ [॥*] लिखितमिदं शासनं मोढान्वयप्रसूतमहाक्षपट-
(42) लिक ठ० वैजलसुत ठ० श्रीकुंयरेण ॥ दूतकोऽत्र महासांधिविग्रहिक ठ० श्री-
(43) भीमाक इ[ति*] ☉ ॥ श्रीभीमदेवस्य ॥

The inscription is important; but a verbatim translation of it would be superfluous, since we are already familiarized with the copperplate grants of the Chaulukya kings, and especially of this their last, many of whose grants are brought to light and edited with the critical acumen of Dr. Bühler. I therefore give only a short abstract of the inscription:

Abstract.

I. *Preamble.*—(*a.*) The Vaṁśâvalî agrees with Dr. Bühler's No. 3 of the Aṇahilvâḍ Chaulukya Grants word for word; with the single exception that the phrase *Praudha-pratâpa* in ll. 8-9 stands before *Umâpati-vara-labdha-prasâda* here, which is after it in No. 3 of V. S. 1263. The quotations from Vyâsa too, at the end, are the same; but v. 3 of No. 3 is dropt here.

(*b.*) King Bhîmadêva II. at Aṇahilapâṭaka addresses the officials and people of Daṇḍâhipathaka on Tuesday the Amâvâsyâ of Bhâdrapada of Vîkrama-Saṁvat 1256 (A. D. 1200), and announces the following grant:—

II. *Grantee.*—Âsadhara, son of the Jyôti Sôḍhal of the Râyakavâla Brâhmaṇ caste.

III. *Object.*—Four ploughs of land in Kaḍâgrâma, on the eastern side, the side close to the land of the god Ânalêśvaradêva of the village of Mahîsâṇâ, and to the left of the road leading to Uligrâma (?)—having for its boundary: East—the fields of Bâraḍa and Bala; South—the highway; West—the fields of Ânalêśvaradêva; North—the skirts of the village Ḍôhalika near Gâṅgâ Sakta and Vâṁuya, &c.

IV. *Officers*—Writer, the Mahâkshapaṭalika Kumyara, son of Vaijala. The Dûtaka is the Minister of Peace and War,—Ṭhakar Bhîmâka.

The earliest inscription hitherto published of this king brings down his rule to V. S. 1263, and the latest settles the close of his reign in V. S. 1298. The present grant is then important as it enables us to extend back his reign to V. S. 1256 (A. D. 1200). I would place the commencement of the reign of king Bhîmadêva II. nine years later than Dr. Bühler's date, *i. e.* in V. S. 1244; and bring down the reign of king Jayasiṁhadêva to V. S. 1209, leaving clear 35 years for the three reigns intervening. I would take the dates assigned by the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi* or *Vichârasrêṇî* or other Jain chronicles, or Jain or Brâhmaṇ genealogical rolls, with suspicious reserve unless they be

ॐ स्वस्ति राजावली पूर्ववत्समस्तराजावलीविराजितपरमभट्टारकमहारा
जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा
धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा
धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीदुर्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा
धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभीमदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज
परमेश्वरत्रैलोक्यमल्लश्रीकर्णदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा
धिराजपरमेश्वरावंतीनाथत्रिभुवनगंडबर्बरकजिष्णुसिद्धचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीज
यसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरप्रौढ
प्रतापउमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्रौढभुजविक्रमरणांगणविनिर्जितशाकं
भरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि
राजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरप्रबलबाहुदंडदर्परूपकंदर्पकलिकाल
निःशंकावतारितरामराज्यकरदीकृतसपादलक्षक्ष्मापालश्रीअजय
पालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरआहव
पराभूतदुर्जयगर्जनकाधिराजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टा
रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वराभिनवसिद्धराजश्रीमद्भीमदेवः स्वभुज्य
मानवृद्धिपथकान्तःपातिनः समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तन्नियु
क्ताधिकारिणो जनपदांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा।। श्रीमद्विक्रमा
दित्योत्पादितसंवत्सरशतेषु द्वादशसु षट्पंचाशदुत्तरेषु पौष मास
कृष्णपक्षअमावास्यायां सोमवारेऽत्रांकतोऽपि संवत् १२५६ पौष
वदि १५ सोमेऽस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षवारपूर्विकायां तिथावद्येह श्रीम
दणहिलपाटके ऽमावास्यापर्वणि स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवं [illegible]

Scale, 2 to 3 of the original

GRANT OF BHÎMADEVA *II* OF GUJARAT.—PLATE II.

Griggs, Photo-lith. London.

Scale, ·2 to 3 of the original.

corroborated by the contemporary evidence of grants and inscriptions. The date V. S. 1244 of king Bhîmadêva follows naturally from that of the close of king Jayasiṁhadêva's reign.

The donee being of the Raikval Brâhmaṇ caste, is of moment to those interested in the history of the caste. Udîchyas are traced down to the time of king Mûlarâja, and other Brâhmaṇs, besides the Môdhas and Nâgars, to ages subsequent to his. The important position occupied, as seen from many inscriptions, by the Môdhas, at the court of Aṇahilapura, is remarkable. The Môdhas, I am told, are as old as the rise of the Gûrjara monarchy. It was they, and not the Jainas, that brought up Vanarâja, and that reared up his kingdom that had suffered a fall under his father at the hand of Bhûgaḍa, as their *Dharmaraṇya* would represent. The Nâgaras are, I believe, traced to the Valabhî period by Dr. Bühler.

Then, again, the inscription mentions among the kings of Gujarât Vallabhadêva, whose name is in some cases omitted, and as to whose rule doubts are entertained.

The form *pâśva* (Pt. II. l. 25) may be the locative form *pâśvé*, a mistake for *pârśve* (meaning "near" or "by the side") and probably not with the following term, one word as *Pâśva-uligrâma*, as the name of a village. I do not find any trace of the places mentioned in the grant in question. My friend R. S. Hargôvinddâs reads *Uligrâma, Puligrâma*, and suggests Pâlôdar as its Gûjarâtî substitute—modern Pîludarâ.[1] Mahiṣâṇâ is probably Mahiśâṇâ of Śâlâ-Khanda, from which the Avatañka or surname of some Visalanagarâ Nâgaras "Bheñsiâ" is derived:—its modern representative being the village *Bheñsâ*. Or can it be Mehsâṇâ—a railway station on the Western Rajputâna State line?

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p. 43.*)

No. 13.—FOLK-TALE.[1]

The King with Seven Sons.[2]

Once on a time there lived a Râjâ who had seven sons, and he determined within himself that he would marry his seven sons *into the family of any king who had seven daughters.*

Now there lived at the same time a king who had seven daughters, and he, too, determined to marry his seven daughters into the family of any king having seven sons.

Accordingly both kings started a party of Brâhmaṇs bearing betrothal presents[3] in search of what was wanted. It so happened that the two parties met by chance on the banks of a running canal, and stopped there to bathe. They fell to talking to each other, and found out they were both bound on the same errand. They were delighted to find that God[4] had caused such a meeting, as otherwise they might have had to go a long way without falling in with the object of their search, so without further ado, *they exchanged the presents and went home to* their respective masters, who were much pleased to learn that God had granted all their desire.[5]

The king with the seven sons fixed the marriage day, prepared the procession,[6] and was about to start, when his youngest son said—"Oh king, if we all go, some enemy may come in our absence, and take away our country from us." The king answered, "*We* are obliged to go, but *you* can remain if you like." So the lad stayed. Now one day as he was going into the

[1] Or can it be *Pâśva-uligrâma*? Cf. नता-उलीग्राम *Natâ-uligrâma* of No. V. pt. II. l. 5. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI. p. 199.

[1] I doubt if this tale is an accurate version of a folk-tale: it seems to be made up of several. It has no literary merit, having no cohesion. The incident of the wallet, staff, etc., is common to many tales I have heard.—F. A. S.

[2] Told by a Panjâbî boy. *Râjâ Sat Putrañwâlâ*: such is the title of the tale as told; it has however no connection with the tale, which rather consists of the adventures of the seventh son. It was given in the purest Panjâbî by a boy who could neither read nor write.—R. C. T.

[3] *Ṭîkâ*, a present of rice, etc., taken by the *purohit*, or family priest of the proposing family to the other. Properly, it is *only* the bride's father that sends the *ṭîkâ* to the bridegroom.—R. C. T.

[4] The word used throughout this tale for "God" is *Rabb*, a purely Arabic word from *rab*, a possessor, whence *Rabb-ul-'âlamîn*, possessor of both worlds—God. It is however a common expression in the Panjâb for God (*Khudâ* or *Parmeshar*), and is used by all classes.—R. C. T.

[5] The *purohits* give the *ṭîkâ* to each other, not to the parents or family. Barbers are also employed for this purpose.—R. C. T.

[6] *Janj*—see former tales.—R. C. T.

palace for his dinner, his aunt[7] said to him—"You give yourself as many airs as if you were going to marry Princess Panjphûlârânî."[8]

Whereupon he was vexed, and said, "I can't go now, but when the king returns I will certainly go and marry Princess Panjphûlârânî, and if I don't bring her, then I'll never see your face again."

As he was coming out again, an old woman stopped him, and said, "My son, hear my words, for I am in great distress, and you are a Prince,[9] and can help me." But he answered "My good woman, I can't stay. I have some very important business." Then said she, "You are in as great a hurry as if you were going to marry Princess Panjphûlârânî."

A little further on the road he saw four faqîrs[10] squabbling, and asked them the cause of their quarrel. They answered "Our gurû is dead, and has left four things behind him: his wallet, his staff, his brass pot, and his sandals.[11] The Prince said "Are these things so precious that you should fight over them?"

Then they answered, "Oh Prince, the value of these things is great. Listen: the first pocket of the wallet will make and produce anything the person who smells at it desires except that it cannot make a man; the second pocket can even make a man. The staff will bring a dead man struck by it three times to life again. The brass pot, if properly cleaned and washed, will give the person who cleanses it the thirty-six kinds of sumptuous food.[12] And lastly, he who wears the sandals can go wherever he pleases."

Then the Prince thought and said "There are four of you, and four things: take one each and be satisfied." But they replied "We can't agree about it, for when one wants a thing all the others want it also;[13] do you decide."

So the Prince shot four arrows into the air in four directions, saying "Whoever first finds the arrows shall have first choice."

Now, as soon as the four faqîrs ran off to get the arrows, the Prince seized the wallet, the brass pot and the staff, and slipping on the sandals said, "Take me to the city of Princess Panjphûlârânî," and sure enough thither they took him without delay.

Beneath the palace of the Princess an old woman was living and the Prince found lodging with her. Now one day when the old woman was away at work, the Prince felt hungry: so he bethought him of the brass-pot which he washed and cleaned. It immediately produced the thirty-six kinds of sumptuous food. While he was eating the old woman returned; so he gave her some to eat likewise, and no sooner had she tasted it than she said "My son, live with me always."

So the Prince remained with her, and every day he made the brass pot produce the thirty-six kinds of sumptuous food.

At last one day he asked the old woman who it was that lived in the palace above: but she said, "My son, wait till this evening: I will tell you then." So when the night came he asked her again, saying, "Mother, whose light is burning in the palace above?" Then the old woman answered, "My child, it is the light[14] of Princess Phûlârânî's face." "What!" cried the Prince, "is she indeed like that?" Then he put on his sandals quickly, saying, "Carry me, sandals,

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[7] *Bharjâi*, Panj., brother's wife (cf. *bhaujâi* for *bhâwaj*, Hindi) was the word used by the boy, but the brothers were not yet married! Some old woman of the family is evidently meant, and hence the translation "aunt."—R. C. T.

[8] *Panjphûlârâni*—Princess Five-flowers: the Princess who was so delicate that she only weighed five flowers: an acknowledged favourite of the Indian nursery. She appears as Panjphûlârânî and Phûlârânî in Miss Frere's and Miss Stokes's tales.—R. C. T.

[9] The word used here and hereafter in the tale for "Prince" is *rôjâ*, king: this is one of the points that gives one the impression of more than one tale being put under contribution to concoct this one.—R. C. T.

[10] *Sâdhû*, a Hindu ascetic, usually dressed in saffron-coloured clothes: *guru*, a religious teacher: head of a religious sect.—R. C. T.

[11] *Jhôli*, a bag made of patches and used by religious mendicants to receive scraps of food, etc. They are looked upon by the vulgar as uncanny articles, whence the proverb *Faqîr kî jholî meñ sâb kuchh*, "the faqîr's bag contains everything," *i. e.* he can work miracles.

Jôgḍanḍâ, a jôgî's staff—(*jôgi* + *ḍanḍâ*).

Gaṛvô and *gaṛvi*, a brass pot (= *lôṭâ*).

Pawwâ, Panj., a kind of wooden or brass sandal. Cf. Hindi. *pawâi*, one foot of a slipper: an odd slipper. Sansk. *pâda*, the foot, *pâdû* a shoe, *pâdukâ*, a wooden shoe.—R. C. T.

[12] *Chhattîs parkâr dâ bhojan*, the 36 kinds of food: this is supposed to be the limit of all the different kinds of food a Hindu can eat. *Parkâr* for *prakâr*, Sansk. and modern Hind. and Panj., kind, sort, used usually in connection with *bhojan*, itself straight from Sansk.; as is also the similar purely Sansk. form *nânâprakâr*, several kinds. *Nânâ parkâr ke bhojan banâo*—prepare several kinds of food. *Bhojan* corresponds pretty much with our dish or course—*usne faqîron kô châr khâne khilâe*—he fed the faqîrs with four courses. With reference to the *chhattîs bhojan* there is a common proverb *chhattîs parkâr ke bhojan meñ bahattar rog hotê haiñ*, in the thirty-six dishes are seventy two diseases.—R. C. T.

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[14] *Lât*, Panj. a bright light; effulgence; light of a flame.—R. C. T.

into Phûlârânî's presence," and lo and behold! there he was. When the Princess saw him she first smiled and then wept: and when he asked her the cause, she said, "I smiled first at your beauty; and then I wept because when the gardener's wife comes to weigh me to-morrow I shall weigh more than five flowers, for this reason, that till to-day I have never seen a man, and now I have seen you. My father will kill you when he hears of it." But the Prince comforted her, saying "I can't be killed. I have only to put on my sandals, and they will take me away."

Sure enough, when the gardener's wife weighed the Princess next morning, she weighed a great deal more than five flowers; in fact she weighed down all the flowers in the garden. The gardener's wife was much surprised, but she said nothing that day. But the next morning all the flowers in the garden would not suffice to weigh down the Princess, so the third day the gardener's wife told to the king this extraordinary circumstance. The king was very angry, and ordered that a ditch full of indigo should be made round the Princess Phûlârânî's bed. This was done, and as the Prince came every night to see the Princess he fell into the ditch, and his clothes were dyed blue. Then the Princess wept, saying "See! you are all blue. My father will find you out now and hang you in the morning." But the Prince comforted her, and leaving the palace he went to a washerman's house, gave him one hundred rupees, and said, "Wash these clothes at once."

Now there happened to be a marriage at the washerman's house, so instead of washing the clothes, he put them aside; and next day when the marriage procession[15] was starting he remembered the Prince's grand clothes, and put them on his own son, so that he might look smart. Now as the procession went along the road, it was met by Princess Phûlârânî's father; and no sooner did he see the youth dressed from head to foot in blue, than he said to his courtiers, "That must be the man who goes to the Princess." So they seized the washerman's son, and asked him whence he got his blue suit. He replied "It is not mine, but belongs to a king's son. Come with me, and I will show him to you."

So he took them to where the Prince lived, who was seized and taken before the king. He did not deny that he was the person who visited the Princess, but when the king asked him how he went, he answered "Up the stairs."

The king was very angry at this, imprisoned the guard for neglecting their duty, and ordered the Prince to be hanged.

The Prince begged to be allowed first to speak to his adopted mother,[16] the old woman, and when his request was granted he took her aside, and said, "Mother, when I am dead, come in the night and carry off my body: then take my jogi's staff,[17] and hit me with it three times, and I shall come to life again."

The old woman did as she was bid, and sure enough, the Prince came to life again. He then took his wallet, put on his sandals, and went to the Princess Phûlârânî. Then he made her smell at the first pocket of the wallet, and lo! she turned into a monkey. The Prince then left the palace, and when next morning the gardener's wife came, she only found a monkey, which rushed at her, and tried to bite her.

Meanwhile the Prince took his brass pot, his staff and his wallet, and putting on his sandals went into the city, and cried out "Doctor! Doctor.[18] If any man is changed into an animal I possess the power of giving him his proper shape once more!"

Then some soldiers who knew what had happened at the Palace took him to the king, who asked him "Is it true that you can transform a bewitched person into his own shape again? If some one were changed into a monkey, could you put him straight again?" The Prince answered "I could do it in six months, but no one must interrupt me." Then the king agreed, and ordered at the Prince's request that no one else should go into the palace for six months. Then the Prince went inside the palace and made the Princess smell the second pocket of the wallet. She im-

[15] *Janj*, see above.—R. C. T.

[16] The expression used by the narrator was *maiṅ nûṅ dharam dî mâ nâl ik gal kar lêṅ dêo*, "Let me say one word to my adopted mother." "*Maiṅ nûṅ dharam dê mâ piû nâl ik gal kar lêṅ deo*," "Let me say a word to my adopted parents" (*i.e.* relations) is the common request of condemned Panjâbî criminals at the present day, so the expression here is taken from incidents in every-day life. *Dharam de mâ piû* is used by Christian converts towards their godfathers and godmothers.—R. C. T.

[17] The *Jogdaṇḍâ* above mentioned. —R. C. T.

[18] *Vaid! Hakîm!* common street-cry of wandering quacks. *Vaid* is of Sansk. origin and *hakîm* is Arabic. See former tales.—R. C. T.

palace for his dinner, his aunt[7] said to him—"You give yourself as many airs as if you were going to marry Princess Panjphûlârânî."[8]

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The old woman did as she was bid, and sure enough, the Prince came to life again. He then took his wallet, put on his sandals, and went to the Princess Phûlârânî. Then he made her smell at the first pocket of the wallet, and lo! she turned into a monkey. The Prince then left the palace, and when next morning the gardener's wife came, she only found a monkey, which rushed at her, and tried to bite her.

Meanwhile the Prince took his brass pot, his staff and his wallet, and putting on his sandals went into the city, and cried out "Doctor! Doctor.[18] If any man is changed into an animal I possess the power of giving him his proper shape once more!"

Then some soldiers who knew what had happened at the Palace took him to the king, who asked him "Is it true that you can transform a bewitched person into his own shape again? If some one were changed into a monkey, could you put him straight again?" The Prince answered "I could do it in six months, but no one must interrupt me." Then the king agreed, and ordered at the Prince's request that no one else should go into the palace for six months. Then the Prince went inside the palace and made the Princess smell the second pocket of the wallet. She im-

[15] *Janj*, see above.—R. C. T.

[16] The expression used by the narrator was *maiṅ nûṅ dharam dî mâ nâl ik gal kar lêṅ dêo*, "Let me say one word to my adopted mother." "*Maiṅ nûṅ dharam dê mâ piû nâl ik gal kar lêṅ deo*," "Let me say a word to my adopted parents" (*i.e.* relations) is the common request of condemned Panjâbî criminals at the present day, so the expression here is taken from incidents in every-day life. *Dharam de mâ piû* is used by Christian converts towards their godfathers and godmothers.—R. C. T.

[17] The *Jogdandâ* above mentioned.—R. C. T.

[18] *Vaid! Hakîm!* common street-cry of wandering quacks. *Vaid* is of Sansk. origin and *hakîm* is Arabic. See former tales.—R. C. T.

mediately became a woman again. There they remained happily together for six months, and when the time was up the Prince went out, and told the guard that the cure was complete. Then the king came with his ministers and courtiers, and all were delighted to see the Princess once again.

Then the king said to the Prince—"Ask for your reward, and you shall have it." So the Prince said "Give me your daughter in marriage, for I also am a king's son."

To this the king agreed, and they were married at once. Taking elephants, horses and an army with them the Prince and his bride returned to his father's city, and the Prince said with great delight "After all I have married the Princess Panjphûlârânî, and have brought her home."

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from Vol. X, p. 362.)

XIV.

The defeat of Tayang Khân of the Naimans, which we described in the previous paper, forms a notable epoch in the career of Chinghiz Khán. The Naimans, who were identical in race with, and were doubtless the ancestors of, the modern Kirghiz Kazaks, were probably the most powerful of all the nomadic races of Asia. Unlike the principalities of the Uïghurs and the Karluks, theirs seems to have been independent of the great empire of Kara Khitai, and they dominated over a wide region stretching from the lower Irtish to the Orkhon. As we have seen, it is probable that they were Buddhists in religion. This Buddhism they doubtless derived from the Uïghurs, who were also responsible for their culture in some other respects. Thus we are told that when they defeated Tayang, the Mongols captured the princess Gurbyesu, already mentioned, and also Ta-ta-tung-vo, an Uïghur, by origin, who was a man of learning, and had been entrusted by Tayang with considerable authority and a golden seal of office. On his master's defeat he hid this seal in his clothes, and attempted to escape, but was captured and brought before Chinghiz, who told him he had conquered the Naimans, and asked him what he was doing with the seal. He replied that he wished to guard to the death what had been entrusted to him, and wished also to find his old master, to return it to him. Chinghiz praised his fidelity, and demanded what the use of the seal was. He replied that when his master wished to raise money or provisions, or to give orders to one of his officers, he sealed the document with the seal to give it authority. Chinghiz thereupon took him into his service, and ordered him to use a seal in the same way. He also ordered him to teach the various princes the writing, language, and laws of the Uïghurs. This very interesting notice, Remusat tells us, is contained in the 28th volume of the history of the Mongols by Chan-yuan-ping. (Remusat, *Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques*, tome II. pp. 61-63.)

This work has been used by Mr. Douglas in his history of Chinghiz Khân, and he quotes it as the *Yuan-shi-lui-pien*, or the history of the Yuan dynasty classified and arranged by Shaou Yuan-ping.[1] The notice of Ta-ta-tungvo, doubtless from the same ultimate source, was also translated by Klaproth from the Chinese Manchu history of Chinghiz Khan.[2] It is also contained in De Mailla's edition of the *Kang-mu.*[3]

The notice is singularly interesting as it fixes unmistakably the source whence the Mongols derived their culture. Klaproth and Remusat have put it beyond doubt that the Mongols until the reign of Khubilai Khân used no other alphabetic characters than the Uïghur, which were themselves but the Syrian or Estranghelo letters introduced into the East by the Nestorians. Carpini, who went on a mission to Tartary in 1246, in speaking of the Uïghurs whom he calls Huiurs, says the Mongols illorum litteras acceperunt, nam prius scripturam aliquam non habebant nunc autem appellant eandem litteram Mongolorum.[4] Rubruquis, who visited Mongolia in 1253, in speaking of the Uïghurs

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[1] *Op. cit.*, vii.

[2] *Beleuchtung und Widerlegung der Forschungen*, des Herrn J. J. Schmidt, pp. 19 and 20.

[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. IX, pp. 39 and 40.

[4] D'Avezac, p. 651.

says: Illorum literas acceperunt Tartari et eodem modo ipsi legunt, et multiplicant lineas a sinistra in dexteram.[5] Again he says—Inde est quod ipsi Moal sumpserunt literas eorum, et ipsi sunt magni scriptores eorum, et omnes fere Nestorini sciunt literas eorum.[6]

Abulfaraj Bar Hebraeus tells us that the Mongols having neither letters nor literature, Chinghiz Khan ordered the Igur scribes to teach the Tartars their letters. They write therefore Mongol words in Igur characters as the Egyptians in Greek and the Persians in Arabic.[7] Abdul Rizak, a Persian historian who died in 1482, says expressly, "The writing of the Moguls, which is the writing of the Uïghurs;" while Arabshah in his *History of Timur* says the Jagatais have another writing called Uïghur which is known as the writing of the Uïghurs etc.[8]

In 1269 Khubilai Khakan issued a decree prescribing the use of the new Bashpa characters. In this he states as follows:—"At the time when our empire arose in the region of So[9] we made use only of pieces of notched wood.[10] Formerly it was not deemed necessary to have characters adapted to our language. We only used the Chinese characters called Kiai[11] and the writing of the Wei-u (*i.e.* of the Uïghurs), and it was by means of them that the language of our dynasty was written."[12]

In the official memoirs of She-tsu, *i. e.* of Khubilai in the annals of the Yuan dynasty, we read that in 1272 Ho-li-ho-sun presented a request to the emperor that the Chinese public functionaries[13] and the officers in the Treasury[14] should learn the Bashpa characters in place of those of Wei-u previously used.[15]

Notwithstanding the efforts of Khubilai to supplant the Uïghur characters by the Bashpa, they continued to be employed. In 1282 we are told that there appeared a *Mongol-Uïghur* edition of the historical work called *Tung-kien* or Universal Mirror, by which Remusat reasonably understands a work written in Uïghur characters. In 1284 a decree was issued forbidding the use of Uïghur characters in official documents.[16] In 1286 the Academy of Han-lin demanded permission to translate and publish works in the language and characters of the Uïghurs, and one of the ministers named Sa-li-man[17] in reporting that the bureau of the official historians of the empire was engaged in preparing the authentic memoirs of the court of the great ancestor,[18] demanded that the work should be translated into the Uïghur language and character for the benefit of those who preferred to read it in that tongue, and this was carried out.[19] Even after the accession of the Ming dynasty we find a member of the college of Han-lin named Ho-yuan-kiei commissioned to write a Chinese-Mongol dictionary, which was written in the characters of Kaochang, *i. e.* of the Uïghurs.[20] I ought to mention here again that the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, from which so much material has been drawn for these papers, was originally written in the Mongol language, but in Uïghur letters.[21] In speaking of two letters written by Mongol sovereigns of the Ilkhan dynasty in 1289 and 1305 respectively, and which are still preserved in the French archives, Remusat says: "Enfin il est certain que les copistes Mongols employés en Perse suivoient encore, a cette époque, l'alphabet Ouigour dans toute sa simplicité; car on ne trouve dans les deux pièces aucune des lettres Mongoles inventées par les lamas, même de celles qui servent à rendre plus exactement les sons Tartares. On n'y voit que les quatorze lettres de l'écriture Ouigoure rapportées par Arabschah, écriture dont elles offrent un exemple aussi précieux qu'authentique."[22] These notices will suffice to shew what is now universally accepted, that the Uïghurs were the masters from whom the Mongols learnt their letters. A consequence of this was that the greater part of the secretaries, etc. in their service were of Uïghur origin.

Uïghur being at the time we are writing the only language of Central Asia which had a literature, and being consequently a *lingua franca* to the various nomadic races, it is not strange that Chinghiz Khân should have enjoined that his sons and the other princes

[5] Id. p. 285.
[6] D'Avezac, p. 288.
[7] *Op. cit!* Chron Syr. 449.
[8] Klaproth, *op. cit.* pp. 17 and 18.
[9] *i. e.* in the north.
[10] Kien.
[11] *i. e.* the square characters used during the Sung dynasty.
[12] Pauthier, *Journ. Asiat.* 5ieme ser. tom. xix, pp. 12 and 13.
[13] Han-kuan-tseu.
[14] Kuan-fu.
[15] Id., p. 17.
[16] Id., pp. 18 and 19. Remusat, *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, p. 194.
[17] *i. e.* the Suliman of the Muhammadans.
[18] *i. e.* Tai-tsu or Chinghiz Khân.
[19] Id., p. 20.
[20] Remusat, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
[21] Bretschneider, *Notices of Med. Geog.* etc. pp. 14 and 15.
[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

should learn it. This was very influential in two ways. In the first place, it enabled the Mongol chiefs to communicate freely with the Turkish hordes which formed the greater part of their armies, and thus to create a certain *solidarité* between the Turks and the Mongol aristocracy which ruled them, and secondly, it greatly facilitated the introduction and spread of Buddhism, which was the religion of the Uighurs.

Let us now revert again to our story. The name of the eldest son of Tayang Khân is written Guchuluk in the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, Kushluk Khân by Berezine, Gushlug Khân by Erdmann, and Guchluk Khân by D'Ohsson. According to Rashidu'd-dîn, the name in Turkish means 'powerful padishah.' Schmidt apparently makes it Mongol, and says that it should be written Küchülik, meaning 'the strong, the powerful.'[23]

In the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* we read that on his father's defeat Guchuluk with some horsemen left the neighbourhood of the river Tamir and escaped to the Altai, where he was reduced to extremity.[24] Rashidu'd-dîn makes him escape to his uncle Buyuruk Khân.[25] In the *Yuan-shi* we are further told that he had a son named Chan-un who fled to the Khitai[26] and died there, while his wife, of the tribe Kankali, with her son Chao-si, surrendered to Chinghiz Khan.[27] The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that at the same time, the tribes who had followed Chamukha, namely, the tribes Jadalan,[28] Khatagin, etc. also submitted to him.[29] The *Yuan-shi* tells us the tribes who thus surrendered were the Durban Tartars, the Khatagins and Saljiut.[30] In this De Mailla and the *Huang-yuan* concur. Chinghiz Khân also summoned Gurbyesu, Tayang's mother, to his presence, and said jeeringly to her, "You said that the Dada were a stinking race, why then do you come here?" He then ordered her to join his harem.[31] Chinghiz Khân now determined to crush the Merkit, who had been in alliance with the Naimans in the recent battle. Accordingly in the autumn succeeding his struggle with Tayang, he marched against the Merkit chief, Tokhtu, and fought a battle with him in the district of Kharadalkhujaur, in which he defeated him and pursued him to Saarikeer, and conquered his people. Tokhtu with his sons Khudu and Chilaun and several followers escaped by flight.[32] The *Yuan-shi* says he escaped to Tayang's brother,[33] who is there called Boro Khân.[34] The *Huang-yuan* calls the place where this struggle with the Merkit took place Bulanauikhu near the sources of the Dere.[35]

When Chinghiz attacked the Merkit we are told in the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* that one of their chiefs named Dairusun, who belonged to the tribe Khoasi, determined to present his daughter Khulan to him. As he was on this errand, he met a man of the race of Baarin, named Naya, who remarked how unsafe the roads were from the unsettled state of the country, and when he heard what Dairusun's errand was, he asked to be allowed to accompany him and to join in presenting the maiden. They therefore lived together for three days, and then Khulan was duly presented to the Mongol chief. When Chinghiz learnt that she had lived with Naya for three days, he said angrily after strictly examining him, that he must be executed. He was accordingly put to the torture, but Khulan interceded for him, and said that he had volunteered his services when there was great danger on account of the unsettled state of the roads, and had for this reason alone offered her an asylum. As to her innocence he bade Chinghiz examine the proofs for himself: "Cœli voluntate a parentibus nata epiderma tota conservata est; interroga potius epidermam," as Palladius gives it. Khulan also appealed to his master. He protested how he deemed it to be his duty to find beautiful maidens and beautiful horses for him in foreign countries, and that if he had any ulterior thoughts beyond this, he hoped he should die. Chinghiz was pleased with the answer, and having satisfied himself that Khulan was in fact innocent, he released Naya, saying—"This is an irreproachable man; we may hereafter entrust him with important affairs." *Apropos* of this story Palladius tells us that one of the sayings attributed to Chinghiz Khân by historians is—"Everybody loves beauty and noble

[23] Ssanang Setzen, note 40, page 383.
[24] *Op. cit.*, pp. 107 and 108.
[25] Erdmann, p. 305; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 90.
[26] *i. e.* the Kara Khitai.
[27] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 397.
[28] ? Jadjerat.
[29] Id., p. 108.
[30] Too-urh-pun, Tatar Ho-to-kin and Sa-lăh-choo-tih—Douglas, p. 48; Hyacinthe, p. 34.
[31] *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, p. 108 and note 398.
[32] Id., p. 108.
[33] *i. e.* to Buiruk Khân.
[34] Douglas, p. 48; Hyacinthe, p. 34.
[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

horses, but as soon as the heart becomes tied to them, it is easy to destroy one's reputation and lose one's distinctions." He also tells us that Khulan became the Khansha or empress of the second Ordu.[36] This narrative, like that of the war with the Naimans, seems derived from some popular saga, and we apparently have it in a much less sophisticated form in the pages of the *Altan Topchi* and of Ssanang Setzen. In the *Huang-yuan* the people of Dairusun are called the Ukhuas Merkit, and we are told that after his submission, Chinghiz distributed his people, who were weak, among the Mongols.[37] Rashid-u'd-dîn calls the tribe just mentioned the Uhus Merkit,[38] and the place where they submitted he calls Tar or Bar. He says Chinghiz took Dairusun into his service, and having distributed his men in companies of 100 among his own *urukhs* appointed special commanders over them.[39] They were a restless people, and presently they rebelled and plundered the baggage. The Mongols recovered it and besieged the Merkit again in the fort of Dayan, where the tribes of Mogudan, Totoli and Bogin and Merki were subdued, and Tokhtu fled to Buiruk Khân. Dairusun with his followers had retired to the river Selinga to the gorge of Khalaun, where he planted a settlement, but Chinghiz sent Balokhuan Noyan and Jinbai, the brother of Chilaunbadu with the right wing against them, and they were subdued.[40] Rashid calls the place where the Merkit took refuge the fort of Uigal Kurgan.[41] There the four tribes of the race were subdued. Dairusun with his people had shut himself up in the fort of Khuruk Kipchak, near the Selinga. Chinghiz sent Buraghul Noyan and Ushhintai, the brother Jilaukan,[42] against them, and they were obliged to surrender also. Tokhtu fled once more to Buiruk Khân.[43] In the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* this struggle is thus described. One half of the Merkit having rebelled, deserted and occupied the fort of Taikhal. Chinghiz sent Chinbo, *i. e.* the Jinbai abovenamed, the son of Sorkhanshiri, with the right wing in pursuit of them, while he himself marched against Tokhtu.[44] This authority follows up the account just cited by that of the final campaign against Tokhtu in which he was killed, while the other authorities doubtless correctly date this event four years later. On the conquest of the Merkit above described, the wife of Khudu, son of Tokhtu, was given in marriage to Ogotai (doubtless the son of Chinghiz of that name).[45]

There is a curious legend reported both in the *Altan Topchi* and by Ssanang Setzen in regard to Khulan, Chinghiz's Merkit wife and his faithful follower whom they call Arghassun, but who is clearly the same person as the Naya of the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* already named. Both the authorities named are very confused in their chronology and otherwise; and this story is related of a campaign in *Manchuria* and Corea, and will more properly come in at a later stage.

The defeat of the Merkit was speedily followed by the end of Chamukha, Chinghiz Khan's domestic rival and deadly enemy. The *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* tells us that having lost his people he remained with but five followers, with whom he formed a gang of robbers. Once they set out for the mountain Tan-lu, by which the modern Tang-nu is doubtless meant, where they killed a large wild goat with twisted horns called Yuan-yan by the Chinese, and probably the Siberian antelope or Saiga. They roasted and ate it. During the meal Chamukha exclaimed, "Whose son is it who to-day kills a horned goat and eats it?" meaning to express his regret at his change of fortune. Thereupon his five companions carried him off to Chinghiz Khân. This kind of treachery, as we have seen, was much contemned in the Mongol steppes, and we are told that Chamukha sent his very successful foe the message, "Black jackdaws have succeeded in catching the drake. Slaves have dared to capture their master. Lord Anda, thou knowest thy duty." Chinghiz replied, "It is not possible we should spare those who have betrayed their master. Give them up with their children and grandchildren to death;" and he ordered them to be executed before Chamukha's eyes. He then sent a messenger to the latter, saying, "Once upon a time I treated thee as one of the shafts of a waggon,[46] but thou didst desert me. Now thou

[36] *Op. cit.*, pp. 109 and 110, and notes 402, 403 and 404.
[37] *Op. cit.*, p. 179.
[38] Erdmann reads it by mistake Uighur Merkit.
[39] Erdmann, pp. 305-306; D'Ohsson, tom. I, p. 90.
[40] *Huang-yuan*, p. 179.
[41] Erdmann reads Adbeghal Khurkhan.
[42] *i. e.* the Jinbai abovenamed.
[43] D'Ohsson, tom. I, pp. 90 and 91; Erdmann, p. 306.
[44] *Op. cit.*, pp. 109 and 110.
[45] Id., p. 110.
[46] He being the other.

joinest thyself again to me. Be my comrade. We will remind each other of those things we have forgotten. When asleep we will awake each other. Although thou hast been going along by thyself thou hast ever been a harbinger of good news to me. When we were obliged to fight, it was pain to thee. When I fought with Wang Khân thou didst convey his hostile words to me, which was thy first service. When I fought with the Naimans thou didst inspire them with terror of me—that was thy second service." On these words being repeated to Chamukha he said, "When we in early days became *Anda*, we ate the same food and told each other things not to be forgotten, but people made us quarrel, and we parted. Remembering my former promises I blush and dare not see my *Anda*. Thou wishest that I should again become thy comrade. I should not be so in reality, only in name. Thou hast collected the peoples about thee and strengthened thy throne. It is impossible for me to become thy comrade. If thou dost not kill me, I shall be to thee like a louse on thy collar or a thorn under thy coat. I shall make thee weary by day, and restless by night. Thy mother is wise, thou thyself art a hero, thy brothers have talents, thy comrades are illustrious nobles, but I from early childhood have lost my parents and have no brothers, my wife is a tiresome tattler, my comrades are false. This is why my *Anda* has overcome me. Now let me quietly die so that my *Anda's* heart may be at rest; but let me be put to death without blood-shedding. Then after death to all eternity I will be the protector of thy successors." Chinghiz on hearing these pathetic words said, "Although Chamukha *Anda* went his way alone, he never said anything which caused me ill. There is room for reform in him, but he does not wish to live. I have before this wished to kill him, but it has not come about. Besides, he is an illustrious man, and one cannot kill him without cause. Here however is a cause." "Tell him," he said to the messengers, "thou didst rise and fight against me at Baljuna in consequence of a quarrel between Sojidarmala and Taichara. Having driven me into the defile of Jeranê, thou didst frighten me there cruelly. Now that I wish to make thee my comrade, thou wilt not have it; although thy life is dear to me yet I cannot preserve it. Let it be as thou hast wished. Die without blood-shedding." He accordingly ordered him to be put to death without bloodshed and had him buried with great honour.[47]

The end of Chamukha is not related in that portion of the *Yuan-shi* accessible to me, nor in the author translated by De Mailla, nor yet in the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen*. Rashid does not mention it either in his narrative of the life of Chinghiz Khân, but he does report it in his special article on the Juriats or Jadjerats, where he tells us how, after the defeat of Tayang, he became a helpless fugitive, was captured by Ulugh Behadur, who handed him over with the few people who still remained with him to Chinghiz Khân. The latter made him over to his nephew, Ilchidai, who dismembered him. When his approaching fate was mentioned to him, he said with the greatest coolness, "My god is also your god. I had thought, if he had shewn favour to me, to have hewn the body of Chinghiz limb from limb, but as he has willed it otherwise, it is fair that he should similarly treat me." He sped the executioner's task, and himself pointed out to him how to complete his work. Rashidu'd-dîn reports that his family and a portion of those who had surrendered him, were also put to death.[48]

This struggle with the Merkit was the last of any consequence which Chinghiz had to wage against his near neighbours and thenceforward his wars were against foreign enemies. It was his custom to revenge injuries liberally, and it would seem that he now determined to assail the empire of Tangut, which had offered asylum to his enemy Sankun, the son of Wang Khân, and which further seemed to be the best vantage whence to prosecute an attack upon China. This kingdom was called Si-ia or Si-hia, *i. e.* Western Sia or Hia by the Chinese. It was also known as Ho-si, *i. e.* west of the river, from its position west of the Yellow River. This latter name the Mongols corrupted into Kashi. Ogotai, the son of Chinghiz Khân, having had a son about the time of the campaign of his father, to which we shall presently refer, he was called Kashi, but on his dying young and in his father's lifetime, the name of Kashi was abolished in

[47] *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, pp. 112-114.

[48] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 91; Erdmann, pp. 220, 306 and 307; Abulghazi, pp. 90 and 91.

favour of that of Kurikh, and afterwards that of Tangut, *i. e.* the country of the Tang. It was probably so called from the nomadic race of Tang-hiang which then occupied it.[49] The Tang-hiang were, according to Ma-tuan-lin, descended from the primitive inhabitants of China—namely, the San-Miao, and were driven by the Chinese proper into the borders of Tibet and Kokonur. Their chief Li-ki-tsien, who was ruler of Hia-chau, and a Chinese feudatory, took advantage of the weakness of the Chinese empire at the end of the 10th century, broke off his allegiance, and submitted to the Khitans, but in 1043 his grandson Chao-yuen-hao submitted to the Sung Emperor and was entitled by him king of Hia—a revival of an old Chinese dynastic name. When the Kin Tartars overran northern China, the ruler of Western Hia became their vassal, and when Chinghiz Khân proposed to attack it, its ruler was named Li-shun-yeou.[50] At first the kingdom was limited to the northern part of Shen-si, but its rulers conquered a large part of that province and the country round. In the beginning of the 12th century the Tangutans were in possession of Hia-chau, In-chau, Sui-chau, Yeoû-chau, Tsing-chau, Ling-chau, Yan-chau, Hoei-chau, Shing-chau, Kan-chau and Liang-chau, towns situated in the north of the modern provinces of Kan-su and Shen-si and in the present camping ground of the Ordus. They had conquered Sha-chau, Kua-chau and Su-chau from the Uighurs, and were also possessed of the fortified posts of Hung, Ting Wei and Lung.[51]

It was in the year of the ox, *i. e.* 1205, that Chinghiz first marched against the Tangut, where he captured the fortress of Lairi.[52] Lairi, we are told in the vocabulary attached to the history of the four first Mongol Khâns translated by Hyacinthe, meant, in the Tangutan language, the holy mountain.[53] Having captured this after an attack of some days, Chinghiz marched against a large town called Loso-khoto in the *Yuan-shi.*[54] Having captured and plundered this town and made an incursion into the country, the Mongols withdrew, driving a great multitude of camels before them and with a rich booty.[55]

Some of the Chinese authorities tell us a quaint story about this campaign. They say that when Chinghiz was returning home he noticed a shepherd boy of the tribe Tang-hiang, whose name was Chakan (De Mailla gives it as Saha), who was looking after a flock of sheep. This boy had thrust a stick into the ground upon which he had placed his cap. Then, kneeling down, he struck the ground with his head, and rising, began to dance round the stick. Chinghiz Khân having summoned him, was charmed with his beauty and spirit, and asked him why he went through this performance before his stick? The boy replied: "When a man is alone, having only his cap for a companion, he ought to respect it; if two people are walking together the younger ought to pay respect to the elder. As I found myself alone, I addressed my respects to my cap, I heard that you were going to pass this way, and determined to practise the ceremonies proper to the occasion." Chinghiz, having learnt that he was a son of the minister of the King of Hia, and that one of his father's concubines treated him so ill that he preferred to tend sheep on the steppe rather than live at home, took him home, and gave him to his wife Burtê. At first the change of life was not agreeable to him, and he wished to be back again with his sheep, and he would leave his tent and stretch himself on a mat with the sky for his covering. One night when he was thus sleeping, he was awoke by an owl hooting continually in his ear. He threw one of his shoes at the bird and killed it. When Chinghiz heard of this he said: "That bird was your good genius, and you did wrong to kill it." He continued to prosper however. Chinghiz Khân gave him a wife from his own household, and, as we shall see, he became very useful to him.[56] This campaign was a new departure in the career of Chinghiz. Hitherto he had had struggles with nomades only, but this was a campaign against a settled people, and involved engineering capacity as well as the ordinary qualifications of a leader of brave nomade soldiers.

[49] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 95 note; Erdmann, p. 155.
[50] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 96.
[51] Klaproth, *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.*, XI. 462.
[52] So called in the *Yuan-shi.* Hyacinthe reads it Lai-ri, and Douglas Lai-li. De Mailla reads it Likili, the *Hung-Yuan*, Ligili, and Rashidu'd-dîn Liki, Elinliki or Ekinléki.
[53] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 97, note.
[54] Douglas reads it Lo-sze; De Mailla has it Lu-se-ching; the *Huang-yuan* Lo-si, and Rashid, Kelenk-lushi, with the variants Kelenkushi, Asakinkelus or Asakitkilus.
[55] Hyacinthe, p. 35; Douglas, p. 51; De Mailla, tom. IX, p. 40; *Huang-yuan*, p. 180; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 97 note; Erdmann, pp. 307 and 308.
[56] Douglas, pp. 51-53; De Mailla, tom. IX, p. 40.

LEGEND OF BHADRÂCHELLAM.

BY GORDON MACKENZIE, M.C.S., GUNTÛR.

The town of Bêzwâḍa, situated on the river Krishṇâ, about fifty miles from the sea, is now known chiefly as the scene of the triumphs of modern engineering skill. Across the mighty river from the summit of one hill to the other stretches, not the *toraṇam* of Hindu legend, but the double telegraph wire which connects Madras and Calcutta, and this is said to be the longest span of wire as yet erected in any country. Athwart the mighty river lies the massive *ânikaṭ* or dam which diverts the fertilizing waters into an endless network of irrigation canals, and this dam does not curb a puny mill-race, but this noble river, which, when in flood, carries a volume of water past Bêzwâḍa in one hour, equal to that carried by the Clyde past Glasgow in a year. Notwithstanding these evidences of nineteenth century progress, the legend and the ballad are not yet extinct among the people.

Sulṭân Abdul Hassan Padishâh, the last of the Kutb Shâh dynasty, ascended the throne of Golkonda in 1670. Liberal and tolerant in his ideas, he entrusted the administration of his dominions to two singularly able Brahmans,[1] Akhana and Madana Pantulu, whose energy and ability kept the king free from foreign foe or domestic discord. These two ministers held their *kacheri* at Bêzwâḍa and the spot where, at the foot of the present telegraph hill, food was issued every day to a crowd of applicants of all castes, is still fondly pointed out by the mendicant *laudator temporis acti.* They were both fervent votaries of the goddess Kanaka Dûrgâ, and the impetus then given to her cult still exists, for it is only four years ago that some merchants of Kâkinâda erected a chattram (serai) for the accommodation of pilgrims to her shrine.

Such was the impression made on the populace by these two ministers that the legend still is current that from the caves on the telegraph hill at Bêzwâḍa runs a subterranean passage to Haidarâbâd, by which passage they could proceed to court, receive the king's instructions, and return in one day to Bêzwâḍa.

Madana Pantulu had a nephew, Gopanna, who was appointed Pêshkâr of the Kammamett Taluk, which includes the village of Bhadrâchellam on the Godâvarî, one of the halting places of Râma, Sîtâ and Lakshmaṇa in their wanderings. The hut in which they lived there is still pointed out under the name of Parṇa Sâlu. This Gopanna being an ardent votary of Râma, assumed the name of Râmdâs, and set to work to improve the temple of Râma at Bhadrâchellam, using freely the public money that came into his hands. This expenditure passed unchecked for a series of years, until it amounted to some lacs of rupees; but a time of reckoning must come even for a Dîvân's nephew, and at last Râmdâs found himself called to account and thrown into a dungeon. In this strait he poured forth his supplications to Râma, who took pity upon the hapless prisoner. The monarch lay wrapped in slumber in the palace at Haidarâbâd, when to him entered two soldiers bearing an immense weight of treasure. They poured the coins on the floor, and requested the astonished king to write out a release for the defalcations of Gopanna. Abdul Hassan, bewildered, turned to find writing materials, but the two peons had vanished. He thought it was a dream, but when day broke the money was there on the ground, and on being counted was the exact amount of the deficiency for which Gopanna was responsible. Then the king knew that it was Râma and Lakshmaṇa who had brought the money, sent orders to release Râmdâs, and allotted for the support of the temple at Bhadrâchellam the revenues of several villages which the temple holds to this day. This history is told in a printed book of ballads entitled *Râmdâs Khaidu* (Imprisonment of Râmdâs), which are sung by many devout Hindus with much feeling. Especially do they admire the pathos of the verses in which Râmdâs bewails his wretched captivity.

In 1686 the Emperor Aurangzîb, with most perfidious treachery, took Golkonda, and extinguished the Kutb Shâh line. Madana Pantulu was slain, and the deposed king, Abdul Hassan, "bore his misfortunes with a dignity and resignation that has endeared his memory to his subjects and their descendants even to this day[2]."

[1] Elphinstone's *History*, p. 652.

[2] Elphinstone's *History*, p. 653.

THE AMERICAN PUZZLE.

BY WM. GOONETILLEKE, HONORARY SECRETARY, KANDY ORIENTAL LIBRARY, CEYLON.

In vol. X. of the *Indian Antiquary*, page 89, Mr. George A. Grierson has shewn, by an extract from the *Jyotistattwa*, that the problem called the "American Puzzle," which, he says, appeared some months ago in the *Pioneer*, in a letter headed "From All About," is by no means a modern one, dating, as it does, far back into the history of Indian astrology. The problem is to arrange the consecutive numbers from one to sixteen in four rows of four each forming a square, in such a way that the total of every line, and of every possible group of four and of the four corner numbers will amount to exactly 34. Mr. Grierson has also shewn, what perhaps was not known to the American problematists, that *any* even number may be made the total of these lines and groups, in which case, however, the numbers used for filling up the half of the square last filled up will differ. This even number cannot be less than 20 in any case, nor can it be less than 34 if the same number is not to appear more than once in the square. But it is not *even* numbers alone that can be obtained as totals. Figures can be arranged in the manner already described in such a way that every line and every group of four (except the group consisting of the fifth, sixth, ninth and tenth squares, and that consisting of the seventh, eighth, eleventh and twelfth squares) and the corner four will amount to any given *odd* number not less than 21, or not less than 37 if the same number is not to appear more than once in the square. Rules are given in the work called *Kakshapuṭa* or *Skandhakakshapuṭa* for obtaining both *even* and *odd* totals. These consist partly of mnemonic verses in which some of the letters represent figures. The following table shews the value of the letters in these verses:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	त	थ	द	ध	न
प	फ	ब	भ	म					
य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह	ळ	

It is the consonants alone that represent the figures placed above them, the vowel अ being retained for the sake of pronunciation. Zero is also represented by the initial vowels अ इ उ ए and ओ. No values are attached to final or medial vowels, to the first members of *saṁyogas* (conjunct consonants), and to the *anusvára.* Zero is never inserted when it stands alone, but a blank is left in its stead.

As Mr. Grierson has given rules for obtaining even totals, I shall only quote from the *Kakshapuṭa* the mnemonic line for obtaining *both* even and odd totals. It is as follows:—

अर्क इन्दुनिघनारी तेन लग्न विनासनं।

Omitting those letters in this line which have *no* value, viz., final and medial vowels, first members of conjunct consonants and *anusvára*, we get the following 16 letters which exactly correspond to the 16 squares, and which are inserted in them in regular succession, taking care not to write zero but to leave a blank wherever it occurs:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
अ	क	इ	द	न	घ	न	र	त	न	ल	न	व	न	स	न
0	1	0	8	0	9	0	2	6	0	3	0	4	0	7	0

The figures below the letters denote their value and those above them the numbers of the squares.

By inserting in the squares the values of these letters as given above, blanks being left for 0, we get the following result:—

	1		8
	9		2
6		3	
4		7	

The remaining eight squares may be filled up in such a way as to give *even* as well as *odd* totals. When the total is an even number, every line and every group of four forming a square and the corner four will amount to that number as will be seen from the following:—

16	1	13	8
12	9	15	2
6	11	3	18
4	17	7	10

When, however, the total is odd, two of the groups, as already mentioned, will not amount to the given number, but the square will fulfil all the other prescribed conditions.

It is not necessary to give directions for filling up the remaining eight squares in the above arrangement when the total to be obtained is an even number, as those given by Mr. Grierson are equally applicable to it. But when the required total is an odd number, the directions given by Mr. Grierson do not apply, and the following instructions should be carefully followed. Calling this odd number a, the remaining eight squares are filled up by writing the difference between $\frac{a-1}{2}$ and the number in the next square but one in a diagonal direction from the square to be filled up, if the latter number be one of the digits 1, 2, 3 and 4; but, if the latter be one of the digits 6, 7, 8 and 9, by writing the difference between $\frac{a+1}{2}$ and the digit in the next square but one in a diagonal direction from the square to be filled up. Thus, supposing the odd number to be 37, we should write under 2, $\frac{37-1}{2} - 1 = 18 - 1 = 17$; between 4 and 7, $\frac{37-1}{2} - 2 = 16$; in the first square, $\frac{37-1}{2} - 3 = 15$; and above 3, $\frac{37-1}{2} - 4 = 14$. But when we come to fill up the remaining four squares, our formula changes, and we should write between 1 and 8, $\frac{37+1}{2} - 6 = 19 - 6 = 13$; above 6, $\frac{37+1}{2} - 7 = 12$; under 9, $\frac{37+1}{2} - 8 = 11$; and to the right of 7, $\frac{37+1}{2} - 9 = 10$. We thus finally get the following complete square:—

15	1	13	8
12	9	14	2
6	11	3	17
4	16	7	10

The total need not necessarily be 37. By altering the value of a to any odd number desired, exceeding 19, the total of every line and every group of four will always equal a, with the exception already pointed out.

Although the number 100 may be obtained in the above square and in that given by Mr. Grierson, a distinct problem is proposed with regard to it, viz., to arrange figures so as to give this total without using the constant digits 1 to 9. The solution of this problem is given in the following stanza, in which the first portion up to, and including, तानं is mnemonic:—

नीलं चापि दयाचलो नट्भुवं खारीवरं रागिनं ।
भूपो नारिवगो जरा चरनिभं तानं शतं योजयेत् ॥
भूतप्रेतपिशाचराक्षससुरान् सर्पान् खलान् संहर ।
मग्नि चौरभयादिनाशनमिदं नागार्जुनं निर्मितम् ॥

From this we obtain the following figures:—

30	16	18	36
10	44	22	24
32	14	20	34
28	26	40	6

In this square, which is called *Nâgârjuna*, each line of four, horizontal, vertical and diagonal, and each group of four forming a square and the corner four make a total of 100, and the constant digits 1 to 9 (except 6) do not occur in it.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

FOLKLORE—THE STORY OF CHANDRAHÂSYA.

While reading an article entitled "A Folklore Parallel," published at page 190 of vol. X. of the *Ind. Antiquary*, I was put in mind of a story agreeing with that in the main, though differing in names and particulars, current in this presidency. The story runs as follows:—

"A mighty king named Prasoma reigned in Kerala. He was killed in battle fighting with his enemies. Hearing the news of his death his wives burnt themselves as *Satîs*. He had a son named Chandrahâsya two months old. After the death of his parents the child was brought up with care by the nurse, who, finding it unsafe to remain in his father's capital, took him to Kuntalapura. There she begged alms from door to door, and with what she got she managed to live happily. The boy had a handsome person. The towns-people were pleased with him, and gave him or his nurse money, food, and clothes. Once upon a time, as the boy was playing in the street, he found a Shâligrâma or stone sacred to Vishnu. Taking a liking for the stone, he always carried it in his mouth, only taking it out to worship in the morning, and at dinner time to offer *Naivedya* to it.

The king of Kuntalapura had a minister named Dushṭabuddhi. This minister once brought together a number of Brâhmans for some ceremony calculated to give his son the sove-

reignty of the kingdom of his lord and patron. As the Brâhmaṇs were being fed, he saw this boy in his premises, took him up in his arms, and brought him in to dinner. After dinner, at the time of distributing *Pânsupâri*, the Brâhmaṇs, as is customary, took rice grains mixed with red powder (? *akshatâ*), repeated Vedic hymns, and threw the grains on the head of this boy, who was still sitting in the lap of the minister, taking him for the minister's son. The minister had a firm belief that the words of the Brâhmaṇs were sure of fulfilment, and seeing that the *akshatâ* fell on the head of this beggar, he scolded the Brâhmaṇs and sent them away in anger. He then took care to call some Chân-dâlas, and ordered them to take the child into the forest a long way off from the town, and there despatch him. They took him accordingly to the forest, and when the young boy saw that his life was in danger, and that he was in a dense forest with none to rescue him, he took out the *śâli-grâma*, and earnestly prayed to Narahari. The god appeared and routed the Châṇḍâlas. One of them took care, however, to cut off the sixth toe which the boy had to convince the minister of the truth of the statement which they were to make, that they had destroyed the child. The boy lay senseless and bleeding. The king of Kulinda had gone to the same forest to hunt. The god Narahari assumed the form of a deer, and led the king to the place where the boy lay. When the king heard a boy crying, he went in the direction of the voice, and seeing a lovely boy, he wiped his eyes, took him up in his arms, and restored him to his senses. The king then heard an *Âkâsha Vâni* (unearthly voice), saying to him, "Oh king, you are blessed with this boy, take him to your capital!" The king's wife Meghâvati suckled him.

His *Upanayana* and other ceremonies were performed as he grew up. He learnt the *Vedas*, the *Dhanurveda*, &c. &c. with the greatest ease, and in his sixteenth year conquered all the kings of the earth. He was then made a Yuvarâja by his adoptive father. He was then told to go to Kuntalapura to see the king, and to pay the amount of the annual tribute. The youth requested to be allowed to bring the king a prisoner, but the old king dissuaded him from such a course. Some servants were sent with the tribute. Dushṭabuddhi, the minister of Kuntaleśvara, hearing of the good name the young prince of Kulinda had gained, wanted some pretext to go to Kulinda to see who this prince was. He soon obtained one. The king told him to go and look for a husband for his daughter, who was of marriageable age. He came first to Kulinda, where he saw the self-same boy adopted by the king. The wicked minister then said to the king "Send your son to the king of Kuntala. I shall give him a note of introduction to my son." In the note he wrote to his son "Oh Madana, my behest is you should give poison (*visha*) to this young prince sent to you. Do not consult any one. Have no scruples about the auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of the day." So he sent him alone and unattended. Chan-drahâsya bowed to his father, and went to Kuntalapura riding a noble horse. When he came near the town he rested in a garden outside. Into the same garden, when he was asleep, came the minister's daughter for amusement. While plucking flowers she saw the young man, and as he was beautiful her heart was captivated. On coming near she saw a letter in his head-dress, she took it, opened it, and read it. She thought within herself—'As my father has sent this young man with a note to my brother, he surely means that I (for her name was Vish-ayâ) should be given to him and not (*visha*) poison. My father must have made a mistake in orthography.' She therefore, by the help of *anjana* from her eyes, made the necessary alteration with her finger-nail, and went away. The young prince awoke and took the letter to the minister's son. On reading his father's letter, and not doubting that Vishayâ was meant, he called the Brâhmaṇs and celebrated the marriage. The minister sacked the capital of Kulinda and made the king a prisoner. While returning to his kingdom he me tthe Brâhmaṇs, who blessed him, praised the bounty of his son, and gave him a lengthy account of the wedding. He was very angry, but when he saw his own letter produced sanctioning the wedding, he was helpless. Then fearing that the king would be angry with him for getting his own daughter married, and leaving his own unmarried, he told his son to go and inform the king of the celebration of the marriage, to witness which he was not called, but of which he had heard from some of his servants, who praised the beauty and the qualities of the minister's son-in-law, and recommended him as a fit husband for his daughter Champakamalati. When his own son Madana was gone, the minister's imagination was not idle. He called a Châṇḍâla and tried his best to make away with his son-in-law. He told the Châṇḍâla to station himself unperceived at the threshold of Ambikâ's temple and let his deadly weapon fall on the first person that came to worship the goddess, managing at the same time that his son-in-law should be that person. As the son-in-law was going towards the temple he met his brother-in-law, who told him that he was wanted by the king, and said he would go and worship the goddess for

him. The king gave his daughter in marriage to this prince. When the minister saw him coming to his house riding an elephant with the princess, he was distracted, and went to the temple in haste, where he saw his son cut to pieces. He then cut his own throat. The son-in-law Chandrahâsya then went to the temple on hearing of this horrible catastrophe. He saw there both his father-in-law and brother in-law lying dead. He there pleased the goddess, restored both of them to life, and lived in peace ever after."

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AN ORIENTAL BESTIARY.[1]

In the Middle Ages we meet with curious moralisations on animals. The *Exeter-book* (a collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry, edited by B. Thorpe, 1842) contains two specimens of an ancient *liber phisiologus*, one on the panther, and the other on the whale (pp. 355-60).

Mr. Thomas Wright published a French translation, by Philippe de Thaun, of the Latin Bestiary of Thetbaldus in *Popular Treatises on Science* (London, 1841) ; and the present writer, in *An Old English Miscellany* (Early-English Text Society), edited an Early English version (pp. 1-26), together with the Latin original by Thetbaldus (pp. 210-60).

In the introduction to *Popular Treatises* Mr. Wright called attention to the curious Oriental tales that often accompanied these "moralisations," but offered no opinion as to the probable or possible source of the stories. It is not at all improbable that the "moralisations," like the fable, may be traced back, through some source or other, to India. In the *Milinda-pañha*—a work which the editor thinks was translated from Sanskrit—there is a curious series of similes, metaphors, and "moralisations" on animate and inanimate objects, not unlike those we find in our western Bestiaries. They are contained in the *Issatthassa-pañha*[2] section (pp. 363-419 of the Pâli text; pp. 536-624 of the Siñhalese translation, ed. 1878), the *mâtika*, or index, to which contains many more subjects for moralisation than are noticed in the text. The Pâli collection, however, is much more extensive than our Western ones. The beginnings of some of the sentences in the Pâli remind us of similar ones in the Early English Bestiary. Thus, "the hert haveth kindes two" (l. 307), may be compared with "*migassa tîṇi aṅgâni gahetabbâni*," the term *aṅgam* corresponding to the Old-English *kinde* (or *lage*), Latin *natura*. In the Latin, and other versions derived from it, the moralisations are applied to the Christian, but in the Pâli text to the Buddhist devotee (*Yogî*). We cull a few examples from the Pâli version.

The ascetic, or meditative priest, is to observe and imitate the one special quality of the—

Ass[3] (*ghorassara*, an epithet for *gadrabha*). This animal has not much of a bed, but sleeps on a dust-heap, at the meeting of four roads, at the entrance of a village, on a heap of chaff. So the ascetic is to be contented with scanty bedding—with a strip of skin spread wherever he intends to sleep, whether it be on a layer of grass or leaves, or sticks, or on the ground.

The SQUIRREL (p. 368) has one quality to be noted and imitated. When it is attacked by a foe it uses its tail as a cudgel, and with lusty blows puts the enemy to flight. So the Yogî, when he is attacked by his spiritual enemies (*i.e.*, the evil passions), should put them to flight with the staff of "earnest meditation."

The WHITE ANT (p. 392) has one noteworthy quality. Out of a leaf it makes itself a covering to go all over it, wherein it envelops itself; and, thus sheltered, goes about seeking for food. Even so should the contemplative mendicant go on his begging rounds, with the restraint of moral conduct as a covering (*sîlasaṁvara-chhadanaṁ*), without fear, and unpolluted by the world.

The SCORPION (p. 394) has one quality that should be imitated. It carries its weapon, or sting, in its tail, and goes about with tail uplifted. So the "religious" should possess the sword of knowledge, and in his life should prominently display it. Thus living, he is freed from all fear, and invincible:—

"*Nâṇakhaggaṁ gahetvâna viharanto vipassako*
Parimuchchati sabbabhayâ, duppasaho cha so bhave ti."

The HOG (p. 397) has two qualities to be noted. (1) In the hot and scorching time of summer he betakes himself to a pond. Just so should the Yogî, when his mind is scorched, inflamed, and troubled by the evil feelings of anger or hatred, have recourse to the cool, ambrosial, and pleasant exercise of universal kindliness (*mettabhâvanâ*). (2) The hog, having gone to a marsh or swamp, makes a trough in the earth by digging away with his snout, and lies therein. So the contemplative priest, burying his body in the trough of the mind, should be plunged in profound meditation (*ârammaṇantare*).

The OWL's (p. 403) two qualities are a pattern for the ascetic. (1) This creature is hostile to the

[1] *The Academy*, Dec. 24, 1881.

[2] *Issattho*, not in Childers, means an "archer," and corresponds to Sanskrit *ishvastra*.

[3] *Milinda-pañha*, p. 365.

crows,[4] and at night-time repairs to their abode and kills numbers of them. So the "mendicant" is to show hostility to ignorance, and, sitting alone in solitude, he is to destroy and root it out (of his own mind). (2) The owl loves seclusion. Even so should the "religious" delight and rejoice in solitude (for the exercise of meditation).

The LEECH's one noteworthy quality is as follows (p. 405):—Wherever the leech sticks, there it adheres firmly, and sucks blood. Just so should the devotee act; on whatever object (for meditation) his thought fastens itself, there he should firmly fix it, and from that meditation drink in the *cloyless sweets of Nirvâṇa (vimuttirasam asechanam)*.

The SPIDER (p. 407) has one quality for imitation. It spreads its web and catches and eats every fly that gets entangled therein. Even so should the Yogî spread the net of "earnest meditation" before the six avenues (*i.e.*, the six senses), and take and destroy every insect-like lust clinging thereto.

As an instance of moralisation on an inanimate object, I take that on the PITCHER (*Kumbho*; p. 414). A full pitcher gives out no sound. Even so the devotee who has attained to perfection in learning in the scriptures, and in the "path," is not to exhibit arrogance or pride, but, suppressing these, he should, with well-directed mind, be neither garrulous nor boasting. The quotation from the *Sutta-nipâta* that follows this comparison reminds us of our own proverbs, "Still waters run deep;" "the shallow murmur, but the deep are dumb."

"*Sanantâ yanti kussubbhâ*
Tuṇhi yâti mahodadhi.
Yad-ûnakaṁ taṁ sanati,
Yam pûraṁ santam eva taṁ.
Rittakumbhûpamo bâlo
Rahado pûro va paṇḍito ti."

"Loud the shallow brook doth brawl,
Silent flows the stream that's deep.
Noise an emptiness betrays,
Fullness gives no hollow sound.
Fools half-empty pitchers seem,
Wise men are the clear, full pools."[5]

R. MORRIS.

Wood Green, N.: Dec. 19, 1881.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

2. CROW LANGUAGE.—In my note upon the so-called "Crow Language" (vide *Indian Antiquary*, vol. X. p. 183, June, 1881), I ask—"Do any of the Indian peoples use 'secret' languages formed in this manner?" I have just found the following answer to my own question:—

"The women (in Brunei, Borneo) delight in every practice that can deceive their lords, and they have invented a system of speaking to each other in what may be called an inverted language—in Malay 'Bhasa Balik.' It is spoken in different ways: ordinary words have their syllables transposed, or to each syllable another one is added. For 'mari,' to come, they say 'malah-rilah.' They are constantly varying it, and girls often invent a new system, only confined to their intimate acquaintances; if they suspect they are understood by others, they instantly change it."—(*Life in the Forests of the Far East*: by S. St. John, Vol. II, p. 265.)

To render the above system more clear I give the Malay sentence "Âpa kâta dîa?" (what did he say?) as it would appear with the interjected *lah*:—"Âlah-palah kâlah-talah dîlah-alah?"

3. CHATTY.—What is the real derivation of the common word *chatty*? In Winslow's *Tamil Dictionary*, *saṭṭi* is explained as 'a cooking-vessel or pan,' and this no doubt is connected with *sâḍi* 'a jar.' On turning up Childers' *Pali Dictionary* I find '*châṭi* (f), a chatty or earthenware vessel, a jar, water pot. Comp. Tamil *sâḍi*.' Now as *s* and *j*, and *ḍ* and *r*, are interchangeable, *sâḍi* and *jar* seem to be the same word, and our *jar* was probably taken by the Spaniards from the Arabs (Persian and Arabic, *jarrah*, a jar) *vide* Skeat's *Etymolog. Dicty*. Here, however, another claimant steps in, for in 'A Sketch of the Kakhyen Language,' by the Rev. J. N. Cushing, of Rangoon, in the July number of the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* (vol. XII. p. 401), occurs the following sentence:—"Compound Nouns. These are formed by uniting (a) two nouns, as—*shat-ti*, rice-pot." Which of these words means "rice," and which "pot," can only be guessed from the knowledge that in Burmese *shan*, and in several of the Nepalese dialects *cha* and *ja*, are the equivalents for rice, raw or boiled. As the *chatty* is pre-eminently the 'rice-pot' of Ceylon, the coincidence at all events (if nothing more) is worthy of note.

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4. HUNTER'S GAZETTEER.—Having seen it stated that a new edition of the abovenamed valuable work is in course of preparation, I take the liberty of sending you a few corrections anent the article ALLAHABAD.

[4] See *Jâtaka*, p. 270.

[5] See the *Nâlaka sutta*, vv. 42, 43, p. 131, of Fausböll's translation of the *Sutta-nipâta* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. x).

1. On p. 146, vol. I. we are told that the chief bathing day at the *Mágh-melá* is the day of full moon; and on p. 151 this statement is repeated. The fact, however, is that though during the month of Mâgh there are several days of special bathing at the Junction here, of which the day of full moon is one, the chief bathing-day is the day of the *Amávasyá*, the day which we English people call the day of the new moon. Dr. Hunter's statement is, in fact, wrong by fifteen days. The error arose, perhaps, from the circumstance that the Hindûs date the beginning of their month from the day of full moon.

2. On p. 151 the writer of the article says that the *Mágh-melá* is held at the Junction of the Ganges and the Jamunâ in December and January. The fact is, however, that the *Melá* always begins in the latter month, and never in the former; and it extends into February.

3. On p. 146 we are told that the *Mágh-melá* is held 'on the plain below the Fort,' and on p. 151 'on the plain near the Fort.' As there happens to be a large plain 'near the Fort' on which no Melâ is ever held, it is only reasonable to suppose that the plain mentioned in each of these statements is one and the same. It is evident that the writer never visited the spot in the rainy months: had he done so he would have noticed that the 'plain' he speaks of had disappeared. The spot has, indeed, something of the appearance of a plain in the dry months: but it is, in fact, not a plain at all, in the ordinary sense of the term, but the sand-bed (formed by the Junction of the rivers) left high and dry when the rivers have receded into their narrow normal channels. If the writer had walked on the said 'plain,' he would have had good evidence that he was walking on very fine sand, on which the water rises to a height of twenty or thirty feet in the rains; 'sand-bed' should be substituted for 'plain.'

4. The writer of the article, speaking of the Hindû Temple in the Fort, calls it 'the underground chambers.' There is, in fact, only one chamber. When the Fort was built the Temple was spared, probably on account of the revenue which Akbar's Government obtained from it; but the very considerable elevation of the Fort necessitated the building over of the Temple, so that the Temple which, in earlier times was above-ground, is now said to be 'under-ground.' The explanation is important, inasmuch as it removes the difficulty of accounting for the construction of a place of worship in a subterraneous position.

5. In the said Temple is the famous *Akshaya-vṛiksha*, or sacred banian tree (*lit.* 'The undecaying tree') celebrated in the *Rámáyaṇa* and other popular books of the Hindûs. The writer of the article in question is very far from orthodoxy, and must have been mourned over by many a learned Brâhmaṇa. He irreverently suggests that the tree is a sham, and that the priests are a set of wilful impostors. It is, says he, 'renewed secretly by the priests when it threatens to decay.' If a missionary had gone so far as to unveil the deception in these bald terms, it would have been considered 'bad form.' The wisdom of the maxim of the British Government as to leaving the people to the free enjoyment of their religious practices will hardly be doubted by any man of understanding, but when it thus comes to a case of *obtaining money under false pretences*, it clearly is the duty of the ruling Power to interpose with its function of protecting the people from the rapacity of men who utilize the immense leverage of an ecclesiastical position with the distinct design of practising fraud in order to transfer money from other people's pockets to their own. A man who is guilty of a wilful offence against the civil law ought not to be exempted from punishment on the plea that the offence was committed in the interests of religion. A Government which has a reputation to maintain can hardly lay claim to the character of equity if it suspends in the case of an offending priest a law which it relentlessly applies in the case of an ordinary shop-keeper. To interfere with the Hindûs in their homage of the tree, is one thing,—to interfere with the priests in regard to their practice of obtaining immense sums of money by fraud, is quite another. Let us hope that the learned Compiler of the *Gazetteer* will perceive the force of this in his present exalted position.

J. D. BATE.

Allahabad, Jan. 27th.

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5. ON OPPROBRIOUS NAMES.—To my note to "Folklore in the Panjâb," No. 10, *ante*, vol. X. p. 331, I add the following names which have lately come to my notice in Kachahrî:—

(1) Chhiṭṭar, an old shoe (Panj.).

(2) Jhâṛû, a broom.

The name Mirchâ, pepper, has been noted in the same article (p. 332): there are two brothers, contractors, in Ambâla, called

(3) Mirchâ (Mall), peppercorn, (Hind. *mirch*, pepper): and

(4) Kirchî (Mall), atom (Hind. *kirach*, a grain, atom).

R. C. TEMPLE.

COINS OF THE ARABS IN SIND.

BY ED. THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDING MEM. DE L'INSTITUT AND OF THE ACADÉMIE DE ST. PETERSBOURG.

The subject of this paper,[1] though obscure and still in the infancy of its development, bids fair, under fostering hands, to aim at a youth and maturity which local antiquaries alone can ensure for it.

It is in this sense that I seek the assistance of all those who may chance to have opportunities of securing coins, authentic MSS., native home traditions, Arab tribal genealogies, or other waifs and stray contributions to the archæology of the period: falling short of the grand test of further excavations *in situ*, in the Muslim capital of Mansûrah, or, for the higher purposes of early Indian history, in the sacred city of Brahmanâbâd.

The conquest of Sind by the Arabs, in A.H. 93 (A.D. 712), constitutes a marked epoch in the history of the land, and is associated with many instructive coincidences—in its inception, in the temporary domestication of the conquerors on an alien soil, and their gradual disappearance into obscurity.

The daring advance of Muhammad bin Kâsim was freely backed by the encouragement and support of the celebrated Hijâj bin Yûsaf who so completely reversed the Khalif 'Umar's favourite policy of non-extension of the Muslim boundaries to the eastward.

It is curious to note the ease with which the conquerors settled themselves as residents, and the facile refuge this isolated corner of the Muhammadan world afforded to persecuted or heretical members of the new faith—while they retained among themselves, in their new home, so many of their ancient tribal divisions and jealousies; and it is instructive to follow the untold tale of ethnic subsidence and final absorption into the Indian native element, when the pure Arab blood came to be exhausted by successive local admixtures, as in other parallel cases wherever the standard of the Prophet carried with it the loose teachings of the race[2] beyond the nomadic tents of their primeval desert.

The sole possible preface to such obscure investigations as the present has to be gleaned from the casual contributions of Arabian writers to the annals of an outlying province, with which they were seldom brought into personal contact.

In framing the subjoined table of the Arab rulers of Sind, I have taken, as my leading authority, a writer who seems to have had extensive and exceptional knowledge of his subject. This list was originally compiled from M. Reinaud's text and translation of Balâzarî,[3] the author in question—for my edition of Prinsep's Essays, it has been further collated with Sir H. M. Elliot's independent work on the *Arabs in Sind*, which has ultimately been incorporated in his great work on *The Historians of India*.[4]

A.D.	A.H.	
711–712	93	1. Muhammad bin Kâsim (under the Khalif Walîd).
		2. Yazîd bin Abû Kabshah al-Sáksakî, (under Khalif Sulaimân).
714–715	96	3. Habîb bin Muhallab (under Khalif Sulaimân.)
		4. 'Amrû bin Muslim Al-Bahâlî, (under the Khalif 'Umar).
		5. Junaîd bin 'Abd al rahman *Al-Marrî* (under the Khalif Hishâm).
725–726	107	6. Tamîm bin Zaid Al-'Utbî.
		7. Al hakim bin 'Awânah Al-Kalbî.
		('Amru bin Muhammad).
		(Sulaimân bin Hishâm—Abû Al-Khabâb) under the 'Abbâside Khalifs.
		8. 'Abd al rahman bin Muslim 'Al Abdî, defeated by the local Governor of the previous Ummaîh Khalifs.

[1] This paper was originally prepared for the second volume of the *Archæological Reports of the Survey of W. India*, and is now revised by the author.

[2] "The position of women amongst them (*the Arabs*) was not a very elevated one, and though there are instances on record of heroines and poetesses who exalted or celebrated the honour of their clan, they were for the most part looked on with contempt. The marriage knot was tied in the simplest fashion and untied as easily, divorce depending only on the option and caprice of the husband." Prof. Palmer, *Introduction to the Koran*, p. xi. London: 1880.

[3] Abu J'afir Ahmad bin Yahya ibn Jâbir al Balâzarí, البلاذري author of the كتاب فتوح البلدان flourished at the court of Bâghdâd, *inter* 256 and 279 A.H., Ibn Khaldun, p. 438. Reinaud, in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits, relatifs à l'Inde*, (originally published in the Paris *Journal Asiatique* for 1844), also fixes his decease in 279 A.H. (892 A.D.), p. xix.

[4] Appendix to the *Arabs in Sind*: Cape Town, 1853. Elliot quoting *Tohfat ul Kirâm*, in *The History of India, as told by its own Historians*, London, 1867, Vol. I, p. 443, edited by Prof J. Dowson.

A.D.	A.H.	
725–726	107	9. Manśûr bin Jamhûr Al-Kalbî.
		10. Mûsa bin K'aab, Al-Tamîmî, overpowers Manśûr. (The *Tohfat ul Kirâm* attributes this victory to Dâûd bin 'Ali.)
757–8	140	11. Hishâm bin 'Amrû Al-Taghlabi.
		12. 'Amar bin Hafś bin 'Usmân, Hazârmard; transferred to Africa in A. H. 151.
770–1	154	13. Rûh bin Hâtim. (A.H. 160-1?).
800	184	14. Dâûd bin Yazîd bin Hâtim.
		15. Bashir bin Dâûd (about 200 A.H.—Reinaud).
828	213	16. Ghassân bin 'Abâd.
		17. Mûsa bin Yahia bin Khâlid, Al Barmaki (dies in 221 A.H., 836 A.D.)
		18. 'Amrân bin Mûsa; (killed by Umar bin Abd'ul Azîz).
		19. Fazl bin Mâhân.
		20. Muhammad bin Fazl; his brother Mâhân rebels, and eventually the native races regain possession of the soil.
	257	'Yakûb bin Lais, founder of the dynasty of the Śaffâris.

In addition to the circumscribed kingdoms of Manśûrah and Multân, there were other quasi-independent Muslim governments at Bânia, where 'Umar, the son of 'Abdal 'Azîz Habbâri, seems to have held sway,[5] and at Kasdâr, where the governor, in Ibn Haukal's time (A.D. 943), was Mu'în bin Ahmad.[6] But in all these cases, as indeed at Manśûrah and Multân themselves, the *Khutbah*, or public prayers, were conscientiously read in the name of the Khalif of Bâghdâd.

I have one preliminary remark to make with reference to the peculiarly local characteristics of the numismatic remains discovered by Mr. Bellasis in A.D. 1856, near the old site of Brahmanâbâd and the identification of the Muslim town of Manśûrah, as tested by the produce of the inhumed habitations hitherto excavated, in the fact of the very limited number of purely Hindû coins found among the multitudes of mediæval Muhammadan pieces, and that the former, as a rule, seem to have been mere casual contributions from other provinces, of no individual uniformity or appearance of age such as should connect them directly with the ancient Hindû capital of that name.[7]

The first coin admitted into the following list is not supposed to belong directly to the province of Sind. It has been inserted in this place with a view to trace the apparent prototype, upon which the arrangement of the central reverse devices of the local coinage was based.

Abû Muslim, 'Abd 'al Rahman bin Muslim, was virtually, within human limits, the *king-maker* of the line of the Abbaside Khalifs. His dominant position as representative of the family of the Prophet, and effective master of Kho-

[5] Ibn Haukal, p. 231.

[6] Gildemeister, *De rebus Indicis*, Bonn., 1838, p. 171; Col. Anderson, *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1852, p. 54; Elliot's *Historians*, vol. I, pp. 37, 38.

[7] "Amrou, fils de Mohammed fils de Cassem . . . . . . fonda, en deçà du lac, une ville qu'il nomma Almansoura. C'est la ville où résident maintenant les gouverneurs."—Reinaud, p. 210. In a previous passage, Balâzari tells us, "Ensuite Mohammed fils de Cassem, se porta devant la vieille Bahmanábád, qui se trouvait à deux parasanges de Mansoura. Du reste Mansoura n'existait pas encore, et son emplacement actuel était alors un bois . . . . . . Mohammed plaça un lieutenant à Bahmanádád; mais aujourd'hui la ville est ruinée," p. 198. See also Reinaud, quoting Albírúní's *Tárikh-i-Hind*, *Fragments*, p. 113. Ibn Khurdádbah (A.H. 260) text and translation by M. B. de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, pp. 277-8, 289, 292, &c. Masûdi tells us, "I visited Multân after 300 A.H. when السامي القرشى ابوالدلهات المنبه بن اسد was king there." "At the same time I visited el Manśûrah, the king of that country was then ابوالمنذر عمر بن عبدالله of the family of Habbár bin el Aswad," p. 385,—Sprenger's Translation; M. Barbier de Meynard's edition, text and translation, Paris, 1861, vol. I. pp. 151, 372, 377, &c. With regard to the extent and importance of the kingdom we are informed that "All the estates and villages under the dependency of el-Manśûrah amounted to 300,000; the whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields," p. 386, *ibid.*

Further references to the geographical and the other questions bearing on the general subject may be cited as follows:—Kodâmah (ob. 337 A.H.), *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 168; Vincent's *Commerce of the Ancients*, London, 1807, vol. I. p. 145; Gladwin's *Ayín-i-Akbarí*, vol. II. p. 137, *et seq.*; *Marâsid-al-Ittila'*, vol. II. p. 161; Istakhri (A. H. 300 to 309), pp. 12 and 170; M. Goeje's new edition of the text, 1870; Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, London, 1800; Ibn Haukal (A. H. 331 to 366)—M. Goeje's new edition of the text (Lugd. Bat., 1873), p. 226, *et seq.*; *al-Mokaddasi*, of the same series. 1876, p. 475; Gildemeister *de Rebus Indicis*, Bonn, 1838, p. 166; Col. Anderson's translation *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXI. p. 42; *Liber Climatum*, Arabic text, J. H. Mœller, Gothæ, 1829; Sprenger's *Post und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig, 1864, pl. XIV, "Karte von Indien nach Byrúny"; Reinaud's *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, vol. I. p. 386, &c.; *Tabari*, Paris ed., vol. III. p. 518; Reinaud's *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 169, 192, 235, &c.; *Ancient Accounts of India and China*, London, 1733; ditto, Reinaud's French edition, Paris, p. 212; *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 414; *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. VII. pp. 93, 279; vol. X. p. 183; vol. XIV. p. 75; McMurdo, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, vol. I. p. 23, *et seq.*; Burnes' *Bokhara*, vol. III. p. 31; Dr. Bird, *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, vol. I. p. 199; Postans *Observations on Sindh*, p. 143; Pottinger's *Beloochistan and Sinde*, London, 1816, p. 381; Wood's *Oxus*, London, 1841, p. 20; Mohammed Ma'sûm's *History of Sind*, A. D. 710 to 1590, *Bombay Government Selections*, New Series, No. XIII., 1855; Mr. A. F. Bellasis, *The Ruined City of Brahmanâbâd*, in Sind, Bombay, 1856; Col. Sykes in the *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 21 and Feb. 28, 1857, p. 187, with numerous illustrations of Brahmanâbâd and engravings of coins of Manśûr bin Jamhur [No. 3 of *this* series] and of Muhammad [No. 5].

râsân and its dependencies, enabled him to dictate to the Western Muhammadan sections of the joint creed, a change in the succession of their vicegerents upon earth. As Supreme governor of the eastern provinces, he necessarily nominated his own Lieutenants in Seistân, and hence we see the anomaly, in these coins, of the introduction of pictorial devices in the body of the ordinarily exclusive Kufic legends.

'Abd al Rahman bin Muslim.

No. 1. Copper. A.H. 133, 4, 5, 6. (A.D. 750-753, 4.)[8]

Obverse.

لا اله ا

لا الله

وحده

Margin بسم الله مما امر به الامير عبدالرحمن بن مسلم سنة ثلث وثلثين ومية

"In the name of God. This (piece) is one of the number the Amîr, Abd al Raḥman bin Muslim, caused to be struck in A. H. 133."

Reverse.

محمد



رسول الله

Margin. قل لا اسلكم ∴ عليه اجرا ∴ الا المودة ∴ في القربي

"Say, I do not ask for it a hire—only the love of my kinsfolk." (*Kurân*, 42, 22.)[9]

Mansûr the son of Jamhur, *Al Kalbî*.

No. 2. Copper. Weight, 33 grains. Size, 6 of Mionnet's scale. Mr. Bellasis's collection.

Manṣûrah, A. H. ?

Obverse.

Area:

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Margin.—Illegible.

Reverse.

Area:

محمد



رسول الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب [هذا الفلس] بالمنصورة مما امر به منصو

"In the name of God, this copper coin was struck, at Manṣûrah, under the orders of Manṣû(r).

No. 3. Copper. Size 4. Mr. Bellasis.

Manṣûrah, A. H. ?

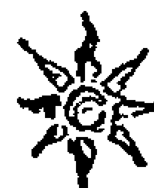
Obverse.

Device: Altogether effaced and obliterated.

Reverse.

Area:

محمد



رسول الله

Margin: بسم [الله] ضرب هذا بالمنصورة مما امر به منصو . .

'Abd ul-Rahman.

No. 4. Copper. Size 5. Weight 44 grains.

Obverse.—Central device, a quatrefoil, or *star*, reduced to four points, [device] on the sides of which are disposed, in the form of a square, the words محمد رسول الله عبدالرحمن. The outer margin of the piece is ornamented with a line of dots enclosed within two linear circles, with four small dotted semicircles to fill in the space left vacant by the square central legend.

Reverse.—A scalloped square, surrounded by dots, within which, arranged in three lines, are the words, بالله عبدالرحمن اسلعار; the concluding word I am unable to decipher, even from the best specimens at present available—it is possibly and probably the name of 'Abdulraḥman's Arab tribe.

When the English Government originated the decoration of "a Star of India," they were perhaps not aware that Sind had already a competitive star of its own; a very special and discriminative symbol, which attained such permanent recognition in and around the province itself, that the device here discovered on 'Abdulraḥman's coins continued to constitute, in a slightly modified form, the typical emblem of the state, down to the time of Tâj-ud-dîn Ilduz, the trusted lieutenant of Muhammad bin Sâm, eventually independent *Sulṭân* of Sind, and likewise that of his opponent and successor Kubâchah, another general of the Ghorî conquerors

[8] Fræhn's Recensio (1826, p. 18) Stikel (Jena collection 1845, p. 40); Tornberg *Symbolæ ad Rem numariam, Muhammedanorum* (Upsaliæ, 1856), p. 8; Tiesenhausen *Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux* (St. Pétersbourg, 1873), pp. 65, 66.

[9] Professor Palmer's translation, vol. II, p. 207.

of India, who established himself in Sind about 600 A.H. (1203–4 A.D.) to fall at last before the troops of the chivalric Jalâl-ud-dîn Khârizmî, who, in his turn, had to swim the Indus for his life, before the hordes of Chingîs Khân. Îlduz's distinctive symbol was a six-pointed "star" beneath the conventional outline figure of the Râjpût horseman, (Prinsep's *Essays*, Plate xxvi. 45).[10] Kubâchah follows in the occasional use of the star (No. 87, p. 101), and Sultân Altamsh's coinage, continues to recognise the local device in the six-rayed star which occupies the centre of the obverse device (*Ib.* Pl. xxvi. 48). The coins of Uzbeg Pâî, the Indian general of Jalâl-ud-dîn, struck at Multân, reproduce the identical cluster of the seven stars of the Sâh Kings, and the Guptas[11] which discriminating mark survived, till very lately, on the native currencies of Ûdaipûr and Ujjain.[12]

MUHAMMAD.

No. 5. Copper. Size 3.

A unique coin of apparently similar type, (though the obverse is, in this case, absolutely blank), replaces the name of 'Abd-ul-rahman on the reverse by that of محمد Muhammad. The concluding tribal term seems to be identical with the designation embodied in the Kufic scroll at the foot of the reverse of No. 4.

'ABDALLAH.

No. 6. Copper.

Obverse.—Device as in No. 4 ('Abd-ul-rahman).

Legend: محمد [رسول الله] عبد الله

Reverse.—Blank.

No. 7. Copper. Size 3½. Weight 18 grains.

Obverse.—Central device the conventional four-pointed star, as in No. 4, around which, in a circular scroll, may be partially read the formula لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريک له.

Reverse.—Central device composed of the name of عبد الله *Abd-allah*; the two portions عبد and الله being crossed at right angles, so as to form a *tughra* or monogrammic imitation of the outline of the star with four points of the obverse device.

The marginal legend is arranged in the form of a square, and consists of the words محمد رسول الله [الا] مير

No. 8. Silver. Size 2. Weight 8·4 grains.[13]

In this example palm-branches, roses, stars, and all other mundane devices are rejected and replaced by simple Kufic legends of sacred import—so insisted upon by the more rigorous Muhammadans—to the following effect:

Obverse.— لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريک له

Reverse.— محمد رسول الله الامير عبد الله

No. 9. Copper, bearing similar legends. Other specimens vary in the division of the words, and omit the title of *Al-Amîr*.

BANU-DÂUD. (Dâûd-putra's ?)[14]

No. 10. Silver. Weight, ? grains. My cabinet.

محمد		بالله بنو
رسول		داود
الله*		واصـ

The archaic form of Kufic stamped on these coins would under ordinary circumstances have placed them in a far earlier position, in point of time, than their apparent associates in size and style, whose almost identical legends are couched in less monumental letters; but I prefer to attribute any divergence in this respect to local rather than epochal influences, regarding which we have had so many instructive lessons in the parallel home alphabets of India.[15]

BANÛ-'UMAR.

No. 11. Silver. Size 1½. Weight 9 grains. *Five Specimens.* Mr. Bellasis.

Obverse.—Legends arranged in five lines.

بالله محمد رسول الله عمر

Marginal lines, plain or dotted, complete the piece.

Reverse.—Kufic legends in three lines.

بالله بنو عمرويه منذر

I am inclined to identify this ruler with the Abûl Manzar 'Umar bin Abdallah, indicated in the general note p. 90 *ante*, as the reigning sovereign of Mansûrah, in A.H. 300— , at the period of the geographer M'asûdî's visit to the valley of the Indus, and of whom he speaks

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[10] No. 24, ibid. xxvi. 47 and p. 81 of my *Pathân Kings of Delhi.*

[11] *Archæol. Surv. W. Ind.* vol. II, plate vii, figs. 9-13.

[12] *Pathân Kings of Delhi*, No. 85, p. 99; Prinsep's *Essays*, Useful Tables, No. 18, p. 67.

[13] Among the silver coins exhumed from the so-called Brâhmanâbâd, some are so minute as to weigh only 1·2 gr.

[14] Dâûd-putras, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, vol. VII. p. 27.

[15] The patronymic, in its local application, may have been derived from *the* Dâûd bin 'Ali bin 'Abbâs, No. 10 in the above list, p. 89—the adversary of Mansûr—who was so prominently associated with the overthrow of the 'Umaih Khalifs. Tabari, vol. IV, pp. 289, 326, 342, &c.

further in the following terms:—"There is some relationship between the royal family of el-Manśûrah and the family of esh-Shawârib, the Kadi, آل ابی الشوارب القاضي for the kings of el-Manśûrah are of the family of Habbâr ben el-Aswad, هبار بن الاسود and have the name of Beni 'Amr ben 'Abd el-Aziz el-Karshî, بني عمر بن عبد العزيز القرشي who is to be distinguished from 'Amr ben 'Abd el-Azîz ben Merwân, the Omaïyide (Khalif)."[16]

No. 12. Copper. Size, 4. Weight 35 grains. Common.

Legends—as in the silver coins, with the exception that the بنو is placed, for economy of space, in the opening between the two ل's of بالله. The die execution of these pieces is generally very degraded.

No. 13. Copper. Size, 3½. Weight 21 grains. Unique. Mr. Bellasis. Manśûrah, A.H. . . 4.

Obverse.—Blank.

Reverse.—

Centre:—بنو............ عمروية منذر——

Margin: ...... س بالمنصورة سنة اربع ؟ ......

BANÛ 'UMAR.

No. 14. Copper. Size, 4½. Weight 36 grains. Unique. Sir Bartle Frere.

Obverse.—Central device, four lines crossing each other at a common centre, so as to form a species of *star* of eight points; four of these are, however, rounded off by dots.

Legend, arranged as a square:

محمد رسول الله —ر

with single dots at the corner angles, and two small circles filling in the vacant spaces outside of each word.

Margin.—Two plain circular lines, with an outer circle of dots.

Reverse.—Central legends in three lines within a triple circle composed of dots, circlets, and an inner plain line. I transcribe the legend, with due reservation, as:

بالله بنو عمروية منذر

AHMAD.

No. 15. Silver. Weight? grains. Dr. Burgess.

Obverse.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لاشريک له

Reverse.



محمد
رسـول
الله الامير
احمد

'ABD-ALLAH (*Wali* and *Malik*).

No. 16. Silver: New coins. Dr. Burgess.

Obverse.

محمد
رسـول
الـله
عبد الله

Reverse.





بالله ولی
عبد الله
و ملک

In terminating this brief notice of the Muhammadan coins of Sind I wish to advert, momentarily, to the information obtained from the early Arabian travellers in India, respecting the mixed currencies of Sind and the adjoining provinces.

The merchant Sulaimân, A.H. 237 (A.D. 851), is the first who affords us any insight into the condition of the *circulating media* of the land; he tells us that, among other pieces used in commerce in the dominions of the *Balharâ*, *Ṭâtariya* dirhams took a prominent place, and that these were reckoned in value as equal to 1½ of the ordinary coins of the King.[17]

The identification of this term *Ṭâtariya* has formed the subject of much vague speculation; M. Reinaud's latest conjecture pointed at a derivation from the Greek σrαrήρ, *Stater.*[18]

[16] Sprenger's *Meadows of Gold*, p. 385. The Arabic text is given in M. B. de Meynard's edition, p. 377. See also Gildemeister, quoting *Ibn Haukal*, p. 166; and Elliot, citing the same author (*Historians of India*), p. 63; and Professor Dowson's edition, vol. I. p. 21.

[17] Abû Zaid, circâ 303 A.H. who follows Sulaimân, incidentally mentions: "Autrefois, l'on portait dans l'Inde les dinârs du Sind (وكان يحمل الى الهند فى القديم الدنانير السنديه) dont chacun équivalait à trois dinârs ordinaires et davantage,"—(وما زاد) p. 153, Reinaud's translation. So, later in point of time, the Egyptian author of the Masâlik-al-Abiâr refers to the *Ṭankah* d'or as equal to 3 *Mithkals*. This was the modern representative of the normal ancient weight of 100 Ratis, (*Śataraktika*,) or, as nearly as possible, 175 grains. See my *Pathan Kings*, pp. 217, *et seq.* and my *Ancient Indian Weights*, Part I, of the *International Numismata Orientalia*, pp. 12, 36, 70.

[18] "La monnaie qui circule dans ses États consiste en pièces d'argent, qu'on nomme *thatherya*, الطاطرية. Chacune de ces pièces équivaut à un dirhem et demi monnaie du souverain." *Relation des Voyages*, Paris, 1845, tome I, p. 25; Reinaud, *L'Inde*, 1849 p. 235; Gildemeister, *de Rebus Indicis*, Bonn, 1838, p. 166; Tod's *Rajasthan*, quoted in Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. I, p. 86. Dr. Sprenger, in his edition of Mas'audi, proposes the interpretation of *Ṭalatawiya*.

I myself have, for long past, persistently held that the true term was to be found in *Ṭâhiriya*, the name of a dynasty dominant above all others in Eastern Asia at the period of the merchant's visit to India.[19]

This conclusion has gradually been strengthened by the discovery of the exact generic *word* in the unique Oxford MS. text of Ibn Khurdâdbah,[20] and in the more critical version of Mas'audi,[21] lately published in Paris.

To these evidences I am now able to add the definite legend of a coin of Ṭalḥah bin Ṭâhir, struck at Bust, on the Helmund, in A.H. 209 (A.D. 824).

Ṭalḥah bin Ṭâhir, A.H. 209.

No. 17. Copper: size, 5½; weights, 30, 31, and 22·5 grains. Bust. A.H. 209 (A.D. 824). Two specimens, Cunningham collection, British Museum. A third coin, recently acquired, by the B. M., contributes the legible name of the Mint.[22]

Obverse.—

Centre:—لا اله الا الله وحده لاشريک له

Margin:—بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس ببست سنة تسع ومائتين

Reverse.—Central device, a reduced Sasanian head, to the right, with the usual flowing back-hair, and traces of the conventional wings above the cap; the border of the robe is bossed or beaded.

In front of the profile the name of الطلحة *Al Ṭalḥah* is inserted.

Margin:—محمد رسول الله مما امر به الامير طلحة علي يدي عبد الله

This coin has further claims upon our attention in its testimony to the survival of old types and the continuity of the recognition of Sasanian devices in Seistân, extending, in its local influences, even to the confessed followers of Islâm, up to so late a period as 209 years after the Hijerah of Muhammad.

Considered under this aspect of fixity of national designs, it may instruct us in the classification of some of the parallel devices previously noticed,[23] about which our knowledge is at present indeterminate in the extreme. We know from the later developments of the Indo-Muhammadan coinages issued by the immediate successors of Mahmûd of Ghaznî,[24] that the Eastern Turkî Muslims were less strict in their denunciations of emblems and figures, than their presumedly more orthodox co-religionists of the West, and that in these cases the Northern invaders of India freely accepted the national types of the conquered kingdoms, which in this sense may furnish data for tracing back and discriminating the earlier examples of parallel assimilations.

To return to the material estimates of the Sindî currencies, we are in a position to cite the consecutive testimony of Îshtakhrî and Ibn Ḥaukal, whose verbatim texts in their latest exhaustive form are reproduced in the footnote.[25] These restored versions authorize us to infer that there were, among other impinging or still extant national methods of weighing and estimating metallic values *inter se*, certain market rates, or prices current, for international exchanges, which were quoted in fractions at that time, as our half-crowns still count, in defiance of decimals, in the London stock lists.

From these returns we gather that there were coins termed "Victorious" equivalent to five ordinary dirhams in the local exchange,

[19] The Arabic text of Y'akûbî, edited by Juynboll (Lugd. Bat., 1861), gives the dates of this family as follows:—

Ṭâhir bin Al Husain	A.H. 205	A.D. 820-1
Ṭalḥah bin Ṭâhir	A.H. 207	A.D. 822-3
'Abdallah bin Ṭâhir	A.H. 215	A.D. 830
Ṭâhir bin 'Abdallah	A.H. 230	A.D. 844-5
Muḥammad bin Ṭâhir	A.H. 248	A.D. 862-3
Y'akûb bin Lais	A.H. 259	A.D. 872-3

See also Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II, U. T., p. 304; *Hamza Isfahâni* (Gottwaldt), pp. 177, 228, &c., &c.

[20] *Journ. Asiatique*, 1865, p. 289. M. B. de Meynard, I find, adhered to the *Tatherides*, in defiance of Professor Cowell's confirmatory testimony to *Ṭaheriya*. Elliot's *Historians*, vol. I. p. 4.

[21] Text, vol. I. p. 382.

[22] Mr. S. L. Poole discovered the correct reading of this mint from a later coin of Laiś bin 'Ali, A.H. 298, *Num. Chron.* vol. XIII. p. 169. See also the autotype facsimile of this class of coin in the *British Museum Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, vol. ii, Plate iv, page 72, and Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II, p. 118.

[23] p. 91, 92 *ante*.

[24] Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. I, p. 333; *Pathân Kings of Delhi*, p. 58; *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XVII. pp. 171, 177.

[25] Îshtakhrî,—ونقودهم القاهريّات كلّ درهم نحو خمسة دراهم ولهم درهم يقال له الطاطريّ في الدرهم وزن درهم وثلثين

Ibn Haukal.—ونقودهم القندهاريات كلّ درهم منها خمسة دراهم ولهم درهم يقال له الطاطريّ في الدرهم درهم وثمن

The conversion of the *Kaheriya* into *Kandahâriya* seems to have been a purely arbitrary correction, and one not justified by the tenor of the associate text.

Kandahâr is not mentioned elsewhere in Ibn Haukal's geographical lists. The town at this period does not appear to have attained any degree of importance. See Goeje's text, p. 297. The name, however, occurs in Ibn Khordâdbah, IV, p. 278.

and that, concurrently the Bâzâr or open market recognized a totally different scale, based upon a coinage only *plus* ⅛th or ⅓rd beyond the home issues.

With the very imperfect numismatic materials extant, it would be presumptuous to pretend to fix, even approximately, the coin weights and measures obtaining in such a vague international crossway as Manṣûrah; but I could quote within narrow geographical or epochal limits, such extreme variations of weights of dinârs, dirhams and copper coins at discretion, that, if I wished it, I might prove almost any given sum to momentary demonstration, an exercise which, as a collector of positive facts, I specially desire to avoid.

IS BEZAWÂḌA ON THE SITE OF DHANAKAṬAKA?

BY THE EDITOR.

In a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in 1880 by Mr. R. Sewell, M. C.S.,[1] the author argues that the town of Bezawâḍa must certainly have been the capital of the kingdom of Dhanakachaka (Dhanakaṭaka) mentioned by Hiwen Thsang in the seventh century; and he supports his theory by statements to which his residence on the spot naturally gave considerable weight, and which might be regarded as final by any one unacquainted with the evidence he alludes to.

The modern town of Bezawâḍa lies on the north bank of the River Krishṇâ, and abuts on the west side on a steep hill—the Kanaka Durgâ Konda or Indranîlâdri hill; on the north and north-east are two isolated hills, and at a short distance to the east is another. The western hill comes down pretty close to the river, but is being quarried away on its southern end, along which the road passes to the west. Nearly right opposite to it, on the south side of the river, is a similar hill,—Sîtânagaram Konda—and tradition says these hills were once joined, but, by some interference of the gods, a way was made between them for the passage of the River, which had previously flowed some miles to the northwards. Across the river here is now made the great Krishṇâ *ânikaṭ*, or dam forming the head of the canal system of the province. Lastly, a mile or so further up, on the south side, is the Undavalli hill, in which are some caves to which allusion will be made presently.

Hiwen Thsang's account of the capital of the kingdom in his time, at first sight certainly, quite answers to these surroundings of Bezawâḍa. He speaks of a Saṁghârâma or Buddhist monastery on a hill to the east of the town, and of another very splendid one on the west, both of the Mahâyâna school. He says:—

"Placed on a mountain to the east of the city is to be seen the convent called the Pûrvaśîlâ Saṁghârâma; on a mountain to the west of the city is the Avaraśîlâ Saṁghârâma. An early king of this country constructed a *chaitya* here in honour of Buddha; he bored out the river course, constructing a road through it; he made in the sides of the mountain long galleries, wide chambers connecting them one with another along the whole course of the scarp."[2]

Now Mr. Sewell asserts that the little hill to the north-east of the town is the site of the Pûrvaśîlâ monastery. "There is," he says, "no dispute about this," and he contends that the hill to the west is the site of the Avaraśîlâ, and the great cave in the Undavalli hill to the south-west is that to which, Hiwen Thsang relates that Bhâvavivêka retired to await the arrival of the Bôdhisattwa Maitrêya, and where he disappeared in a hole of the rock which closed behind him. So far the evidence is most plausible: but if the hills on each side the town were so covered with splendid Bauddha structures, what has become of them? Surely some traces would be left.

On the north-east hill, indeed, are some rock-hewn steps and remains of caves, both above and at the bottom. It is evident also from the abundant brick remains and some cut stone, that there were once buildings on the platform at the top. But the caves below, and what remains of them are left above, are all unmistakeably Brâhmaṇical and not Bauddha, and no carving or images have been found to show that

[1] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. XII, pp. 98-109.

[2] Beal's version. Of the last portion, however, he suggests an alternative rendering, viz. "At the back of the mountain he constructed a cavern in connection with these chambers."

the structural buildings there were even religious edifices, or that there were any sculptures upon them.

Some stress is laid on a black stone image, somewhat defaced, now at the library. Those acquainted with the forms of the images of both sects and of those of Mahâyôgî or Dharmarâja in the Śaiva caves of the Dumar Lêna at Elura and at Elephanta, will acknowledge how easily an abraded figure of one sect may be mistaken for that of another. I have no reason, however, to doubt that the image in question is Jaina, of about the 12th or 13th century, similar to some I dug up at Elurâ a few years ago.

The caves in the west hill are more numerous and are in sufficient preservation to shew that they also were all Brâhmaṇical, and may belong to about the seventh or eighth century or later. Yet here Mr. Sewell asserts, the Avaraśilâ monastery stood, and "its remains are still to be seen." I examined the hill side with some care, but neither among the caves nor in the structural remains on the ridge of the hill, did I find a fragment of any kind that could be mistaken for Buddhist work. The scarps and platforms, to which he points as the sites of splendid structural monastic buildings, are in every way so like old quarries that they are not at all likely to be taken for anything else. These scarps are very perpendicular and lofty, and have rude images of Hanumân, &c. carved at various heights on them,—in some cases so high as to suggest that they were made by the quarrymen while the excavation was going on at about the level at which these figures are; and if this conjecture is correct, it would indicate that these works are of no great age. Then we have no other similar examples of hewing out platforms for merely structural buildings; and even these are far too limited to afford space for buildings of any great extent or magnificence. There is, moreover, nothing to show why such spots should have been selected to hew out platforms at, rather than any other more commanding position where the labour would not have been so great; nor is there a fragment of carved stone on them indicative of Buddhism.[3]

As to the large cave at Undavalli,[4] which is more to the west than "south" of Bezawâḍa, Mr. Sewell argued that it might have been primarily Bauddha and afterwards converted into a Vaishṇava temple. But there is not the slightest evidence of this; and the "curious crack in the rock at the back of the third storey,"—"which might have given rise to the legend" of Bhâvavivêka, "the celebrated master of the *Śâstras*,"—is only an ordinary flaw.

Either then the two hills to the west and north-east of Bezawâḍa were not the sites of the Aparaśilâ and Pûrvaśilâ Saṁghârâmas described by Hiwen Thsang, or he must have exaggerated the magnificence of the buildings in an unusual way, while every vestige of them must have been utterly destroyed soon after his time to make way for Brâhmaṇical and plain brick and stone buildings; and as these monasteries belonged to the Mahâyâna school, they must have contained numerous images, of which surely some indications would have been left.[5] Hiwen Thsang would surely not have omitted to say so if they were only made of wood and tinsel; and as, according to his statement, they had been disused long before his time, it is not likely that buildings of any such perishable materials would have lasted for a century afterwards. Nor in such a case would he have compared their magnificence to "the palaces of Baktria." One is almost forced to think he referred to the great stûpa at Amarâvatî, or some such similar work. And there were others, for at Jaggayyapeṭa, about 30 miles N. W. from Amarâvatî, was another fine stûpa, perhaps constructed very soon after Aśoka's time, and perhaps restored during the reign of Purushadatta Mâḍharîputra.

It is still possible, however, that the Capital was at Bezawâḍa, but that, owing to some omission or confusion in the text of Hiwen Thsang, we do not read his account aright: for there is no evidence that two great Bauddha monasteries were there.

Of the caves both in the hills round Bezawâḍa itself and at Undavalli, it may be mentioned that the majority, if not all of them, are Vaishṇava works, of very poor execution, in a

[3] The fragments of two Bauddha images found by Mr. Sewell *on the other side* of the hill could hardly have come from the east side of it.

[4] For an account of the large cave at Undavalli see *Cave Temples*, pp. 97f.

[5] Unless perhaps engineers among the old Hindus were as utilitarian as the European one who only a few years since used the marble slabs of the Bhaṭṭiprôla stûpa to build the Vellatûr sluice.

rock so veined and friable as to be but ill-adapted for the excavation of rock temples; and all of them appear to be of as late a date as, or even later than, the caves at Mahâvalipuram, say of from the 7th to the 9th century. There is none of the display of wealth in their extent and decoration that we find in the Brâhmaṇical caves of Elura, Elephanta, Bâdâmi, &c.—nothing, in fact, to indicate that they were executed at the expense of powerful princes reigning in the city beside which they are.

Mr. Sewell cavils at General Cunningham's assumption that the name of the capital spoken of by Hiwen Thsang was Dhanakaṭaka,[6] but an inscription at Nâsik and two others from Amarâvatî speak of Dhanakaṭa or Dhamñakaṭaka as the name of a city, the Sanskrit equivalent of Dhanyakaṭaka—'the abode of the wealthy.' It was undoubtedly a different place from the Dhêṇukâkaṭa mentioned so frequently in the inscriptions of the western caves, and which must have been somewhere on or near the west coast. But that Dhanakaṭaka was at Amarâvatî itself or at Dharaṇikôṭa, I am not quite prepared to say. Hiwen Thsang would surely have mentioned the Krishṇâ river by name, if it had been on its banks: he is in the habit of noting such natural features.

But in the gôpuram of the present temple of Amarêśvara at Amarâvatî is an inscription of which Mr. Fleet has favoured me with the following outline:—'It is of the time of king Annavâta, the son of Vêma, who is said to be of the lineage of Prôla, and whose kingdom was included between the rivers Brahmakuṇḍî and Krishṇavêṇî and Gautamî or Godâvarî. Annavâta's *Mantrî* or *Sênâpati* was Vêma or Mallayavêma, (called Pallavâditya—'the sun of the Pallava's—in the Telugu version) the son of the hereditary *Mantrî* Kêta or Kêtayamalla; he acquired the title of Jaganobbagaṇḍa (sole hero in the world) by defeating the Yavanas (Musalmans), who came to attack his sovereign; and he set up the god Amarêśvara at the city of Srî-Dhânyavâṭîpura on Vâchaspativâra, the day of the hooded snake (Guruvâra, the 5th) in the month Śrâvaṇa of Śaka 1283 (1361-2 A. D.) the Plava Saṁvatsara.' Mr. Sewell himself has referred to this inscription, which shows that the name of Amarâvatî was changed in or since the 14th century, and that its previous name Dhânyavâṭî bore a resemblance both in form and sense to Dhanyakaṭaka,—in fact may be taken as its exact equivalent.[7]

But Amarâvatî, if we except the Dipaldinne Stûpa, has but little evidence of being a place of much antiquity. The temple in its present form and extent is probably not much over a hundred years old; owing however to the obstructiveness of the Brâhmaṇs access is denied to its interior. It contains a number of inscriptions, mostly in Telugu, of which I have secured copies in facsimile, and when they are fully analysed we may learn more of its history: indeed one inscription on the wall south of the east entrance to the shrine, dated Ś. 1548, records the erection of a temple to Śiva at Dharaṇikoṭa. The gôpuram is confessedly the work of the Zamindâr of the place, towards the end of last century. Possibly the lowest portion of it may be the remains of a much older work; and in it are three pillars bearing inscriptions, one of which has been quoted above. But these pillars may well have been brought from some other temple, at Dharaṇikoṭa, and built in here; we know that the builder was in the habit of pulling down temples for materials with which to build others.

Dharaṇikoṭa, on the other hand, is evidently a very ancient place, surrounded originally by great artificial ramparts, the height of the remains of which, especially on the west side, testifying to the prodigious labour that must have been expended on them and to the consequent importance of the place. To the north-west has been a great artificial lake, and one can scarcely doubt that in days when the rampart and lake were entire, Amarâvatî was but one of its suburbs. To the east, and between this old city and the foot of the neighbouring hills, where so many dolmens or rude-stone burying places are still

[6] *Madras Government Proceedings*, 1st Nov. 1878, No. 1620, pp. 11, 15, and 16.

[7] Childers gives *dhañña* as the Pâli both of *dhanya* 'opulent,' &c. and *dhânya*, 'grain'; if therefore we take the Pâli 'Dhammakaṭa' as equivalent to the Sanskrit 'Dhânyakaṭa,' we have the exact correlative of Dhânyavâṭî: *vâṭî* is only a feminine form of *vâṭa* = *kaṭaka*. In such cases, Mr. Fleet points out, the feminine form gives the idea of largeness; conf. *nada*, 'a river,' and *nadî*, 'a large river', *aranya*, m. and n. 'a wood,' *araṇyânî*, 'a forest.'

to be seen, stood the great Mahâchaitya; and to the west, at about the same distance, a quarter of a mile south of the rock bearing an inscription of Vishṇuvardhana, stood another Chaitya of considerable size, of which every vestige, except a few scattered bricks of large size, have long since been carried off. This is the Kûrchi-tippa. Thus Dharaṇikoṭa had its own Western and Eastern Chaityas at least, though they were not on hills.

Let us now look at the testimony of the marbles :—In the British Museum is a slab from a richly carved frieze at Amarâvatî, bearing part of an inscription in one long line,[8] the beginning of which is lost. What is left, after an enumeration of 'daughters, grand-daughters,' &c. reads—

deyadhamma kâritaṁ Dhaññakaṭemahâchetiya chetiyapaṭâ be 2 pâṭuka 3 uṁtise puphagatiyam paṭasaṁtharo cha mahâchetiye chautho bhâgo Râjagiriyanaṁ utaradâre paḍiṭhapitaṁ savasatânaṁ cha hitasughatha ti

—which Dr. Bühler renders :—(These persons) "made this meritorious gift at Dhanakaṭa, at the great Chaitya (*viz.*)—two, 2, *chaitya-paṭṭas*, 3 *pâṭakas*, an *uttaṁsa*, a *pushpagaṭida*[9] and a *paṭṭasaṁstara*, and (*further*) at the great Chaitya the fourth part of the northern gate—of the Râjagiriyas—has been erected, for the welfare and happiness of all living beings. Thus!"

Again at the Stûpa, I found on a slab an inscription of which the greater part is legible, and which begins thus :—

Sidhaṁ || *Namo Bhagapato Logatichesa*[10] *Dhaññakaṭakâsaṁ upasakasa*

Godiputasa Budharakhitasa gharaniya(ṁ?) cha *padumâya pusachahaghasa Budhi*, &c.

These two are the only inscriptions on which I have found the name of a place, and they seem to point to Dhanakaṭaka as being the city beside the Chaitya, *i. e.* where the modern decayed village of Dharaṇikoṭa now is.

SANSKṚIT GRANTS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF GUJARÂT KINGS.

Nos. III. and IV.

PRAŚASTIS OF NÂNÂKA, A COURT POET OF KING VÎSALADÊVA OF GUJARÂT.

BY H. H. DHRUVA, B.A., LL.B.

I am indebted to my friend Śâstrî Vrajlâl Kâlidâs for a loan of his copy of the Praśastis of Nânâka here published. The copy was made for him by R. S. Hargovinddâs Dwârkadâs, Educational Inspector, Baroda State, from a stone tablet at Koḍinâra (Koṭînârapura of the Jaina chroniclers), in Kâthiâwâd.

In this case I have not the benefit of a faithful impression, but fortunately the tablet seems to have suffered little from time, and is easily read. The Praśastis are metrically correct throughout, but at I, v. 14 there is a mislection by the copyist in the name of the Nâgara lady Sûhavâ, wife of Govinda.

The mistakes in Pr. I, v. 27 and v. 32 and II, vv. 5, 7, 8 are clerical blunders. The v. 20 of Pr. II errs as v. 14 of the other does, in the quaintly spelt proper names. The language of the note at the foot of II is as irregular as are many others of its kind.

The Praśastis I and II record the inauguration of the Sârasvata Krîḍâketana and Sârasvata Sarovara or the Sârasvata, *i. e.* Sarasvatî's Pleasure-mansion and Lake, respectively, by a Nâgara poet—Nânâka, at the court of Vîsaladeva. The first Praśasti bears no date; but seems to be the earlier of the two, as it stands first. Still we must note that it is later in date than V. Saṁ. 1318 when king Vîsaladeva died; for in No. I, Vîsaladeva is said to be already a *Tridaśa Suhṛida*, a friend of the gods (v. 27). Again No. I represents Nânâkabhûti in the full enjoyment of youthful life, in affluence, a learned court favourite, a poet, and a literary patron. He has about him a ring of poets, among whom is Bâla-Sarasvatî, the author of the *Praśasti*. His brother is at court in an eminent situation. He has a virtuous son and a wife, beautiful, loving, pure, and devoted. The poet winds up his eulogium with a benedictive

[8] See Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate lxxxii, fig. 1.

[9] Probably *uṁtisa* stands here for *unisa*, which I would render "coping-stone," and *puphagatiya*—'a flower-vase slab'—one of the most common pattern of large flat slabs found at Amarâvati. Mr. Fleet suggests that *uṁtise puphagatiyam* means "twenty-nine *pushpagatidas*."

[10] The letters in Roman characters are more or less doubtful.

verse addressed to the loving pair and their son. No. II again represents Nânâka as fairly settled in high life, reaching it by his ability and acquirements. King Vîsaladeva has stationed him at Somanâtha Pattana with a grant commissioning him to perform *Srâddha* for him. To him *Sânta-rasa* or quietism is now the most acceptable state. His time is devoted to ablutions and sacred or charitable duties. The second inscription bears the date V. Saṁ. 1328, ten years subsequent to the date assigned to the death of King Vîsaladeva.

From the two *Prasastis* we gather a fair biography of the poet. The Vâghelâ dynasty of Dhavalakkak (Dholka), founded by Dhavala, a son of Kumârapâla's mother's sister, and father and grandfather of Arṇorâja and Lavaṇaprasâda respectively, was distinguished for its patronage of literature and poetry. At the court of Vîradhavala and Lavaṇaprasâda, or rather that of their ministers Vastupâla and Tejaḥpâla, there was ever a constellation of poets of all castes and creeds. Among them was Râja Purohita Sômesvara, the author of the *Kirtti-Kaumudî*. The Jaina ministers themselves too, as the chroniclers and this their *protégé* the *Purohita* would represent, were poets. Vîradhavala dies; the violent Vîrama is artfully removed by the minister; Vîsaladeva succeeds his father at Dholka according to Râjaśekhara in V. S. 1298. The revolution is effected almost calmly. But an insignificant party-fray ruined the minister, and led to his fall. The Nâgara Mantrî Nâgaḍa or Nâgadeva succeeds him. Harshagaṇi, the author of *Vastupâlacharita*, describes it bitterly in the following terms:—

श्रीवीरधवलस्यासीद्यावान्साम्राज्यविस्तरः
तावानेवाभवत्तस्य क्रमान्मंत्रिप्रभावतः ॥ ७५ ॥
केवलं भूभुजा लब्धप्रसरेण महीतले
तेन श्रीवस्तुपालोपि दृष्टो लघुतयाहहा ॥ ७६ ॥
सिंहनामाभवत्तस्य भूभृतो मातुलः पुनः
अधिकारी तदादेशात्समर्थः पार्थिवोऽग्रणीः ॥ ७७ ॥
प्रेरितो भूपतिस्तेन पापेन पिशुनात्मना
मुद्रारत्नमुपादाय तेजःपालकरांबुजात् ॥ ७८ ॥
नागरस्य गरस्येव लोकसंहारकारिणः
न्यधात् प्रसाद (?) माधाय पाणौ नागडमंत्रिणः ॥ ७९ ॥
सत्वोल्लासात्करे तस्य शुशुभे पुलकांकिते
मुद्रिका कल्पवल्लीवारूढा वच्चूलपादयोः ॥ ८० ॥

Translation.

'The extent of the Sâmrâjya kingdom of him (*i. e.* Vîsaladeva) was (*made*) by degrees as great as that of Śrî-Vîradhavala, through the power of the minister (v. 75). Alas! He (*the king*) merely saw or considered even Vastupâla as insignificant or of no moment, after the king had (*firmly*) established himself in the land (v. 76). Again, there was a maternal uncle of the king by name Siṁha in office. At his instance the king was able to take the lead (v. 77). That slandering wretch moved the king, who taking the signetring from the lotus-like hand of Tejaḥpâla, (v. 78) placed it, conferring a high favour, in the hand of Nâgaḍa Mantrî, the Nâgara, (*who was*) like poison, the destroyer of the people (v. 79). The ring shone in his hand like Kalpavalli, (the desire-fulfilling heavenly creeper,) growing at the feet of Vachhûla; it shone on his hand with its hair all on end on account of the growing up and budding forth of Sattva or Power (v. 80).'

Râjaśekhara, another, more temperate, and an earlier Jaina writer, in his *Chaturaviṁśati*, tells us that the maternal uncle, reviled as above by Harshagaṇi, passed with his retinue under the balcony of a Jaina Âpâśraya or monastery, on his way to the court, when, perhaps unconsciously, a Jaina inmate of the monastery—a monk threw down the sweepings on the roadside which fell upon the Rajput chief and soiled his robe. Whereupon the chief was greatly incensed and uttered some angry words, at which a follower of his went to the monastery, and punished the offender who flew to Vastupâla. The minister in a fit of passion ordered one of his men to cut off the hand of Siṁha's man with which he beat his priest. The whole clan of the Jeṭhuâs came down upon him. The minister too made all preparations to withstand the attack, bent upon the destruction of such a minister. Somêśvara stands as a mediator and Vastupâla is allowed with his brother honourably to retire and he resigns his office which Mantrî Nâgaḍa is invested with.

An anonymous work, discovered by Prof. A. V. Kâthvaṭe of the Gujarât College, describes Lavaṇaprasâda as the minister of Bhîmadêva II. and Vîradhavala as his Yuvarâja: and this fact, I believe, is borne out by the published grants of the king, endowing the religious institutions founded by Ânâ-u, Solankî Râṇâ

Lûṇapasa-u and his son Vîrama.[1] Bhîmadêva dies. Vîradhavala is, as we have mentioned, dead already and is succeeded by his son Vîsala at Dholka. Lavaṇaprasâda is far advanced in years, and hesitates to take upon himself the burden of State. He has a partiality for his son Vîrama. The royal tents are pitched on the banks of the Sahasraliṅga Sarôvara. He summons Vîrama to his presence to crown him. But on coming in, the hot-headed Prince insults his aged father, who thereupon changes his resolve. Nâgaḍa is on the occasion at Pâtaṇ. And he is despatched to bring Prince Vîsaladêva from Dholka. The Prince and the Minister, says the chronicler, pledge their faith to one another. Prince Vîsala is crowned king of Gujarât as succeeding Bhîmadêva II., and Nâgada is his Premier in his new government.[2] The seat of government is transferred from Dholka to Pâtan. Lavaṇaprasâda, from fear lest his love for Vîrama might return, and he might again change his mind, the chronicle tells us, is removed. Vîrama is bribed with Vîramagrâma and other places, and he too subsequently brings about his own ruin by his petulence and improvidence. With the rise of Nâgaḍa or Nâgadeva, the Nâgara community is in the ascendant. With the Poet Somêśvara as Purohita,[3] now advanced in years, poetry finds a welcome home at the court of king Vîsaladêva. The king[4] performs a *Yajña* at the place of his birth Darbhâvatî (Dabhoi), then forming the branches of the Nâgaras, Vîsalanagarâ, Shatpadrâ (or Sâṭhodrâ), Krishṇapurâ (or Krishorâ), Chitrapuras (or Chitroḍas), and Prâśnikas (or Praśnorâ); Brahmapurîs[5] are constructed for their use. The communities too are distinguished for their literary acquirements. Râjaśekhara in his *Prabandha Chaturviṁśati* (written in V. S. 1405) informs us that the Mahânagarîya Nânaka,[6] the Krishṇanagarîya Kamalâditya and the Vîsalanagarîya Nânâka,[7] the hero of our Praśastis, all resided at the court of Vîsaladêva, where there were also Harihara[8]—a descendant of Srî Harsha, the author of the *Naishadhiya*,—of Benares, Arasiṁha, the author of *Sukṛita-Saṅkîrttana*, and his fellow-student Amarachandra,[9] the author of *Bâla-bhârata* and other works, and Vâmanasthalîya Somâditya. We need not be surprised then at the high eulogium on the Nâgara community by the author of Praśasti I, (vv. 7 and 32), and upon Nânâka (I, vv. 21: 23-4 : 30-32, as well as II, vv. 2-3; 10-2; 14-5.)

Praśasti II represents Nânâka as visiting the court of Vîsaladêva, and there undergoing an examination in the Vedic and other *śâstras* (v. 5), and Gaṇapati-Vyâsa is borne out by Kavi Râjaśekhara. My MS. of his *Chaturviṁśati* bears date V. S. 1411, six years after its composition, and within three generations of the Poet and the Prince, which gives the following interesting note :—

अथ वीसलनगरीयेण नानाकेन समस्या विश्राणिता ॥ गीतं न गायति तरां युवतिर्निशासु ॥
श्रुत्वाध्वनेर्मधुरतां सहसावतीर्णे
भूमौ मृगे विगतलांछन एष चन्द्रः ॥

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[1] Refer to Dr. Bühler's Grant No. IV. Pl. II. ll. 5-6 *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 197. The inscription is dated V. S. 1280. Also No. VI. Pl, II. l. 21 Ib. p. 201; date of the inscription V. S. 1287. No. VII. Pl. II. ll. 2-3 Ib. p. 204, dated V. S. 1288: No. VIII. Pl. II. ll. 2-3 Ib. p. 205, dated V. S. 1295. No. IX. Pl. II. ll. 3-4. Ib. p. 207, dated V. S. 1296: and No. X Pl. ll. 1-2 Ib. p. 209, dated V. S. 1299. No. IV. is an inscription of the usurper Jayantasiṁha, and so the grant denotes what importance the Vâghelas possessed. Nos. V to IX. are of Bhîmadêva II., and they are confirmatory of the chroniclers. No. X. is of Tribhuvanapâladêva, and tells us that the position occupied by Vîrama was not an insignificant one.

[2] Cf. No. XI. Pl. I. l. 7 *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 210.

[3] From the Dabhoi Praśasti we find Somêśvara still alive in V. S. 1311 for he is the author of it.

[4] Cf. Ib. ll. 2 to 6. Ib.

[5] The author of the *Vastupâlacharita* describes the founding of Vîsalanagara and the institution of the Vîsalanagara Nâgara community in the subjoined verses:

अजस्रमभ्यासमुपागताभ्यां
मंत्रीश्वराभ्यां कविसद्गुरुभ्यां
दिनेशवद्वीसलदेव उच्चै-
र्दिने दिने प्राप विभाप्रकाशं ॥ ४०
निजनाम्ना निवेशोर्व्यां (*sic.*) नगरं मंत्रिणा नवं
श्रीवीसलनृपोनैकधर्मस्थानमनोहरं ॥ ४०
अर्कप्रधर्मवप्रेभ्यो विप्रेभ्यो वासहेतवे
परितो द्वादश ग्रामाभिरामं सुकृती ददौ ॥ ४२
सत्यशौचदयानिष्ठा विशिष्टाचारतत्पराः
वसन्ति ब्राह्मणास्तत्र पवित्रा वेदपाठतः

Translation.

Vîsaladêva always attended upon by the two best of Mantrins, the good patrons of poets, day by day attained to greater and greater lustre, like the lord of the day (i. e. the Sun), (v. 40). His Majesty king Vîsala, having caused a new city to be founded by his minister, in his name, gave it, delightful as it was on account of the numerous religious buildings, to Brâhmans, the strong ramparts of the excellent religion of the Hymns (the *Vedas*). He, the charitable one, (also gave) twelve beautiful villages about it, vv. 41-2. There dwell the Brahmanas devoted to truth, purity, and compassion, following the path of the good, and sanctified with the study of the Vedas (v. 43).

[6] Vide Râja Sekhara's *Chaturviṁśatî Vastupâla prabandha*.

[7] Ib. Amarachandra *Kavi prabandha*.

[8] Vide *Harihara-kavi prabandha*.

[9] Amarachandra *Kavi prabandha*.

मागान्मदीयवदनस्य तुलामितीव
गीतं न गायतितरां युवतिर्निशासु ॥ ४.
एवं अष्टोत्तरं शतं बहुकविदत्ताः पूरिताः ॥

Translation.

Then the Vîsalanagarâ poet Nânâka completed the verse, (the fourth line of which was given as) "Why singeth not the Lady during night"—as follows: "For fear the Moon—devoid of the spot (*resembling the deer*)—on account of the deer coming all of a sudden down to the earth, hearing the sweetness of (*her*) tone.—For fear the Moon does not equal her face, the Lady singeth not during the night." ' "Thus he replied to one hundred and eight *entendres* proposed by many poets."[9] Thus he represents Nânâka as a distinguished poet at court. A brother of his, Malhaṇa, an adept in the Yoga philosophy, attains to distinction. We are told by No. I. that he has won the heart of the Prince by his narration of the *Purâṇas* (v. 27). The Prince goes out on a pilgrimage to Somanâtha Pattana (vv. 6-8), and then, washing the feet of our poet, presents him with a mansion to live in, in the Brahmapurî founded by himself (No. I. vv. 25, 33), and enjoins him to worship Sômêśvara with offerings of rice, &c. (Ib. v. 28), and perform the *pârvaṇî Śrâddhas* for him (No. II. v. 27 Ib. v. 13). He also receives a grant of the village of Bagasarâ (No. I, v. 26) for that purpose. He has again been made a sharer of the best seventh part of another village by Gaṇḍa Śrî Vîrabhadra (Ib. v. 29).

Both the *Prasastis* describe Nânâka as conversant with Vedic lore, having the whole of the *Ṛigveda* and the Vêdângas by heart—a grammarian, a rhetorician, an eloquent narrator and expositor of the Epics and *Purâṇas*, a lover of poetry, a master of the science of Dramas (Pr. I. vv. 24 and 27; Pr. II. vv. 3 and 14). The whole of his family too is remarkable for their learning and religious piety. They are originally natives of Nagara or Ânandapura (the modern Vadanagar)—but seem to have long settled at Guñjâ, near it—the village given to those of the Vaijavâpa Gotra by the Chaulukya king (probably Jayasiṁhadêva) for their serving under him as ministers (Pr. I, vv. 6—8). The *Chaturviṁśatî* makes him a Vîsalanagarîya, meaning thereby that he was a Vîsalanagarâ Nâgara.

Here a word or two by the way may be said about the founder of the family, who seems to be a character of some historical importance, figuring as he is in the Jaino-Brahmanic religious conflict in the time of king Kumârapâla. He is Upâdhyâya Sômêśvara of the Kâpishṭhala Gotra. He is styled in Pr. II. *Dharmoddhâradhurandhara*, a yoke-bearer in the *revival* of the (*orthodox*) faith (v. 1)—perhaps from his taking part in the religious movement headed by king Jayasiṁhadeva's friend and poet Śrîpâla and his son Siddhapâla,[10] and the Dwârakâ Śaṅkarâchârya Dêvabodhi Sarasvatî, author of the drama *Kumârahârita*, in opposition to Hemachandra and his Jainas in the reign of Kumârapâla. This Śrîpâla is the same as the author of the Vaḍnagara Praśasti, dated V. S. 1208.

The inscriptions are further deserving of note from the authors of them. The first, *i. e.* Kṛishṇa, speaks of himself as a son of Ratna, author of the *Kuvalayâśvacharita*. He has also won the name of Bâla Sarasvatî[11] from the people, well pleased with his Ashṭâvadhâna power (v. 36), and he is far superior to his brother-poet and successor Gaṇapati Vyâsa, who seems to be a little conceited. The Vyâsa lets us know that he has written a poem by name "*Dhârâdhvaṁsa*" or "the Destruction of Dhârâ" descriptive of the war of Vîsaladêva with Mâlava. The discovery of the *Kîrtti Kaumudî* and *Sukṛita-Saṅkîrttana* by Dr. Bühler, and of the nameless new chronicle followed here, and the *Kumârapâlacharita*, mentioned in my No. I., afford us considerable light on the period intervening between the close of the reign of Jayasiṁhadêva and the rise of Vîsaladêva. So also do the *Vastupâlacharita*, *Dharmâranya* and its *Pariśishṭa*, *Prabandha Chaturviṁśatî*, *Bhojaprabandharâja*, and other rare works.

In conclusion, I must add that Vîsaladêva is also named Viśvala "Protector of the Universe" (Pr. I. v. 27). The king is said to be equal to Siddharâja (Pr. II. v. 4). He is also called Chakravarttin (Pr. II. v. 6). He has successfully carried on a war against the king of Mâlava, and laid it waste with fire, and made the king of the country pay tribute to him (Pr. I. v. 6; II. v. 4). He has laid the foundation of many Brahmapurîs, of which that where Nânâka is settled, is at Prabhâsa, near the confluence of the Sarasvatî with the sea.

[9] Ib.

[10] Vide *Chaturviṁśati-Hemasûri-prabandha*, also *Kumârapâlacharita*, canto V. vv. 132 et seq.

[11] Cf. Purusha-Sarasvatî, the title awarded to Sômêśvara, the Purohita of king Vîsaladêva: see Râjaśêkhara's *Prabandha Chaturviṁśati Vastupâla-prabandha*.

Praśasti I.

॥ श्रीगजाननो जयति ॥ श्रीसरस्वतीसागरसंगमा-
धिष्ठात्रीभ्यो नमः ॥

यन्नो गोचरयन्ति लोचनरुचो वाचो निवृत्ता यतः
चेतो मुह्यति यत्र यच्च न मतेः पन्थानमालम्बते
तन्निष्कैतवभक्तियोगसुलभं सोमेशलिंगस्थलं
स्पष्टीभूतमभिष्टुवीमहितमां किंचिन्महश्चिन्मयम् ॥ १

दन्तांशुमञ्जरितहस्तलताभिरामः
सिन्दूरचारुसुभगो मदनिर्झराढ्यः
देवः स कोऽपि नरसिन्धुरमूर्त्तिमाली
शर्माणि वो दिशतु सिद्धिविलासशैलः ॥ २

अघानि वो हन्तु विहंगमोदकं
सरस्वतीसागरसंगमोदकं
यदोघकूले परमक्षमालया
जपन्ति सन्तः परमक्षमालयाः ॥ ३

सेयं शिवानि वितनोतु सरस्वती वः
प्रीता हराच्युतविरंचनयाचनाभिः
और्वं प्रतापमिव सर्वतरंगिणीनां
वाक्पाशबन्धविधुरं पिदधेऽम्बुधौ या ॥ ४

तं मेघमेदुरमहोमहनीयमूर्त्तिं
तापत्रयव्यपनयाय वयं श्रयामः
यः शातकुम्भनिभया विभया स्फुरन्ती-
मंकेन विद्युतमिव श्रियमाबिभर्त्ति ॥ ५

क्रीताभिः प्रधनेन मालवनृपान्निर्धूतमुक्तामणि-
श्रेणिश्रीभिरमण्डयात्प्रियतमां यः कीर्त्तिभिर्मेदिनीं
तस्येयं नयविक्रमैकवसतेः श्रीवीसलक्ष्माभुजो
मूर्त्तिर्मंडनतां दधातु सुचिरं धाम्नीह सारस्वते ॥ ६

त्रेताधूमपवित्रितोम्बरचरं स्वाध्यायघोषोत्तरं
स्थानं तीर्थमनोहरं नगरमित्यास्ते क्षितावनश्वरं
आर्योपासनया वृषप्रियतया यच्च द्विजेन्द्रश्रिया
व्यक्तं वक्ति फणीन्द्रभूषणभृतो देवस्य संस्थापनं ॥७

गुंजा नाम ग्रामस्तदन्तिके वैजवापगोत्राणां
श्रीकरणव्यापारात्प्रीणितचौलुक्यनृपदत्तः ॥ ८

तस्मिन् समुज्ज्वलकपिष्ठलगोत्रजन्मा
सोमेश्वरः समजनि द्विजमौलिरत्नं ।
यस्योपचर्य चरणाविह वेदवाचा-
माचार्यकेषु कृतिनः कति न प्रवृत्ताः ॥ ९

प्रभेव महसाम्पत्युर्ज्योत्स्नेवामृतदीधितेः
तस्यासीद्वितमस्तापा सीतेति सहचारिणी ॥ १०

अध्वरविधौ पटीयानामटनामा ततोऽभवत्तनयः
विश्वक्सेनानुगतः कलिनापि न बाधितो बलिना ॥ ११

सज्जनीतिगृहिणी गुणाम्बुधेस्तस्य भूरिगुणरत्नभूषणा।
सर्वकालमवलोकते स्म या
भर्त्तृपादनखदर्पणे मुखम् ॥ १२

गोविन्द इत्यभिधया तनयस्तदीयो
वृत्तेन चन्द्रशुचिना तु विरञ्चिकल्पः
सर्वज्ञतामपि कलाकलितेन तन्वन्
देवत्रयीमय इवावतरत्सरोजे ॥ १३

गृहालंकृतिरस्यास्तां पत्नीरत्नेनयोः पुनः (?)
जुगूह सूहवा वृत्तलाक्तिरासीदलांछना (?) ॥ १४

कथमेकया रसनया जडो जनः सूहवां सहः स्तोतुं (?)
यदिह प्रशस्तिकर्त्तुर्मम रसनाकोटिरपि मूका ॥ १५

तया समं साधयतोऽस्य धर्ममृणत्रयापाकृतिनिर्वृतस्य ।
स्नातस्य रेवाम्बुनि देहशुद्ध्यै जातं षडब्दव्रतपौनरु-
क्त्यम् ॥ १६

यास्यन् दण्डावलम्बेन विषमां मोक्षपद्धतिं
असौ शमवतां धुर्य्यस्तुर्य्यमाश्रयदाश्रमम् ॥ १७

त्रेताहुताशमहसो महेशमुरजिद्विरिञ्चिमहिमानः
सुरसरिदोघपवित्राः जयन्ति पुत्रास्त्रयस्तस्य ॥ १८

ज्येष्ठः सुतोऽस्य भगवान् पुरुषोत्तमश्च
नाम्ना श्रिया द्विजपतिप्रथयया च तुल्यः
भेदस्तु सोऽयमुभयोर्मुखवारिजेऽस्य
ब्राह्मीस्थितिर्यदपरस्य च नाभिपद्मे ॥ १९

क्रीडागारं सुमतिवसतेः सांगऋग्वेदकण्ठो
गंगास्नानक्षपितकलुषो मल्हणस्तत्कनिष्ठः
अध्यारोहन् महिमवलभीं भाग्यनिःश्रेणियोगा-
द्योगात्ख्यातिं सदसि नृपतेः षड्गुणन्यासनिष्ठः ॥२०

श्रीमानितोऽपि कमनीयगुणः कनीयान्
नानाकभूत्यभिधया सुधियां धुरीणः
प्राचीनसत्कविकृतव्ययतापशान्त्यै
वाग्देवता स्थितिमुपैति यदाननेन्दौ ॥ २१

लक्ष्मीरमुष्य पत्नी द्वितीयमंगं बहिश्चराः प्राणाः
विमलकुलद्वयभूषा प्रत्यूषाम्भोजमञ्जुमुखी ॥ २२

नयनिपुणः प्रथितगुणः संयतकरणः समुज्ज्वलाचरणः
कस्य वयस्यो न स्यान्नानाको नागरोत्तंसः ॥ २३

श्रौतस्मार्त्तसमाजमण्डनमणिः कातन्त्रनिर्धौतधीः
छेकश्छन्दसि नाटकेषु निपुणोऽलंकारसर्वस्वभाक्
श्रीरामायणभारतामृतकथाम्भोराशिपारंगमः
केषां नैष कवित्वकेलिरसिको वर्ण्यः सवर्णाग्रणीः॥२४

पुरमथनपुरेऽस्मिन्नात्मनः स्थापनाया-
मतिगरिमविराजद्वेश्मनि ब्रह्मपुर्य्यां
मुदितमदित यस्मै साधवे सौधमेकं
तदमलगा(गु)णदृश्वा विश्वलक्षोणिपालः ॥ २५

सोमेशमनुदिनं यः प्रमोदयन् शालितंडुलार्चनया।
सफलयति वीसलोर्वीपतिदत्तवगसराग्रामं ॥ २६

यः पौराणैर्वचनमधुभिः प्रौठपीयूषपाकप्रेयोभिः
प्रागाधिकमधिकनो(*sic.*)द्वि(*sic.*)श्वलक्षोणिपालः।
तृप्तिं तस्य त्रिदशसुहृदः पिण्डदानैरिदानीं
दर्शे दर्शे रचयति च यः शेखरः श्रोत्रियाणां ॥ २७

तीर्थाम्बुशतपत्रालिशालिनैवेद्यवन्दनैः
यः प्रीणयति नानाकः पिनाकभृतमन्वहम् ॥ २८

सन्तुष्यता यदुरुभक्तिगुणेन गण्ड-
श्रीवीरभद्रवपुषि स्वकलां निवेश्य
यः शंकरेण निरमीयत मंगलाख्य-
ग्रामाभिरामतमसप्तमभागभोगी ॥ २९

सरस्वत्यामत्यादरजनितनित्याह्निकविधि-
र्महायज्ञैः पूतः सततमतिथीन् भोजयति यः।
स नन्द्यान्नानाकश्चिरसमयमानाकविकस-
द्यशः स्तोमः सोमेश्वरचरणचिन्ताचतुरधीः ॥ ३०

यो मुख्यः सुधियां यमाहुरनघं येनार्जिताः कीर्त्तयः
यस्मै वेश्म दिदेश विश्वलनृपो यस्मान्न दोषोदयः
यस्य श्रेयसि वासनातिमहती यस्मिन्नमन्ते गुणाः
सोऽयं सप्तपदीनमेतु सुकृतैर्नानाकनामा कृती ॥ ३१

मानुष्ये द्विजता दुरासदतरा तत्राप्यसौ नागर-
ज्ञातिः ख्यातिमती श्रुतौ परिचयस्तावा (?) न्नयोत्थाः
श्रियः
भाग्यैरेतदवाप्य यौवनगृहस्वर्णादिपण्यांगना(*sic.*)
चेतश्चञ्चलमप्यवेत्य सुकृतं नानाक एवार्जति ॥३२

श्रीमद्वीसलमेदिनीपरिवृढप्रक्षालितांघ्रिद्वयः
सोऽयं नागरनीरजाकररविर्नानाकनामा कविः
तीर्थोत्तुंगसरस्वतीकृतपरिष्वंगस्य सारस्वतं
क्रीडाकेतनमेतदत्र विदधे वारांनिधे रोधसि ॥३३

श्रीसोमनाथमहिमा भुवनेषु याव-
द्यावन्निहन्ति दुरितानि सता(तां) कपर्द्दी
यावच्च गर्ज्जति पयोनिधिरेष तावत्
सारस्वतं सदनमक्षयमेतदस्तु ॥ ३४

नानाक एष जयताद्दयितास्य लक्ष्मीः
शश्वत्कुसुम्भवसनैव जरामुपैतु
किंचैनयोः सुतनयोऽपि नयोपसंगी
गंगाधरः सुचरितेन कुलं पुनातु ॥ ३५

अष्टावधानपरितुष्टहृदा जनेन
यः कीर्त्तितो जगति बालसरस्वतीति
पुत्रः कविः कुवलयाश्वचरित्रधातुः
कृष्णः प्रशस्तिमिह रत्नसुतः स तेने ॥ ३६
॥ सो० पाल्हणेन प्रशस्तिरालिख्योत्कीर्णा ॥

Translation.

Victorious is the god with the face of an elephant (*Ganêśa*)! Adoration to all the divinities presiding over the junction of the Sarasvatî with the ocean!

1. We praise that indescribable light, wholly consisting of intelligence that manifests itself in the liṅga of Sômêśa, which the

lights of the eyes cannot perceive, about which all speech ceases—thinking of which the mind becomes bewildered, and which does not fall within the range of thought, (*but*) which is easily obtained by unfeigned devotion (*and*) Yôga.[1]

2. May that incomparable god, who has the shape of a man and of an elephant, who is the pleasure mountain of Siddhi (*success*), who is beautiful through his creeper-like proboscis that sprouts as it were out of the rays of his tusks, who is pleasant to the sight on account of vermillion, who sheds copious ichor (*i. e. mada*) confer blessings upon you!

3. May the waters of the junction of the Sarasvatî with the ocean—delightful to the birds, on the banks of which saints who are the abode of great patience, ever tell the sacred *mantras* on their rosaries,—destroy your sins.

4. May that Sarasvatî grant you all prosperity, who, pleased with Śiva's, Vishṇu's, and Brahmâ's prayers, made (*the volcanic*) Aurva (*fire*), the (*collective*) energy, as it were of all rivers a captive, trembling in word-fetters in (*the middle of*) the ocean.

5. We seek shelter of him whose form is worthy of worship on account of its lustre, that is dark like a cloud, who bears in his lap the goddess Lakshmî that shines with a golden light and (*hence*) resembles a flash of lightning,—for the removal of the three torments.

6. May the form of king Vîsala long be an ornament to this land sacred to Sarasvatî, [*of Vîsala*] who is the sole home of policy and valour,—who adorned the land his beloved with his glory, as with strings of pearls, abandoned by, and gained in battle from, the king of Mâlava.[2]

7. There is an imperishable place, engaging (*the mind of the people*) because it is a Tîrtha, called Nagara, resonant with the voices of men reciting the Vêdas, under a sky sanctified with the smoke of the three sacrificial fires, which clearly proclaims itself as the abode of the god,—who has for his ornaments the lords of serpents (*Śiva*),—by the adoration (*upâsanâ*) of Âryâ (*Ambikâ*) as well as by the assembling of Arya's (*worthy people*),—by the love for Vṛisha, (*the bull Nandî*) as well as by the love for Vṛisha (*Dharma*), (*and*) by the beauty of Dvijêndra (i.e. *the moon that Śiva bears on his forehead*), as well as by the prosperity of the best of Dvijas (i. e. *the Nâgara Brâhmans, its inhabitants*).

8. Near it is a village by name Guñjâ, belonging to men of the Vaijavâpa family given (*to them*), by the Chaulukya king, pleased with their work as Prime Ministers.

9. In that place Sômêśvara, the crest jewel of the twice-born, was born, a descendant of the glorious Kâpishṭhala family.—How many fortunate (*people*) have not attained here proficiency in Vedic lore by worshipping his feet (*studying under him*)?

10. He had for his wife Sîtâ, who was free from *tamas* (*ignorance or darkness*) and *tâpa* (*anger or heat*), and hence resembled both Prabhâ (*the wife*) of the lord of light and Jyôtsnâ (*the wife*) of the Nectar Ray (*the Moon*).

11. From her was a son by name Âmaṭa, well versed in the science of sacrifices, resembling Vishvaksêna (*Vishṇu*) (*and*) not affected even by strong Kali.

12. Sajjanî, embellished with many gem-like good qualities, who ever saw her face (reflected) in the mirror of the footnails of her lord, was the wife of that ocean of virtues.

13. A son by name Gôvinda, with actions white and pure like the Moon, resembling Brahmâ (*and*) exhibiting his omniscience occasioned by his proficiency in all arts, was born of her, alighting as it were on the lotus-like, divine triad (?).

14. He had a wife, the ornament of his house, the spotless Suhavâ(?)

15. How can a blockhead eulogize Suhavâ with his single tongue, when even the *koṭi*, (i. e. *ten millions or the tip*) of the tongue of the author of this *Praśasti* is dumb?

16. To him who fulfilled his sacred duties with her in company—to him who was happy being freed from the threefold debt, who had bathed in the water of the Rêvâ (*the Nerbudda,*) for the purification (*śuddhi*) of his person, thus was rendered (*to him*) tautological the six-yearly vow.

17. He, the first leader of those that possess control of their passions, entered the fourth order, travelling the difficult path towards

[1] Cf. सस्थाणुः स्थिरभक्तियोगसुलभः Kâlidâsa's *Vikramorvasi*, Act I, v. I. 1. 4.

[2] Cf. मालवाधीशमानमर्दन l. 4 pl. i, Grant No. 11, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 210.

salvation, leaning upon a stick (the sacred Daṇḍa of a Sannyâsî).

18. Victorious be his three sons, who possess the splendour of the three sacred fires, who possess a greatness of Śiva, Vishṇu, (*and*) Brahmâ, who are as holy as the flowing stream of the river of the gods (*the Gaṅgâ*).

19. His eldest son Bhagavân and Purushôttamma were equal to each other, in name, in the possession of Śrî (*wealth* or *the goddess* Lakshmî), and by the fame of *dvijapati*.[3] The only difference was that with the first (i. e. *the eldest son of Gôvinda*) the habitation of the daughter of Brahmâ (*Brâhmîsthiti*) was in the lotus of his face, while with the other (i. e. *Vishṇu*) the habitation of Brahmâ (*Brâhmîsthiti*) was on the lotus of his navel.

20. The youngest after him was Malhaṇa, the pleasure-ground of the populace of good intellects—who has his sins destroyed by bathing in the Ganges—who had the whole of the *Rig-Vêda*, with its many *Aṅgas* (*or subordinate sciences*) by heart, who ascending as he was the balcony of *Mahiman* or Greatness, with the scaling-ladder of Fortune attained to fame in the assembly of the king through (*his knowledge of*) Yôga Philosophy,—and who practised the sixfold Nyâsa.

21. The younger son was by name Nânâkabhûti, of splendid qualities, the first among the learned. The goddess of Speech resorts to his moon-like face in order to calm the (*feverish*) heat caused by the waste of the ancient good poets.

22. His wife was Lakshmî, his second self, his life-breath moving out of his body, an ornament of the two unblemished families (her father's and her husband's), possessing a face as sweet as the (*opening*) morning lotus.

23. Whose friend is not that Nânâka the ornament of the Nâgara (*caste*); master of good manners, of remarkable virtues, of well-restrained organs, and of bright behaviour?

24. Who will not extol him, who is the gem-like ornament of the assembly of those versed in the *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*, who has bathed his intellect in (the Ocean of the Kâtantra Grammar), who is unique in (*the knowledge of*) metrics, who knows the quintessence of the *alaṁkara-śâstra* (*rhetoric*), who has reached the (*other*) shore of the Ocean of the Nectar of the Narrations of the celebrated *Râmâyaṇa* and *Mahâbharata*,—him, who delights or revels in the pleasures of poetry, the leader of (*all*) the (*three*) castes?

25. To him who was well pleased, king Viśvala, who had an insight in his unblemished virtues, gave a palace in the Brahmapurî (*the street of the Brâhmaṇs*) his own creation, where the mansions shine out with their great bulk, in this city of the lord (*Śiva*) the destroyer of the demon Pura (*Tripura*).

26. (*Him*) who, always propitiating the lord of the crescent moon (*Sômêśa*) with offerings of rice, renders fruitful or meritorious the village Bagasarâ given him by king Vîsala.

27. He, the crest of the Śrôtriyas, now satisfies, on every new-moon day, the manes of king Viśvala, who (while alive) was wholly in his power or enslaved as it were by his sweet recitations of the *Purâṇas*, that he relished so well as the best preparations of ambrosia, (*but*) who now dwells with the gods!

28. He, Nânâka, who every day propitiates the wielder (Śiva) of the bow Pinâka, by offerings of sacred waters, garlands of lotus flowers, and rice preparations, and by salutations.

29. Satisfied with his great devotion, the lord Śaṅkara, causing his own power to enter in the body of Gaṇḍa-Śrî-Vîrabhadra made him a sharer of the best seventh part of the village named Maṅgala.

30. May that Nânâka live long in delight, with his increasing fame unfolding itself to the very (*verge of the*) heavens,—who is of a mind attentive to the (*worship of the*) feet of Sômêśvara,—Nânâka, who performs daily ablutions in the Sarasvatî with great respectful regard,—he who is purified by the (*performance of the*) great sacrifices, and who always entertains guests.

31. May, through the good actions (*performed by one*), Nânâka, who is the chief of the learned, whom they call "Sinless," who has won fame, to whom king Viśvala gave a palace, and in whom there is not even a trace of a fault, he, in whose rise there is great (*or general*) liking (?) and in whom all virtues

[3] *i. e.* of Bhagvân's being a lord of Dvijas, and Vishṇu's possessing Garuḍa, the lord of birds.

converge, may the good Nânâka be his friend!

32. With man, Brâhmanhood is very difficult to attain, and in that this celebrated Nâgara caste, and there a thorough knowledge of the Vêdas, (*and also*) riches obtained by good acts (*and then*) obtaining by good luck all this—youth, wealth, jewelry, &c. and mistresses, and knowing that the mind is fickle, (*only*) Nânâka gains true merit.

33. The poet Nânâka erected here this Sârasvata pleasure-house on the banks of the sea that has been embraced by the high Tîrtha (sacred banks) of the Sarasvatî, Nânâka, the sun to the lotus-bed of the Nâgaras, both whose feet are worshipped by the celebrated lord of the land, Vîsala.

34. May this Sârasvata palace last imperishable as long as there is the great sanctity of Sômanâtha in the (*three*) worlds, and as long as that lord Śiva destroys the evils of the good, (and) as long as the ocean roars!

35. May this Nânâka be victorious, and may his wife Lakshmî reach old age, ever bearing the red coloured garment (*a mark of matronhood*). And may their son, Gaṅgâdhara, the companion of goodness, sanctify the family with his good deeds!

36. Kṛishṇa, son of Ratna, the author of the *Kuvalayâśvacharita*,—Kṛishṇa, who is famed in the world, and (*is known*) by the people, pleased with his powers of listening to (*and grasping*) eight things at once, as Bâla-Sarasvatî, Kṛishṇa wrote this eulogy. That (*Praśasti*) has been written down and engraved by Pâhlaṇa.

Praśasti II.

॥ ॐ नमो गणपतये ॥

अस्यानन्दपुरे गरीयसि कुलं कापिष्ठलं निर्मलं
धर्मोद्धारधुरंधरोऽभवदुपाध्यायोऽत्र सोमेश्वरः ।
तस्माद्दीक्षित आमठः श्रुतिमठः पुत्रः पवित्रद्युति-
र्गोविन्दोऽस्य च नन्दनः सहृदयश्रेणिमनोनन्दनः॥१

मियोविरोधोपशमाय सिद्धः
श्रमः श्रियःशारदयास्य सूनुः
नानाविधानामवधिर्बुधानां
नानाकनामा सुकृतैकधामा ॥ २

यो वेद ऋग्वेदमखण्डमेव
बभूव च व्याकरणप्रवीणः
साहित्यसौहित्यमवापदन्त-
र्वाणिः पुराणस्मृतिपारगोऽभूत् ॥ ३

धौरेयो धवलान्वयेऽत्र समये श्रीसिद्धराजोपमः
धाम्नां धाम बभूव वीरधवलाद्राजा विभुर्वीसलः
यस्योच्चैरभिषेणनव्यतिकरोज्ज्वालज्वलन्मालवो-
न्मीलद्धूमपरंपराभिरभवद् घोरान्धकारं नभः॥ ४

राज्ञोऽस्य सभ्यान् सुकृतैकलभ्या-
नभ्येत्य नानाक उदारबुद्धिः ।
धौ (?) येकधुर्यो विबुधप्रतीक्षां
वेदादिशास्त्रेषु ददौ परीक्षां ॥ ५

अथैकदा वीसलचक्रवर्त्ती वीरावलीमानसमध्यवर्त्ती
पवित्रगोत्रो नियमैर्विचित्रैश्चकार सोमेश्वरदेवयात्रां॥६

सरस्वतीसागरसंगमेऽसौ स्नात्वाथ सोमेश्वरमर्चयित्वा
विद्याविशेषं परिभाव्य विप्र(*sic.*)
विशेषवित्कल्पितपुण्यवेषः ॥ ७

क्षेत्रे प्रभासे सुकृताधिवासे स्वकारिता(?)ब्रह्मपुरीगृहेषु
प्रक्षाल्य पादौ प्रददौ स सौधं

नानाकनाम्ने कविपण्डिताय ॥ युग्म ॥ ८
उपेयुषा वेदपुराणशाणनिघर्षणं संश्रितहारलक्ष्मीः
विभाति येन द्विजनायकेन
श्रीवीसलब्रह्मपुरीपुरेऽस्मिन् ॥ ९

वन्द्यो विश्वजनेन मूर्द्धनि सरस्वत्या दधानः पदं
प्राप्याब्धिं किल वाडवः परमभूदात्मंभरिर्भार्गवः
नानाकः पुनरेष तां भगवतीं मूर्द्ध्ना नमन्नागरो
वर्ण्यो विप्रशतोदरंभरिरहो तीरे वसन् वारिधेः॥१०

गोविन्दनन्दनः सोऽयं प्रद्युम्नोभूत्किमद्भुतम्
चित्रमेतद्यदेतस्य कान्तः शान्तरसोऽधिकम् ॥ ११

स्नानं यस्य सरस्वतीशुचिजले पूजा च सोमेश्वरे
व्यर्थं नातिथयो व्रजन्ति सुकृतश्रीसंग्रहाद्यद्गृहात्
वित्तं यस्य च साधुबन्धुसुहृदां साधारणं सर्वदा
नानाको धरणीतले समधिकं धन्यः स मान्यः सताम्
॥१२॥

स्वस्योच्चैः प्रतिपर्व शालिकणिकापिण्डेन सुश्रद्धया
सार्द्धं वेदपुराणपाठनिपुणैः पुण्यापणैर्ब्राह्मणैः
श्राद्धं तेन विधीयमानमतुलं सारस्वते सैकते
दर्शंदर्शमतीव हृष्यति दिवि श्रीवीसलक्ष्मापतिः ॥१३॥

मुखे यदीये विमलं कवित्वं
बुद्धौ च तत्त्वं हृदि यस्य सत्त्वं
करे सदा दानमयावदानं
पादे च सारस्वततीर्थयामं ॥ १४

काव्येषु नव्येषु ददाति कर्णं
प्राप्नोति यः संसदि साधुवर्णं
विभूषणं यस्य सदा सुवर्णं
प्राप्ते तु पात्रे न मुखं विकर्णं ॥ १५

रचित उचित उच्चैः यस्य भक्त्यार्चनाय
द्युतिजितकुमुदालिः शालिजस्तंडुलौघः
नयति सुमहसः श्रीसोमनाथस्य कामं
शिरसि शशिकलायाः कौमुदीमेदुरत्वं ॥ १६

श्रीवीसलब्रह्मपुरीद्वितीयावासवासिना
तेन नानाकनाम्नेदं तेने सारस्वतं सरः ॥ १७

मार्त्तण्डप्रतिमप्रतापवसतेः श्रीवीसलक्ष्मापते-
र्धाराध्वंसमहाप्रबन्धमधुरोन्मीलद्यशोवैभवः
एता(*sic.*) सत्कविसंगतिर्गणपतिव्यासः प्रयासं विना
चक्रे निर्मलचित्रकाव्यरचनाभित्तिं प्रशस्तिं नवाम् ॥
१८

समुल्लसन्मौलिरुहद्विरेफः
प्रपन्नकेदारपदारविन्दः
लिलेख चोट्टंकितवान् कलादः
प्रल्हादगोविन्दसुतः प्रशस्तिम् ॥ १९

जागर्त्तिपातूतनयस्य यस्य(?)
सावित्रि(*sic.*) भर्त्तुर्महिमा स कोऽपि
यस्यानुजो(*sic.*)पाल्हणनामधेय-
श्चकार केदारसुवर्णपूजां ॥ २०

॥ संवत् १३२८ वर्णगड श्री भाव यजुर्वेद अग्ना०
बृहत्पुरुषराज लाडाणरिह० श्री अभयसिंह प्रतिपत्तौ
प्रशस्तिरुद्घाटिता ॥

Om! Salutation to Gaṇapati!

1. There is in great Ânandapura (Nagara or Vaḍnagar) the unblemished Kâpishṭhala family: in it was born the *Upâdhyâya* Sômêśvara, who bore the burden of the revival of the Brahmanical faith: from him sprung a son Âmaṭha-Dikshita, of holy lustre, a receptacle of the sacred writings; and his son was Gôvinda, the delighter of the minds of good people.

2. The exertions of Śrî to settle the mutual dispute with Śâradâ were crowned with success by (*the birth of*) his son Nânâka, the boundary mark of the learned of various sorts, the home of good acts or good works.

3. (*Nânâka*) who knew the whole of the *Ṛigvêda* (*by heart*), who was highly proficient in grammar, who had learnt rhetoric, who was skilled in the sacred sciences, and who had crossed over the (ocean of the) *Smṛitis* and the *Purâṇas*.

4. *Best in the family of* Dhavala, was born of Vîradhavala, at this time the lord Vîsala, comparable to the glorious Siddharâja,* and the light of all lights, the heavens on high *became terrifically dark* by the rings of smoke rising from Mâlava, set ablazing at the time of his attack.

5. Liberal Nânâka, the chief of all chiefs, went up to the councillors of this king obtainable through one's good deeds (and) passed an examination, the hope of the learned, in the Vedic and other sciences.

6. Now once the sovereign of the world king Vîsala, who resides in the hearts of the range of (*his*) warriors, and who is of pure or spotless race, performed a pilgrimage to Sômêśvara, with very various (religious) observances.

7. He, having bathed near the confluence of the Sarasvatî and the sea, and worshipped Sômêśvara,—He, putting on the sacred garments, the knower of the proper difference (*between the good and others*), having inquired after a Brâhmaṇ, remarkable for learning,

8. (*He*) in the sacred Prabhâsa, *the habitation of good actions*, gave to Nânâka, the Poet and Paṇḍit, having washed his feet, a palace among the mansions of the Brahmapurî founded by himself.

* Here compare the title अभिनवसिद्धराज assumed by the king himself in his copperplate grant published by Dr. Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, pp. 210 et seq.

9. Vîsala's Brahmapurî shines out in this city like a beautiful garland, through that leader of the twice-born, who has received polish with the touchstone of the *Vêdas* and the *Purâṇas*.

10. That Brâhmaṇ of the race of Bhrigu, (Paraśurâma) who reached the ocean, and, placed his foot on the head of Sarasvatî, to be worshipped by the whole world, became (*after all*) selfish; but on the other hand, (in a secondary sense polite, gentlemanly or prudent) this Nânâka, the Nâgara, saluting that goddess with his head bowing down, dwelling on the (*very*) shores of the sea, became the feeder of hundreds of Brâhmaṇs.

11. What wonder is there that this son of Gôvinda was (*like*) Pradymuna? But strange it was that he liked best the sentiment of Quietism (*Śânta-Rasa*).

12. That highly fortunate Nânâka ought always to be respected by all good people; because he bathes in the sacred waters of the Sarasvatî, because he worships Sômêśvara, because from his house, a treasure-house of wealth and virtue, guests do not return empty-handed, and because his riches are common (*to him and*) to his friends and relations and all good people.

13. Seeing an incomparable *Śrâddha* performed for himself on the bank of the Sarasvatî, at every conjunction of the full moon and the new moon, by that (*Nânâka*), in the company of Brâhmaṇs, who are store-houses (warehouses) of religious merit and well skilled in the recitation of the *Vêdas* and *Purâṇas* with balls of rice, with devotion, King Vîsala rejoices in heaven.

14. (*By him*) who has faultless poetry in his mouth, philosophy in his head, truth at heart, who has hands ever offering gifts or *dâna*, and feet that mark the boundaries of the Tîrtha of learning.

15. Who listens to the new poems, whose ornament ever consists of gold, and whose face is never averted when the deserved comes up to him (*seeking assistance*).

16. The heap of rice, duly made with high religious fervour for the purpose of worshipping Śiva, that outshines the strings of moon-lotuses, eclipses as it were completely the light of the lunar crescent on the head of the resplendent lord of Śri-Sômanâtha.

17. That Nânâka residing in the second mansion in the Brahmapurî of glorious Vîsala, caused this Sârasvata lake to be constructed.

18. Gaṇapati-Vyâsa composed this new eulogy, the canvas as it were of faultless and admirable poetic composition without any effort,—(*Gaṇapati-Vyâsa*), the greatness of whose fame expands beautifully with the great work describing the destruction of (*the city of*) Dhârâ by Śrî-Vîsala, (who is) the home of splendour like that of the sun.

19. Kalâda, a son of Prahlâda-Gôvinda, wrote out this eulogy and engraved it,—he who has taken refuge with the foot-lotus of Kêdâra with the bees (*dvi-rêphas*) sporting over his head (*placed on it*).

20. There wakes that some indescribable greatness of the lord of Sâvitri . . . . . of the son of Pâtû, of him whose younger brother by name Pâhlaṇa performed the *pûjâ* of Kêdâra with gold (?)

In the year of V. S. 1328, this Praśasti was engraved in the presence of (or *with the sanction of*) Śrî Abhayasimha by Śrî Bhâva Lâḍâṇa, (?) the great man, (?) of the *Yajurvêda*, of Varṇagaḍa (Vaḍanagara).

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

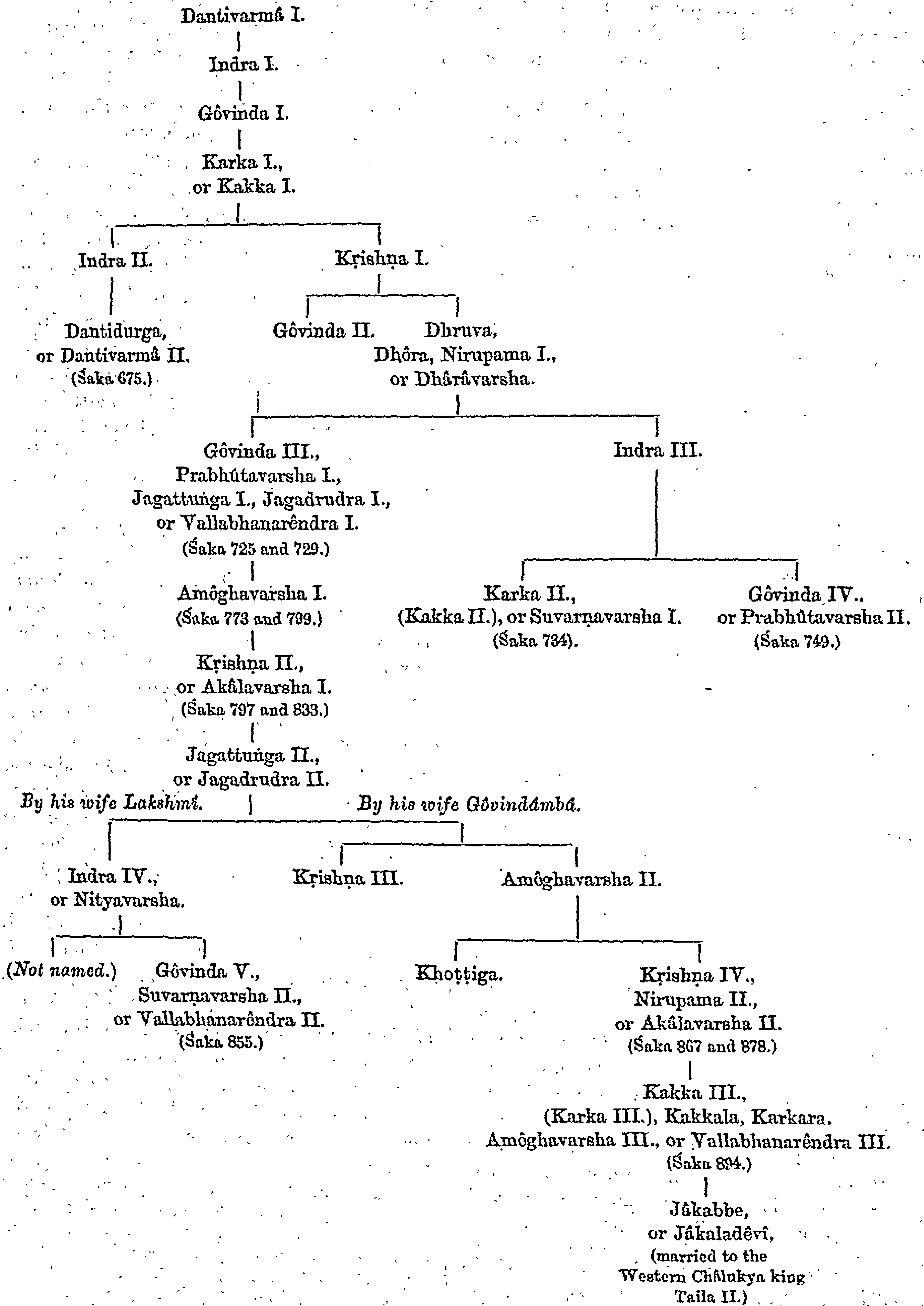
BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p. 24.*)

No. CXXI.

The accompanying 'table' gives a complete genealogy of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty, as far as it is now known. The first two names, of Dantivarmâ I. and Indra I., are taken from an unfinished inscription of Dantidurga or Dantivarmâ II., on the west side of a *maṇḍapa* in front of the Daśâvatâra temple at Elûrâ, edited by Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indraji in No. 10, p. 91, of the separate pamphlets of the Archæological Survey of Western India. None of the other inscriptions carry the genealogy back beyond Govinda I.

GENEALOGY OF THE RÂSHṬRAKÛṬA DYNASTY.



Three inscriptions of this dynasty have been edited in this Journal;—1, in Vol. VI., p. 59, by Dr. Bühler, the Râdhanpur copper-plate grant of Gôvinda III., dated Śaka 730 for 729 (A. D. 807-8), the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, at the time of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Śrâvaṇa;—2, in Vol. V., p. 144, by Dr. Bühler, the Kâvî copper-plate grant of Gôvinda IV., dated Śaka 749 (A. D. 827-8), on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha;—and 3, in Vol. I., p. 205, by Mr. Śaṁkar Pâṇḍuraṅg Paṇḍit, the Sâḷôtgi stone-tablet of Kṛishṇa IV., dated Śaka 867 for 869 (A. D. 947-8), the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, at the time of an eclipse of the sun on Tuesday, the new-moon day of the month Bhâdrapada. And, in addition to the Elûrâ inscription mentioned above, six other inscriptions have been edited elsewhere. The published versions of these last six inscriptions, however, are not critical, and are inaccurate in many essential points. I shall, therefore, now re-edit them, with fac-similes prepared for this purpose under my own superintendence; and I shall give, at the same time, several other inscriptions of this dynasty that I have obtained in the Canarese country.

The first of these inscriptions is the Sâmangaḍ copper-plate grant of Dantidurga or Dantivarmâ II., also called Khaḍgâvalôka, or 'he whose glances were as (*bright as the polished blade of*) a sword.'[1] This grant was originally published by Bâl Gaṅgâdhar Śâstrî, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. II., p. 371.[2] I re-edit it now from the original plates, which are in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. They were found at Sâmangaḍ,[3] a hill-fort in the Kôlhâpur territory, about twenty-four miles to the N. by W. from Belgaum. The plates are three in number, each about 9¾" long by 5½" broad; the edges of them were raised into rims to protect the writing, and, though the surfaces are corroded here and there by rust, the inscription is legible throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, had not been cut when the grant came into my hands; it is about ⅜" thick and 3½" in diameter. The seal on the ring is circular, about 2" in diameter; and it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, an image of the god Śiva, sitting with his knees bent so that the soles of his feet touch each other, and holding a serpent in each hand, with the coils of one of them wrapped round his body; over his left shoulder is the sun, and probably there was a moon, now worn away and indistinguishable, over his right shoulder; and beside his left knee there is a *svastika*. The language is Sanskṛit throughout.

The grant is dated in Śaka 675 (A. D. 753-4), in both words and figures; and it is the earliest known inscription in which the date is expressed by figures arranged according to the decimal system of notation. The object of it is to record the grant of a village in the *bhukti* or district called the Koppara Five-hundred. I cannot find this name, or the names of any of the other villages mentioned, anywhere in the neighbourhood of Sâmangaḍ; and this part of the grant is open to the suspicion of having been tampered with, as the latter part of the name of the village granted, and the names of certainly three out of the four villages specified as constituting the boundaries of it, are engraved over passages that were cancelled by heating the plates and beating in the letters originally engraved. This *may* have been necessitated by mistakes on the part of the engraver; but it is more likely to have been done with the object of falsifying the grant and making it applicable to another village than that which was really bestowed by it. The grant was made to a Brâhmaṇ, Nârâyaṇabhaṭṭa, an inhabitant of Karahâṭaka; this place must be the modern Karâḍ or Karhâḍ,[4] the 'Kurrar' of the maps, in the Sattârâ District, about forty miles to the north of Kôlhâpur.

This inscription gives us no historical information regarding Gôvinda I. and Karka I. In respect of Indra II, all that it records is that his wife, whose name is not given, was of Chalukya descent on her father's side, and of Sômavaṁśa descent on her mother's side; from this, we are probably justified in inferring that, in the time of Indra II., the Râshṭrakûṭas had not yet come into any hostile contact with the Western Chalukyas or made any attempt to dispossess them. Of Dantidurga, we are told that he acquired supreme dominion by easily conquering Vallabha, and that he

[1] Compare *ratnâvalôka*, in No. XCVI., l. 2; Vol. X., p. 104.

[2] The Śâstrî's paper is accompanied by a hand-copy of the original; but it is by no means a facsimile, and it represents the original very imperfectly.

[3] Lat. 16° 11' N., Long. 74° 29' E.

[4] Lat. 17° 18' N., Long. 74° 15' E.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH LONDON.

defeated the army of the Karṇâṭaka. These two statements refer to one and the same thing,—the conquest of the Western Chalukya king Kîrttivarmâ II., who commenced to reign in Śaka 669 (A. D. 747-8), and who was the last of his family to exercise dominion in the northern part of the Karṇâṭaka, until the Western Châlukyas were restored by Taila II. a little more than two centuries later. That it was in the time of Kîrttivarmâ II. that the Western Chalukyas were expelled by the Râshṭrakûṭas, is shown by the facts that there are inscriptions of his father, Vikramâditya II., at Paṭṭadakal and Aihole in the Kalâdgi District,—whereas the only known grant of Kîrttivarmâ II.[5] comes from Maisûr and refers to a village in the neighbourhood of Hângal, in the south-west of the Dhârwâḍ District,—a part of the country which does not appear to have fallen into the hands of the Râshṭrakûṭas till the time of Gôvinda III. or of Amôghavarsha I. This conquest of Vallabha by Dantidurga is recorded also in the Elûrâ inscription, which further states that he subjugated the kings of Sandhubhûma or Sandhukûpa, Kâñchî, Kaliṅga, Kôsala, the Śrîśaila country,[6] Mâlava, Lâṭa, and Ṭaṅka; and these statements, coupled with the absence of any details concerning his predecessors, suggest the inference that Dantidurga, not merely extended the dominions of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty, but was the first to establish the power of the branch of it to which he belonged. The name of Dantivarmâ II., as a second name of Dantidurga, occurs only in the concluding verse of the present inscription; but the Dantivarmâ mentioned there, "attended by a crowd of kings," cannot well have been any one but Dantidurga himself.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti [||*] Sa vô=vyâd=Vêdhasâ dhâma yan-nâbhi-kamalaṁ kṛitaṁ | Haraś=cha yasya kânt-êndukalayâ

[2] kam=alaṁkṛitaṁ || Âsîd=dvishat-timiram=udyata-maṇḍalâgrô dhvastî(sti)n=nayann[7]=abhimu-

[3] khô raṇa-śarvvarîshu | bhûpaḥ śuchir=vvidhur=iv=âpta-diganta-kîrttir=Ggôvindarâja iti

[4] râjasu râja-siṁhaḥ || Dṛishṭvâ chamûm=abhimukhi[ṁ*] subhaṭâṭṭahâsam=unnâmitaṁ sapadi

[5] yêna raṇêshu nityaṁ | dashṭ-âdharêṇa dadhatâ bhrukuṭîṁ lalâṭê khaḍgaṁ kulaṁ cha hṛidayaṁ cha

[6] nijaṁ cha satvaṁ || Khaḍgaṁ kar-âgrâ[n]=mukhataś=cha śôbhâ mânô manastat(s)=samam=êva yasya | ma-

[7] h-âhavê nâma niśamya sadyas=trayâ(yaṁ) ripûṇâṁ vigalaty=akâṇḍê || Tasy=âtmajô ja-

[8] gati viśruta-dîrgha-kîrttir=ârtt-ârtta(rtti)-hâri-Hari-viśruta-dhâma-dhârî | bhûpaḥ tri(kri)tishv=a-

[9] pakṛit-ânukṛitiḥ[8] kṛita-jñaḥ Śrî-Kakkarâja iti gôtra-maṇir=vva(bba)bhûvaḥ(va) || Yasmin=praśâsa-

[10] ti mahîn=narapô(pê) dvijânâṁ vaitâna-dhûma-nichayaiḥ parikarvurâṇi | sandh-yâsu sô(sau)dha-si(śi)kha-

[11] râṇi vilôkya kêkâḥ kurvvanti vêśma-śikhinô jalad-âgam-ôlkâ(tkâ)ḥ || Yasya dvija-

[5] Vol. VIII., p. 23.

[6] *i. e.* the Karnul country; see p. 11, above.

[7] Several of the verses of this inscription are repeated, with slight verbal differences, in the Kâvî grant of Gôvinda III. published by Dr. Bühler in Vol. V., p. 144. In the present passage, he there reads *dhvastârthayan*, 'annihilating,' or 'dispelling.' The reading of the present plates seems the better of the two; *dhvastîn* is a mistake for *dhvastin*, i. e *dhvastim*, the final *m* of which may become either *anusvâra* or *n* before the *n* of *nayan*. The upper *n* is imperfect here, as it is also in *mahîn=narapâ*, l. 10, and in *jñâyantê*, l. 19.

[8] In the Kâvî grant Dr. Bühler reads here *bhûpas=trivishṭapa-nṛip-ânukṛitiḥ*, 'a king, who resembled (Indra) the king of heaven.'—As regards the present plates, the first syllable is certainly *tṛi*, but I think the fact that the *Visarga* of *bhûpaḥ* before it is not changed into *s* shows that this *tṛi* is a mistake for *kṛi*, not for *tri*.—The second syllable is certainly *ti*, not *vi*.—The third syllable may be read *shṭa*, on the analogy of the *shṭvâ* of *dṛishṭvâ*, l. 4, the *shṭra* of *Râshṭrakûṭa*, l. 14, and the *shṭa* of *chatushṭayê*, l. 22; but it might also be read *shâ* on the analogy of the *bhû* of *vabhûvaḥ*, l. 9, and the *nmâ* of *unmâlya*, l. 19. The combination *shva* does not occur elsewhere in this inscription; but, on the analogy of the *v* in *dvishat*, l. 2, and *śuchir=vvidhur*, l. 3, the letter may be read here as an imperfect *shva*, and I read it so.—The fourth and fifth syllables, where in Dr. Bühler's grant the reading is *nṛipâ*, are here clearly *kṛitâ*.

[12] janâh śântâḥ śânti-vâchana-vâriṇâ | pratyaham gulpha-daghnêna janaś=charati mandi-

[13] rê || Tasya prabhinna-karaṭa-chyuta-dâna-danti-danta-prahâra-ruchir-ôllikhit-âm-

Second plate; first side.

[14] sapîṭhaḥ | kshmâ-paḥ kshitau kshapita-śatrur=âbhut=tanûjaḥ sad-Râshṭrakûṭa-kanakâdrir=iv=Êndrarâjaḥ ||

[15] Pûrit-âśâ śuchir=dva(dhva)st-âdhûtgir[9]=jyôtsn=êva mâtritaḥ | râjñî Sômânvayî-tasya pitrija(ta)ś=cha Śa(cha)lukyajâ ||

[16] Śrîmad-yuvati-gaṇânâṁ sâdhvînâm=âpa nâ(sâ) padaṁ | rakshaṇâd=bharaṇâl=[1*]ôka[ḥ*] pâ(pa)richâra-nirâpadaṁ ||

[17] Sanayaṁ tanayaṁ tasyâ[ḥ*] sa lêbhê bhûbhṛid-uttamaḥ | nîtâvadhê(?thê)-miv[10]=âśêsha-jagataḥ pâlit-âyati[ḥ*] [||*]

[18] Dhvasta-têjasi dhâm-ô(au)gh-âpraksha(kshâ)lita-digantarê | Śrî-Dantidurggarâjasya-(râj-âkhyaḥ) sva-kul-âṁbhôja-bhâskaraḥ ||

[19] Yasy=âjô(jau) râja-siṁhasya vitrastâ vairi-vâraṇâ[ḥ*] | salajjâ[ḥ*] stambham=unmûlya jñâyantê kvâpi nô

[20] gatâḥ || Sâṭṭâlakâni durggâṇi hṛidayaiḥ saha vidvishâṁ | patanti yat-pratâp-ôgra-kôp-âṁ-

[21] kura-samudgakaiḥ || Mahî-mahânadî-Rêvâ-rôdhô-bhitti-vidâraṇaṁ | lôkâ vilôkaya-

[22] ty(nty)=uchchaiḥ kṛitaṁ yaj-jaya-kuṁjaraiḥ || Mâtṛi-bhakti[ḥ*] prati-grâmaṁ grâma-laksha-chatushṭayê | dadatyâ

[23] bhû-pradânâni yasya mâtrâ prakâśitâ || Sabhrûvibhaṅgam=agṛihîtavidhautaśastram=ajñâta-

[24] m=apraṇihitâṁtram=apêtayatnât(tnaṁ) | yô Vallabhaṁ sapadi daṁḍa-lakêna jitvâ râjâdhirâ-

[25] ja-paramêśvaratâm=upaiti || Kâṁchîśa-Kêralanarâdhipa-Chôla-Pâṁdya-Śrî-Harsha-Vajraṭa-vi-

[26] bhêda-vidhâna-dakshaṁ | Karṇṇâṭakaṁ va(ba)lam=anantam=ajêya-ratyai(thyai)r=bhṛityaiḥ kiyadbhir=api yaḥ

Second plate; second side.

[27] sahasâ jigâya |(||) Sa cha pṛithivîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-parama-

[28] bhaṭṭâraka-Khaḍgâvalôka-Śrî-Dantidurggarâjadêvaḥ sarvvân=êva râshṭrapati-visha-

[29] yapati-grâmakûṭâm(n) yathârha-pratipat[t*]y=âjñâpayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ

[30] paṁcha-saptaty-adhika-Śakakâla-saṁvatsara-śata-shaṭkê vyatîtê saṁvata(t) 675 pai(?pô, *or* pau)ha-

[31] chchhikâyâ[11] Mâgha-mâsa-rathasaptamyâ[ṁ*] tulâpurusha-sthitê mâtâpitrôr=â-

[32] tmanaś=cha puṇya-yâśô-bhivṛiddhayê Koppara-[12]paṁchaśata-bhukty-antarggata-Karaṁ-[13]

[33] diva(? vâ)ḍêjaphi(?)ta(?)dêûlavâḍâ-[14]nâma-grâmaḥ Karahâṭaka-vâstavyaḥ(vyâya) Bahvṛicha-sa-

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[9] The Śâstrî read *dhvastâvṛittir*, and translated "removing the gloom (*of poverty*)." The letters read as I give them; but I do not see what they are mistakes for.

[10] The Śâstrî read *nîtâvavêmiv*, but did not translate these words. Here, again, the fourth syllable is either *dhê* or *thê*; but I do not see what these syllables are mistakes for.

[11] The Śâstrî read *samvat* 811 *pôharikôyâṁ*, and translated "corresponding to Saṁvat 811."—From *pai*, *pô*, or *pau*, to the *ra* of *ratha*, inclusive, the present text has been engraved over a passage that was engraved and then cancelled by heating the plates and beating in the letters. As regards the first syllable, *pô* was certainly first engraved, and seems to have then been altered to *pai* or *pau*. As regards the third syllable, as it stands it is certainly *chchhi*; but it seems to have been *ri* originally.—As I have pointed out in Vol. VIII., p. 151, the word *saṁvata(t)* does not here denote the so-called Vikrama-Saṁvat, which was not in use in this part of the country, but is simply an abbreviation of *saṁvatsarâṇâm*, 'of years'; and the numerals following it are not 811, but 675.—What the word following the numerals means, I cannot say; unless it is some old Prâkrit form from the same root as the Marâṭhî verb *pôhaṁchaṇêṁ*, 'to arrive,' and is used in place of the *vartamânê*, 'being current,' of other inscriptions.

[12] The Śâstrî also read *Koppara*; and this is probably correct. But the second syllable *may* be an imperfect *gha*.

[13] The *ra* towards the margin of the plate is only a repetition by mistake of the preceding syllable. In the original, it is partially cancelled, by heating the plate and beating it in; but, as is usually the case, it appears clear, and almost as if uncancelled, in the lithograph.

[14] The Śâstrî read *Karaṁdipadêjaphitadêûlavâḷa*, but in his translation gave only "the village of Deulvat." From *ja* to *ḍâ*, inclusive, the present passage is engraved over cancelled letters. The *ja* used here is of a different and more modern type than that used throughout the rest of the inscription.

[34] vra(bra)hmachâriṇê Vasishṭha-gôtrâya Bhaṭṭa-Trivikrama-pautrâya Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa-[15] putra(trâya) Nârâya-

[35] ṇabhaṭṭâya vêda-vêdâṁga-pâragâya agnihôtra-va(ba)li-charu-pravarttana-nimittaṁ

[36] bhûya(mi)chchhidra-nyâyêna udaka-purvvô dattaḥ | Sa ch=â-châṭa-bhaṭa-pravêśya a-

[37] sat(n)-nara-pravṛitti-vinivṛitt-âchâraḥ sarvvâ(rvva)-vâ(bâ)dha-parihârêṇ=âsmad-vaṁśyai-

[38] r=anyair=vvâ pratipâlanîyô nṛipatibhiḥ [| *] Yasya cha pûrvvataḥ U(?)vâtyalê(?)vâ-

Third plate.

[39] ḍî(?)[16]-grâmaḥ | dakshiṇataḥ Pâragâvâ-[17]vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-grâmaḥ paśchimataḥ Vilva(?)vâḍê-[18]

[40] grâmaḥ uttarataḥ Aïtavâḍê-[19]grâmaḥ êvaṁ chatur-âghâṭa-[20]lakshitô grâmaḥ || Sa-vṛiksha-

[41] mâlâ-kula[ḥ*] sva-sîmâ-paryanta-siddhy-âdi-hiraṇyâ(ṇya)y(ś)=cha sa-daṇḍa-dôsha-das(ś)-â-

[42] parâdha(dhô) yathâsamuchita-bhâga-bhôga-kara-sarvvôtpat[t*]y-âdi-sahitô dattaḥ ||

[43] Asya bhuṁjataḥ bhuṁjâpayatasya(ś=cha) kṛishataḥ karshâpayatasya(ś=cha)[21] vâ na kênachit=paripa-

[44] nthanâ kâryâ || Uktaṁ bhagavatâ Vyâsêna | Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta va-

[45] sundharâṁ | shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâ(srâ)ṇi vishṭâ[22]yâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ || Yaḥ saṁ-

[46] padbhir=anupta(ddha)taḥ para-hita-vyâsaṅginô yasya dhîḥ | yas=tatr=âpy=upakarttum=i-

[47] chchhati mahad-varggasya k=âsthâ dhanê | têṁ(tê)n=Êndrêṇa narêndra-vṛinda-sahitaḥ(ta)-Śrî-Da-

[48] ntivarmm-âjñayâ [| *] prîty=êdaṁ likhitaṁ tad-unnata-yaśaḥ-prôdbhâsanaṁ śâsanaṁ ||

Translation.

May he,[23] the waterlily in whose navel is made a habitation by Vêdhas,[24] protect you; and Hara,[25] whose head is adorned by the lovely crescent of the moon!

(L. 2.)—There was a pure king, by name Gôvindarâja, a very lion of a king among kings,—whose fame reached to the ends of the regions, and who, uplifting his scimetar and looking straight before him, brought his enemies to destruction in battle; just as the clear moon, whose radiance reaches to the ends of the regions, raising the tip of its orb (*above the horizon*) and shining straight forward, destroys at night the darkness. When he saw the army (*of his enemies*) confronting him, straightway he always, biting his lower lip and frowning, with the loud laughter of a brave warrior lifted up his sword in war, and (*elevated*) his family, and (*raised*) his own heart and courage. When his enemies heard his name (*uttered*) in the great battle, straightway three things belonging to them unseasonably faded away,—the sword from their hands, the lustre from their countenances, and at the same time pride from their minds.

(L. 7.)—His son, by name Śrî-Kakkarâja,—a king whose extensive fame was heard of far and wide in the world; who possessed a majesty which was as celebrated as that of Hari in removing the sufferings of the unhappy; and who in his actions returned evil for evil, (*but was*) grateful for services rendered to him,—became the jewel of his lineage. While he, the king, was governing the earth, the tame peacocks,—when in the evenings they saw the turrets of his palaces made of a variegated colour by the masses of the smoke of the oblations of the Brâhmaṇs,—uttered their cries, thinking that it was the approaching of clouds. His Brâhmaṇs were purified by the water that accompanies the declaration of purification; and every day people walked about in his palace, ancle-deep (*in those waters*).

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[15] This letter *ṭṭa* was at first omitted and then inserted in rather a cramped position.

[16] The Śâstrî read *Navâtyalâvalhî*, and translated "New Tyalavalhi." Here, again, the first four letters are engraved over cancelled ones.

[17] The Śâstrî read *Pâragôvâ*, and gave "Paragôpa" in his translation.

[18] The Śâstrî read *Higurvâḍêṁ*, and gave the same in his translation. Here, again, the first two syllables, and also the preceding word, have been engraved over cancelled letters.

[19] The Śâstrî read *Aïtavâḍa*, and gave "Artavata" in his translation. Here, again, the first three syllables, and also some of the preceding, have been engraved over cancelled letters.

[20] This letter, *ṭa*, was at first omitted, and is inserted in miniature on the upper line of the writing.

[21] This form is not justified by Monier Williams and Westergaard. The correct form is *karshayataḥ*; and the mistake is to be attributed to the use of *bhuṁjâpayataḥ*, which is a correct optional form, just before.

[22] *Shṭyâ* was engraved, and then the *y* was cancelled, though it appears in the lithograph.

[23] Vishṇu. [24] Brahmâ. [25] Śiva.

(L. 13.)—His son was Indrarâja, the protector of the earth,—whose shoulders were scratched by the blows of the tusks of elephants and shone with the juice of rut that flowed from their split open temples; who destroyed his enemies on the earth; and who was, as it were, the golden mountain of the excellent Râshtrakûtas. His queen,—who satisfied all desires, and was pure, and destroyed . . . . , just as the moonlight fills the regions, and is clear, and destroys . . . . ,—was by her mother's side of the Sôma lineage, and by her father's side of Chalukya birth. She attained the position of honourable young women who are faithful wives; and, through (*her*) protecting and nourishing (*them*), (*the whole of*) mankind acquired the same freedom from misfortune as (*her own personal*) attendants. From her, he, the best of kings, who protected the expanse of the whole world, ... , obtained a virtuous son.

(L. 18.)—When (*by the death of Indra*) the space between the regions, purified no longer by the mass of his glory, lost its lustre,—then he, who was named Śrî-Dantidurgarâja, (*became*) the sun of the waterlily that was his family. In the battles of him, a very lion of a king, the terrified and ashamed elephants of his enemies, rooting up the posts (*to which they are bound*), go away so that they are not known of anywhere. Through the shooting up of the young sprouts of his prowess and his fierce anger, the turreted fortresses of his enemies fall down, together with their hearts. Mankind gaze intently upon the tearing open and rending asunder of the high banks of the great river Mahî and of the Rêvâ, accomplished by his victorious elephants. His affection for his mother was demonstrated by the fact of his mother making grants of land in each village in four hundred thousand villages.[26] Without taking up his polished weapon; unawares; without any inward concentration of his thoughts (?); and without any effort,—by simply knitting his brows, he straightway conquered Vallabha[27] with a spike of wild rice that served him as a mace, and acquired the condition of being the supreme king of kings and the supreme lord. Even with but a few dependents, possessed of chariots and horses which were not to be conquered, he quickly overcame the boundless army of the Karṇâṭaka,[28] which had been expert in defeating the lord of Kañchî and the king of Kêrala and the Chôlas and the Pâṇḍyas and Śrî-Harsha[29] and Vajraṭa.

(L. 27.)—And he, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, Khaḍgâvalôka-Śrî-Dantidurgarâjadêva, with a proper appreciation of their merits thus issues his commands to all the *râshṭrakûṭas* and *vishayapatis* and *grâmakûṭas*:—

(L. 28.)—"Be it known to you that,—six hundred and seventy-five years of the Śaka-kâla having elapsed, (*or in figures*) 675 years, ... , on the day called *Rathasaptamî* of the month Mâgha, under the sign of the holder of the scales,[30]—in order to increase the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) parents and of Ourself, the village named Karandivadejaphitadêülavâḍâ (?), included in the Koppara Five-hundred *bhukti*, has been given by us, with libations of water, and according to the rule of *bhûmichchhidra*, for the purpose of continuing the *agnihôtra* and the *bali* and the *charu*, to Nârâyaṇabhaṭṭa, an inhabitant of Karahâṭaka, who is well versed in the *Vêdas* and *Vêdâṅgas*, a student of the Bahvṛicha (*śâkhâ*), and belonging to the Vasishṭha *gôtra*, the son's son of Bhaṭṭa-Trivikrama, and the son of Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa. And that (*village*) is not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; and the established customs of it are withheld from (*injury by*) the enterprise of wicked men; and it is to be continued, free of all molestation, by (*future*) kings, whether of Our lineage, or others. And it is the village which is thus defined as to its four boundaries; on the E. is the village of Uvâtyalêvâḍî (?); on the S. is the Brâhmaṇ's village of Pâragâvâ; on the W. is the village of Vilvavâḍê (?); and on the N. is the village of Aïtavâḍê. It is given with all the rows and

[26] This expression may be taken as indicating that Dantidurga's kingdom was a *laksha-chutushṭaya* or Four-lac country.

[27] *i. e.* the Western Chalukya king, Kîrttivarmâ II.

[28] *i. e.* the army of Kîrttivarmâ II.

[29] This refers to the conquest of Śrî-Harsha or Śrî-Harshavardhana of Kanyâkubja, "the warlike lord of all the region of the north," by Pulikêśi II. in the seventh century A. D.

[30] *Tulâpurushasthitê* here seems to be an astronomical expression. But it might also denote Dantidurga being weighed against gold, technically called *tulâpurusha*, which gold would then be given to Brâhmaṇs at the time of making the grant of land.

groups of trees,—together with the *siddhi*, &c., and (*buried*) gold, up to the ends of its boundaries,—together with fines and faults and (*the proceeds of punishments inflicted for*) the ten (*classes of*) offences,—and together with all the proceeds of the proper shares and enjoyments and taxes, &c. No obstruction should be caused to him who enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed, or cultivates it or causes it to be cultivated."

(L. 44.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa,—He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

(L. 45.)—At the command of Śrî-Dantivarmâ, who is attended by a crowd of kings, this charter, which illuminates his noble fame, has been written by that Indra, who is not puffed up by prosperity,—who, applying himself to the welfare of others, is possessed of intellect,—and who, (*saying to himself*) "What confidence is there in the wealth of the great?" is desirous of conferring a favour upon even them.

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON THE KNIGHT'S TOUR OR THE KNIGHT'S TRICK AT CHESS.

This problem, as some of the readers of this journal may know, is such that it has been deemed not unworthy of solution by some of the greatest European mathematicians Ozanam, De Moivre and Euler, who have given us more or less intricate methods by which the Knight (the Horse as he is called by the Hindus) can traverse all the squares without returning to any that he has previously occupied. Of all the methods the writer of this note believes there is perhaps none so ingenious as the one given in *Indian Reminiscences*, a posthumous work printed in London in 1837, containing some racy articles written mostly by a Madras Civilian, G. A. Anderson.[1] But even that method is intricate and difficult to remember, taxing not a little of one's patience and attention.

There are two ways of solving this puzzle. In the one given below in mnemonics, the first square and the sixty-fourth square are not exactly a Knight's move distant from each other. In the other and more perfect, the two squares *are* distant by just one move.

How far the Hindus to whom the world owes the invention of chess have succeeded in studying this problem, the writer has no means of ascertaining. But he is in possession of a mnemonical Anushtubh śloka given him by an old Brahman some years ago, and gives it here.

The śloka implies the division of the board into two halves of thirty-two squares each; when one half of the board is completely traversed by the Knight the other is to be begun in the same manner.

The śloka runs as under and has no real meaning; the order of the moves strictly follows the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet, the vowel-signs being added for the metre and for variety to aid the memory:—

केशझनागभट्टाय तेधखेवञराघबे ।
षाजाथाढेपचम्मेठे दाणाहाछलडोफङ ॥

It is to be remarked that in the śloka the letter स is omitted, the letter ह is therefore the thirty-second, and the other half of the board can be traversed in the same manner, ह and the next क being exactly one move distant. The diagram

के	श	झ	ना	ग	भ	ट्टा	य
ते	ध	खे	व	ञ	रा	घ	बे
षा	जा	था	ढे	प	च	म्मे	ठे
दा	णा	हा	छ	ल	डो	फ	ङ
के							

annexed sufficiently explains itself. It will be seen at a glance that the first line may run along the bottom upwards or along the top downwards, either from the left or the right, horizontally or vertically producing in all eight modifications of the same solution.

Bhaunagar, 16*th June* 1881. J. N. U.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

3. Chatty.—At page 87 *ante* Mr. Fergusson asks the derivation of *chatty*.

This may help. In Northern India *châṭâ* is used frequently for the large earthen vessel into which the juice of the sugarcane is received as it runs from the mill. *Châṭî* is a small *châṭâ*. For a complete account of the method of making *sugar in Northern India, together* with the names of all the instruments used, see Carnegy's *Kachahri Technicalities*, Allahabad Mission Press, 1877, article *ûkh*. Dr. Fallon connects *châṭâ* with *châṭ*, taste, relish, and with *châṭnâ* to lick, lick up—*New Hindustani Dictionary*: but I do not know his authority or reasons. In Panjâbi *châṭṭâ* is a large earthen vessel and *châṭṭî*=an earthen churn. As regards the use of the word

[1] He was a collateral descendant of the celebrated essayist, and died at the early age of twenty-two in Java, where he was Assistant Secretary to Sir Stamford Raffles, the Governor at that time.

chattá or *chátá* I quote the following from a folk-song I have from the Kângrâ Hills. A young girl describes how she was left in charge of the house and proceeded at once to mischief. She searched for the flour, the *ghí*, and the sugar (*gur*), which was stored away in order to make sweet cakes for herself. She says :—

Tíjá hath páyá chátá gure dá, bhainoń !

Thirdly, my hand found the pot of *gur*, O sister !

Here *chátá* is clearly the earthen pot in which the sugar was stored in the family store-room.

Mr. Childers's reference of the Pâli *cháti* to the Tamil *sáḍi* is remarkable. I know of no Sanskṛit derivation for *chátá*, but I would point out that the fact of *cháṭi* in Pâli and *chátá* in Hindi and Panjâbi, both meaning "earthen pot," points at any rate to a Prâkṛit origin for the word.

R. C. Temple.

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6. Abdul Rahimân Sâmiri.—Can you or any of your readers verify the following facts which I have on the authority of an Arab living on the outskirts of Zafhâr on the Arabian Coast?

At Zafhâr lies buried one Abdul Rahimân Sâmiri, a king of Malabar. The inscription on his tombstone says he arrived at that place A. H. 212, and died there A. H. 216. The tomb is regarded with much veneration as that of a Hindu (*Sámiri*=*Samaritan*=worshipper of the calf—*Korán*, S. 20) king of Malabar, who became a convert to Islam.

If the dates are correct, then—

(*a*) This is almost certainly the tomb of the Kodangalûr (Cranganore) king mentioned in the *Tahafat-ul Mujáhidín*, the author of which placed that king's conversion about A. H. 200.

(*b*) The origin of the Kollam era of the Malabar Coast is accounted for in the most natural way if it dated from the traditional Cherumân Perumâl's setting out for Arabia. The interval between A. D. 824 and his arrival at Zafhâr (A. D. 827) is probably accounted for in the *Tahafat-ul-Mujáhidín*, which says he remained a considerable time at Shahr where he first of all landed.

It seems the Mukri of the mosque adjacent to the tomb came to Malabar some fifteen years ago soliciting subscriptions for repairing the tomb and mosque.

W. L.

Calicut, 6th March 1882.

BOOK NOTICE.

A Manual of Hindu Pantheism. The Vedânta Sâra. Translated with copious annotations by Major G. A. Jacob. London: Trübner & Co., 1881, pp. 127.

We are glad to see Major Jacob's book. Of the six orthodox philosophical systems, that of the Vedânta is by far the most widely prevalent; in fact, in Mahârâshṭra and Gujarât hardly any other system is known. That wonderful book the *Bhagavad Gítá*, which, though to some extent eclectic, is yet prevailingly Vedantist in its theology, is, in Western India at least, by far the most popular of Sanskṛit works; and its doctrines, through the medium of vernacular poetry, have been largely diffused among the people. The *Vedánta Sára* is by no means so much studied as the *Gítá*. Still it is a clear and valuable summary of Vedântism in its modern form; and when a learned Brahman is asked to formulate his theory of being, he will most naturally do so in language drawn from the *Gítá*, the writings of Śankara, or the *Vedánta Sára*.

Major Jacob has done his work with care and praiseworthy assiduity. He has availed himself of the writings of Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, Ballantyne, Fitzedward Hall, K. M. Banerjea and others. To his translation of the original text he has appended a very large body of notes. He has drawn from valuable authorities; and students will find many of his quotations very useful.

Occasionally Major Jacob expresses a decided opinion on points which are still, we apprehend, *sub judice*. Thus he speaks of "the attempt to suppress Buddhism by fire and sword." There may have been—there probably were—sporadic efforts to crush Buddhism by force; but the existence of any widespread active persecution has not been proved. Moreover, Buddhism itself was actively militant against Hinduism—even Aśoka had recourse to coercion;—and it was but natural that men like Kumârila and Śankara should retaliate. Buddhism died, we apprehend, of sheer exhaustion; and its extinction forms a most interesting subject of inquiry. Why could it not live on?

Major Jacob clearly sees, and honestly expresses, his sense of the moral deficiencies of the Vedânta philosophy. He writes thus:—"Some of the *Upanishads*, the chief sources of the Vedânta doctrine, do, without any qualification, declare that sin and virtue are alike to one who knows Brahma; and the system is therefore rightly charged with immorality. But, independently of such teaching as this, what moral results could possibly be expected from a system so devoid of motives for a life of true purity? The Supreme Being, Brahma, is a cold impersonality, out of relation with the world, unconscious of his own existence and of ours, and devoid of all attributes and qualities. There is no God, apart from ourselves,—no Creator, no Holy Being, no Father, no Judge—no one, in a word, to adore, to love, or to fear. And as for ourselves—we are only unreal actors on the semblance of a stage!"

While dwelling thus strongly on the moral defects of the Vedânta, Major Jacob does not enter at much length on the metaphysical objections that lie against the entire system. He shows, however, that the *Vedánta Sára* describes Îśvara as both personal and impersonal; and he points out, with perfect correctness, the inconsistency of the doctrines propounded by the most celebrated defender of the system—Śankarâchârya.

J. M. M.

HONORIFIC CLASS NAMES IN THE PANJÂB.

BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

IT is, I believe, a custom more or less prevalent throughout India to call persons of lowly position and circumstances by high-sounding titles and names. The same influence is at work here that makes the petty officials about our Indian courts or offices "*âp*" each other. These titles have, I believe, never been enquired into, though they are generally known to us, and that is the reason for recording some of them here. The commonest instances of them are "*mehtar*" (lord, ruler) for "scavenger," "sweeper," and "*bahishtî*" (heavenly, from *bahisht*, heaven), for "water-carrier."[1] Each name will, however, be examined in its place.

From a collection of such names made in the Panjâb it is found that they are of various kinds. Some are historical, some religious, some allusions to office or capacity, some merely nick-names.

Historical Names.

(1.) Râodâs or Ravdâs for Chammâr, dealer and worker in leather, a very low caste in the N. W. P. and Panjâb. This name is an allusion to Ravidâs or Raidâs, (Trumpp, *Âdi Granth*, p. 130, note 3), the Bhagat who flourished circ. 1480-1530 A. D., and who was a Chammâr by caste. There is a corruption, Ramdâs of this name, whence the better known Ramdasiâ, which purports to mean descendant or follower of the fourth Sikh Gurû, Râm Dâs, and is a title assumed by Chammârs about Ambâlâ.

(2.) Râghubansiâ for Chammâr. The word means of the race of Raghu or of the Solar Race, but the claims of this class to that very high dignity is merely honorary, as it take its rise from the fact of Raghbîr the Bhagat having been a Chammâr by caste.

(3.) Âhluwâliâ for Kalâl, low caste publican, dealer in spirituous liquors, Âbkâri contractor or distiller. This name is based on a story which is probably a legend only and not historical. Ahluwâliâ is the surname of the Kapûrthalâ Râjâs, and the name is thus accounted for.[2] Sadâo Singh, the founder of the family, and of the village of Ahlu (whence the name Ahluwâliâ), near Lâhor, had a younger brother named Sadâwa, who became so ill for love of a Kalâl girl, that he was allowed to marry her, the Kalâls stipulating that the bridegroom's family should all be called Kalâls and marry only into Kalâl families. Hence all Ahluwâliâs were called Kalâls and *vice versâ*. The chances are that the Kapûrthalâ Râjâs were always really Jaṭ Kalâls by caste.

(4.) Râmgharhiâ for Tarkhân, carpenter. The Râmgarhiâs are a great Sikh family, of whom Sirdâr Jassâ Singh Râmgarhiâ (ob. 1783) was the most famous. One of Ranjit Singh's wives came from the Râmgarhiâs, and as might be assumed from the title being given to the Tarkhâns, a carpenter is said to have founded the fort of Râmgarh. Carmichael Smyth, *Reigning Family of Lahore* (1847), App. ii, says—"All Ramghurria Sings (Sikhs) are carpenters by caste, so that now the word Ramghurria Sing signifies a Sing (Sikh) carpenter."

(5.) Bâwâ, father, reverend, for Lakrîfarosh, timber-merchant (*not* for Tâlwâlâ, firewood seller). This term arises from the Bâwâs, descendants of the second Sikh Gurû Angad,[3] having fallen into evil ways and taken to selling timber as a means of livelihood. One Bâwâ that I know is now a publican (*kalâl*).

Religious Names.

(6.) Parjâpat, creator, lord of the created, for Kumhâr, potter. This name is Hindi and Panjâbî. Prajâpati is one of the titles of Brahmâ, the creator, and is also used of the Rishis. It is said to be applied to the Kumhârs because they "create" their vessels out of mud.

(7.) Bhagat, saint, for Sâis (popularly *sahîs*), syce, groom. Many of the lower castes, sweepers, tailors, bhîstis, etc., still seem to have a religion apart from the orthodox Hindus, and do not put their faith in the *Vedas*, etc. Among the syces are many free-thinking saints or Bhagats, which has perhaps given rise to this curious appellation of the whole caste. A true Bhagat syce is carried to the funeral pyre with songs from the *Râmâyaṇa* and with *no* signs of sorrow, as after death, being holy, he is considered to have passed to a better state of

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[1] I have my doubts as to this being the real derivation of this word, but it is the one commonly accepted, and in practice the name is honorific. There is a Sansk. root, *vish*, to sprinkle, pour out, but I am not prepared to say that it has anything to do with the modern word *bhisti*: "*bahishtî*" does not mean water-carrier in Persian.

[2] Griffin, *Râjâs of the Panjâb*, pp. 452-53.

[3] Griffin, pp. 467-474.

existence. *Sâis* itself is an honorific appellation. See below, No. 21.

(8.) Bahishtî and a corruption Bhistî, heavenly (from Pers. *bahisht*, heaven). *Vulgo*, *bheshtî* and *bhestî*, for Mâskî or Mâshkî (from Pers. *mashk*, leather water-bag), a water-carrier, bheestie. The popular tradition is that "bheesties" are so called because it is a "heavenly" deed to give water to one's fellowman. The word is universal.

(9.) Shekh, a venerable person, for Bharâîñ, a bard or singer in honour of the Saint Sakhî Sarwar Sulṭân: also used towards all converts to Muhammadanism.

(10.) Bhâî, friend, a term applied to all Sikh saints and holy men: also to the Granthîs or readers of the *Âdi Granth*, who visit the villages. Bhâî and Bhayyâ are also applied to Pûrbîâs or North-West Provinces men in the Panjâb.

(11.) Ṭhâkur, applied to any Brâhmaṇ, means lord, master, and is properly an idol or god. It is also often applied to the attendants at temples and on idols or gods. Ṭhâkur is also used to barbers. See below No. 15.

(12.) Rikhî (*Ṛishi*) is applied to any Brâhmaṇ, and has reference to the seven great inspired saints.

(13.) Lâlbêgî for Mehtar, sweeper. It signifies follower of Lâl Beg, the great priest of the sweeper caste.

Honorific Names.

(14.) Râjâ, king, for Nâî, barber. This name is also used in derision. This is from a Panjâbî song about Dhannâ the Bhagat—

Dhannâ kahndâ, "Suno, Nârâyaṇ,
"Prabal terî mâyâ,
"Jiñhâñ nûñ tu âp wadâvê
"Kon bulâve *râyâ* ?"

Dhannâ said, "Listen, Nârâyaṇ,
"So great is thy fascination,
"That him, whom thou thyself exaltest,
"Who will laugh at!" (*Lit.* call a king.)

However *râyâ* could also mean "an atom, a mustard seed." *Vide* Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.*, art. *râî*: also the Lûdiânâ *Panjâbî Dict.*

(15.) Ṭhâkur, lord, ruler for Nâî, barber, in North-West Provinces. Fallon (art. ٹھاکر) says there is a proverb—

Nâî kî bârât meñ sabhî ṭhâkur, "at a barber's wedding every one is a lord."

(16.) Chaudhrî, caste or trade headman, a headman, for Mâlî, gardener; Kahâr, carrier; and Kambô, low Hindu Jaṭ cultivator.

(17.) Jama'dâr, a chief or leader of a band or party, a lieutenant, vulgo *jamâdâr* and *jemadâr* for Bhistî, water-carrier (q. v.), and Mehtar, sweeper (q. v.). It is the proper title also of the head of menial Government establishments, as Jemadâr of peons, mâlîs, sweepers, *âbkârî*, bhistîs, etc.

(18.) Mehtar, Pers., a headman, chief, for Chûṛhâ, sweeper, scavenger, and for Chammâr, leather-worker. Fallon says it is used for sweepers, innkeepers, shoemakers, etc., meaning, I fancy, the great Chammâr caste. This word is universal.

(19.) Khalîfa, successor of Muhammad, a caliph, for Darzî, tailor. Fallon remarks—"In India the term is applied to a Muhammadan tailor, barber, and sometimes to a cook, and also to a monitor in a school or the teacher's son." The word is universal.

(20.) Sardâr, headman, chief, nobleman, usually for the Bearer (corrupted into *bahrâ*) or head household servant of the English: and also for the Chuṛhâ or sweeper.

(21.) Sâis or popularly *Sahîs*, Arabic, a nobleman, for a groom, syce, horsekeeper.

(22.) Mahir and Mahrâ, a headman, for Kûñjṛâ or Karûñjṛâ, green-grocer, and for Râîñ or Arâîñ, market-gardener: also for Gujjar, milkman. Mahir = Mahtâ, a chief, village headman, which, as Mahitâ, is used in the Panjâb Himâlayas as a respectful appellation to a Brâhmaṇ.

(23.) Mehrâ, effeminate, for Kahâr, palanquin or dhooly-bearer,[*] carrier. Fallon *New Hind. Dict.*, art. مہرا, says the Kahâr is called Mehrâ or "one who lives among women," because he has access to the women's apartments.

(24.) Râi and Râo, royal, ruler, is a title among Râjpûts for Bhaṭṭ, bard, singer.

(25.) Shâh, king, for Khattrî, merchant, shopkeeper, banker. This has probably arisen from the confusion of *sâh*, Hindî, a banker, (whence the well-known word Sâhûkâr, *vulgo*, sowcar) with *Shâh*, Pers., a king. The difference between the words is well illustrated in the invocation used when yoking the plough in the morning, and which is quoted by Fallon,

[*] Dooly or dhooly is a corruption of the diminutive form *ḍolî*, a small palanquin; *ḍolâ* is the large palanquin used at weddings to carry the bride, whence the idiom *ḍolâ denâ*, to give in marriage.

art. شاہ,—*Râm shâh sâh sukhî rahe,*—'Râm preserve kings and bankers.' Shâh is also a title assumed by Faqîrs, and is applied commonly to saints and poets, *e. g.* Nûr Shâh Walî, the Firozpûr saint; Wâris Shâh and Hâshim Shâh, the well-known Panjâbî poets.

(26.) Seṭh, rich banker, millionaire, is applied to Bikaner and Râjpûtânâ merchants: also to any rich man and to all Parsîs.

(27.) Dâdâ, grand-father, also elder brother, for Ḍom or Ḍûm, musician; also singer or teacher and companion of dancing girls (*mîrâsî, q.v.*); also family priest. Dâdâ is also used to and by Faqîrs and Brâhmaṇs.

(28.) Mîrâsî (Arabic, inherited), hereditary, for Ḍom or Ḍûm and Kanjaṛ, singer and companion of dancing girls. In India it signifies that the man is what he is, by descent. The word is a wholesale importation from Arabic, where Mîrâsî is applied to the singers who carry on the profession, generation by generation, and Mîrâsan to dancing girls who practise only before women. Kanjaṛ, prostitute's companion, is of course too plain a word to be used to the man himself, and will usually give offence. Mîrâsî softens down the ugliness of the occupation a little, but Ḍom, the caste name, is what they prefer.

(29.) Mîr and Mîrjî, nobleman, chief, used to Mîrâsîs, said to be a corruption from the syllable *mîr(âsî).*

(30.) Missar (Fallon has it *mishar*), a respectable person, a scholar (Sansk. *miśra*), is used towards Brâhmaṇs.

(31.) Lâlâ, cherished, used towards Khattri merchants and Banyas. Other forms of this word are Lâlâ Bhâî and Lâlâ Jî (whence the well-known Oriental name Lalage, which occurs in English romances and poems). *La'al* (Arab. ruby), as munshis love to write it, is incorrect.

(32.) Mistrî, foreman, a corruption of the English word master or mister, for any skilled workman or petty employer of labour; especially for Tarkhân, carpenter, Lohâr, smith, and Râj, mason.

(33.) Bûṛhâ and Buḍḍhâ, an old man, elder, for Mehtar, sweeper.

(34.) Miâṅ and Miâṅjî, master, prince, for Mudarris, schoolmaster, pedagogue: also for Mîrâsîs, arising probably out of their title *mîr*, as *miâṅ* is a corruption of the plu. *mîrân* of *mîr.*

Under this heading may also be added the following common titles of respect: they are worth recording as explanatory of the change of meaning the words are now undergoing:—

(35.) Paṇḍit, learned man, to any literate or influential Brâhmaṇ.

(36.) Maulvî, doctor, learned, to any literate or influential Musalmân.

(37.) Munshi, (Arab. "the increased," but in common parlance a writer), a writer, tutor, teacher of languages, author, to any Persian scholar.

(38.) Bâbu, properly a Bengâlî gentleman, but in the Panjâb originally a Bengâlî writer or clerk, *now* any clerk or English scholar, whatever his creed or nationality.

Characteristic Names.

(39.) Painch, Panjâbî form of *panch*, which stands for Sarpanch, a village headman or chief of the *panchâyat* or village assembly. This title is given to the Kahâr (or jhîwaṛ) carrier caste, from their habit of settling their internal disputes by caste panchâyats. It is also given to the Jaiswârâ caste of the North-West Provinces, who are syces, grass-cutters, &c. and who have a similar habit.

(40.) Râṭh, cruel, fearless, barbarous, is applied to Jaṭṭs, Dogars and Gujjars from their supposed characteristics.

(41.) Ṭhekadâr, contractor, for Râj, mason and for Bhaṛâî (or Tarkhan) carpenter. As most carpentry and building work is done on contract (*ṭheka*, piecework), so any petty mason or carpenter, who does petty repairs for Rs. 20 or so by the piece, calls himself Ṭhekadâr, contractor.

Nicknames.

(42.) Mangalmukhî or Manglâmukhi, merry-faced, for Kanjṛî, dancing girl: it is also applied to the Kanjaṛ, her attendant.

(43.) Baṛemiâṅ, great gentleman, head of a house, used towards old men of respectability, whatever their rank.

It will be as well to summarise the various appellations some castes have as a guide to further investigations, and it will be observed that the more unsavoury and also the more honourable an occupation is, the greater is the number of honorific names attached to it. Thus:—

(1.) Sweepers, scavengers; *mehtar*, lord; *jama'dâr*, chief; *sardâr*, chief; *lâlbêgî*, followers of Lâl Bêg; *bûṛhâ*, elder.

(2.) Singers with dancing girls: *mîrâsî*, inherited; *mîr* and *mîrjî*, chief; *miâṅ* and

miâṅjî, chief; *dâdâ*, grandfather, elder; *manglâmukhâ*, merry-faced.

(3.) Barbers: *râjâ*, king; *ṭhâkur*, lord; *khalîfa*, ruler.

(4.) Leather-workers: *Râodâs*, follower of Ravidâs; *jama'dâr*, chief; *mehtar*, lord; *Ramdassiâ*, follower of Gurû Râm Dâs; *Raghubansiâ*, descendant of Raghbîr the Bhagat.

(5.) Publicans and distillers: *Ahlûwâliâ*, of the Râjâ of Kapûrthalâ's family; *mehtar*, lord.

(6.) Carriers, porters: *chaudhrî*, headman; *painch*, headman; *mehrâ*, effeminate.

(7.) Bards: *shekh*, venerable; *râi* or *râo*, royal.

(8.) Religious mendicants: *bhâî*, friend; *shâh*, king; *dâdâ*, elder.

(9.) Labourers: *chaudhrî*, headman: *râth*, fearless.

(10.) Shoemakers: *mehtar*, lord.

(11.) Tailors: *khalîfa*, ruler.

(12.) Cooks; *khalîfa*, ruler.

(13.) Dancing-girls: *manglâmukhî*, merry-faced.

(14.) Grooms: *sâis*, nobleman; *bhagat*, saint; *painch*, headman.

(15.) Potters: *parjâpaṭ*, creator.

(16.) Carpenters: *Râmgaṛhiâ*, of the Râmgaṛhiâ family; *mistrî*, foreman; *ṭhekadâr*, contractor.

(17.) Gardeners: *chaudhrî*, headman.

(18.) Water-carriers: *bahishtî*, heavenly: *jama'dâr*, chief.

(19.) Skilled workmen, artizans: *mistrî*, foreman.

(20.) Smiths; *mistrî*, foreman.

(21.) Milkmen: *mahir*, headman; *râth*, fearless.

(22.) Market-gardeners: *mahir*, headman.

(23.) Valets, *sardâr*, chief.

(24.) Greengrocers: *mahir* and *mahrâ*, chief, headman.

(25.) Poets: *shâh*, king.

(26.) Old men: *baṛe miâṅ*, venerable, reverend.

(27.) Timber merchants, *bâwâ*, father, or descendant of a Sikh gurû.

(28.) Masons: *mistrî*, foreman; *ṭhekadâr*, contractor.

(29.) Tradesmen: *bhâî*, friend; *lâlâ*, cherished.

(30.) Pedagogues, schoolmasters: *khalîfa*, ruler; *miâṅ*, chief.

(31.) Merchants: *shâh*, king; *seṭh*, millionaire; *lâlâ*, cherished.

(32.) Clerks; *paṇḍit*, learned; *maulvî*, doctor; *munshi*, teacher; *bâbu*, gentleman.

(33.) Brâhmaṇs: *ṭhâkur*, lord; *rikhî*, saint; *mahitâ*, headman; *dâdâ*, elder; *missar*, respectable; *paṇḍit*, learned.

There is another custom to be mentioned in this connection which I believe is current all over India. If any member of a family particularly distinguishes himself either by office or in any other way, he frequently bequeaths the title he has gained for himself to all his descendants, even if these come afterwards to be of humble station. Carmichael Smyth (*Reigning Family of Lahore*, Append. ii) says: "In mentioning a Sing (Sikh) it is the usual custom to add or mention likewise either the name of his village, district, occupation, or family, by which he may be distinguished from any other of the same name, thus Futty Sing Alloowalla, (Fatteh Singh Âhlûwâliâ) &c."

Instances of such honorific family distinctions about Firozpûr are *Pîr*, given to a Paṭhân family of Kasûr, *once* celebrated for its sanctity; *Râî* to another in remembrance of this title being conferred for one life only by the British Government in honour of a large inn or Sarâî built by the head of it in the last generation. *Diwân* because one of the family is now a Diwân of a native State. *Wazîr*[5] is in remembrance of the former grandeur of an old Musalmân family. The *Hakîm* family are so called because of a famous "doctor" of the last generation. *Faqîr* is the *soubriquet*, title or surname of a well-known and influential Lahôr family of fame during the time of the Mahârâjâ Ranjît Singh.[6] Sometimes this goes further and whole communities are called after some real or supposed common ancestor, as the Pîrzâdâs of Sadhaurâ in the Ambâlâ District, the descendants of the saint Shâh Kumê.

As might be expected from what has just been recorded, the great Panjâbî religious move-

[5] I think Grant Duff mentions somewhere in his *History of the Mahrattas* that the family of the unfortunate Afzûl Khân, who was murdered by Sivajî at the ever memorable tragedy at Pratâpgarh in 1757, still survives at Bîjapur with the title or surname of Wazîr.

[6] I believe in the neighbourhood of Kakinâda, Masulipatam, and other old European stations, are to be found Tamil and Telugu families of natives bearing corruptions of European surnames. These are the descendants of the servants of former factors and writers, who have preserved in their families the names of their old employers.

ment has left behind it many family surnames or appellatives. These are restricted to such Sikh families as were specially distinguished by the presence in them of former Gurûs or Sikh leaders. Of these I may mention—though doubtless others exist—the Bâwâs or descendants of the second Gurû Angad, formerly held in high respect, but now much deteriorated. The Sodhîs or descendants of the fourth Gurû Râm Dâs, the Bhâîs or saints and their descendants[7] and the Gurûs or descendants of Bâbâ Nânak himself, and lastly the Bêdîs or "caste" of Gurû Nânak.[8] Similarly the chief families of the followers of Sakhî Sarwar Sultân are called Sultânîs.

An enquiry into such family names might lead to much useful and curious information being unearthed.

These family honorific adjectives or titles may be the commencement of a system of surnames, which in Europe were apparently originally nothing more than appellative adjectives and are not so old as one would suppose. They began, of course, with the territorial family appellatives of the ruling classes, and something of the same kind seems to be commencing in India.

In the Panjâb, many of the great Sikh families, or perhaps more correctly groups of families, besides having such names as those already quoted above, have regular territorial surnames much like our Scotch and Welsh clan surnames. These are very numerous. Such are Phûlkiâñ, (whence spring the Mahârâjâs of Patiâlâ, the Râjâs of Jhînd and Nâbhâ and the Sirdârs of Kalsiâ), Laudghariâ,[9] Kâlsiâ, Sabâdîâ, Majîthiâ, Nalwâ, Bhaikiâñ, Singhpuriâ *alias* Faizullapuriâ *alias* Gujrâtiâ, Ahlûwâliâ, (whence the Râjâs of Kapûrthalâ,) Siâlbâ, Kâlekâ, Sukarchakiâ, (the family of Ranjît Singh and Mahârâjâs of Lâhor), Râmgarhiâ, Landawâlâ, Bûriâ, Narwâriâ, Krora-Singhiâ, Wazîrâbâdiâ, Malod, Bhadauriâ, Kaliâñwâlâ, Râmpuriâ, Kot-Dûnâ, Diâlpuriâ, Badrukhâñ, Jiûndâñ, Maghariâ, Mansâhiâ, Jullâwaliâ, Kanhaiyâ, Golêriâ.[10]

The above may be called Territorial Names, but there exists also, I have no doubt, a regular class of geographical caste names which would be well worth enquiring into. M. Barth, *Religions of India*, (Trübner's ed.) pp. xvii. says: "A man who is a member of a caste is a Hindu: he who is not is not a Hindu," and I think most students of modern Indian religions will agree with him. Caste names will therefore be derived from many sources:—they will be historical, local, mythical, territorial, geographical and what not, and an enquiry into their etymology would doubtless be a valuable contribution to the ethnology of the Hindus. For instance, a man in court gave me as his "caste" Chanderî, Chandariâ or Chandelî. On further enquiry it turned out he was a Kahâr by caste, and that the tribal name he gave had reference to the real or supposed migration of his caste from Chanderî—now a decayed town or fort in Sindhiâ's territory, but once a place of great importance. It might also have happened that his caste migrated from the Chandaulî District near Banâras. Now, on turning to Carnegy's *Kachahri Technicalities*, article "Chandelî," I find that "*chandelî* is a very fine cotton fabric, so costly as to be used only in native courts. It is made exclusively of Amrâotî cotton, and every care is taken in its manipulation. The weavers work in a dark subterranean room, of which the walls are kept damp to prevent dust from flying about. The chief care is bestowed in the preparation of the thread, which when of very fine quality sells for its weight in silver. It is strange that women are allowed to take no part in any of the processes. Chandelîs derive their name from Chanderî on the left bank of the Betwâ in Sindhia's Territory." This account makes the caste Julâhâs rather than Kahârs and the tribal name purely geographical. An examination of Sherring's long lists of Brahman and Râjpût Tribes in vol. III pp. xix—lxviii of his *Hindu Tribes and Castes* shows undoubtedly that many of the tribal names are geographical. I know from my own

[7] The Bhâîs of Kaithal have played a prominent part in Sikh history. See Griffin, *passim*.

[8] All these surnames as it were precede the individual distinguishing names—Christian names as we call them, but it should be remembered that Hungarian surnames do the same, thus Deak Ferenz, *not* Francis Deak as we should write it, was the name of the celebrated patriot.

[9] As the name signifies, this is the *younger branch* of the Phûlkiâñ family, whence the Gûmtî, Diâlpuriâ, Râmpuria and Kot Dûnâ Sikhs, who though not territorially great or independent are noble and marry into the royal families of Patiâlâ, Jhînd and Nâbhâ. Griffin, p. 279.

[10] This final *iâ*, properly *îâ*, is, the natives say, a corruption of the vocative case (?) and is used in many parts of the Panjâb for any dweller in another part, thus *Firozpuriâ de kol jâ*, Go to the Firozpurite, would be used in Ambâlâ. It is not confined to Sikhs, as there is a well-known "caste" of Sayyids in the Ambâlâ district called Siâniâ or Siwâniâ.

researches that the Khappari Brâhmaṇs of Kâshmîr and the Panjâb Himâlayas derive names from certain modern superstitious customs, and so do the Musalman Ḥijras of the Panjâb and North West Provinces I feel sure that a detailed examination of the origin of caste and tribal names would prove a mine of valuable information as to the customs and habits of the natives.

To return to the family distinguishing names. The peculiar cognomens of the three Dakhani dynasties are well known. Every ruler of each race used the same name, thus, 'Âdil Shâh of Bîjâpûr, Kutb Shâh of Golkonda, and Nizâm Shâh of Aḥmadnagar. Also the reigning Râjâs of the Panjâbî Hill State of Mandî are called Sen, as Hari Sen, Balbîr Sen, and so on, whereas the other members of the family are called Singh, as Bhûp Singh, Kapûr Singh, etc. (Griffin, p. 573).

Again, among Afghân rulers it was apparently the custom to name the various sons of each mother by names running in the same way, thus 12 of the 18 sons of Paind Khâñ, founder of the Bârakzai royal family of Kâbul by three mothers, were named in groups thus, (I) Pûrdil Khâñ, Sherdil Khâñ, Kohandil Khâñ, Rahamdil Khâñ, Mihardil Khâñ; (II) Sultân Muḥammad Khâñ, Yâr Muḥammad Khâñ, Pîr Muḥammad Khâñ, Sayad Muḥammad Khâñ; (III) Nawâb Âsad Khâñ, Nawâb Sama't Khâñ, Nawâb Jabar Khâñ (*J. A. S. Beng.*, Vol. XLIX. 1880, Pt. I. p. 97). Something of the same kind occurs among the greater Muḥammadan familes, thus Aḥmad Khâñ is the distinguishing appellation of the Lohâru family of the Panjâb (Mughals). And I know of one Muhammadan family in the Firozpûr neighbourhood—not great but respectable—whose names all turn on the word *Ḥaqq*, as Ahsânu-'l-haqq, Surâju-'l-haqq, and so on.

All these may be the beginnings of a system of surnames on the European model. I do not say they are, but would remark that it will become more and more necessary, as the horizon of Indian life widens with increased communications, to distinguish men and families.

THE RITES OF RENUKÂ AMMÂ AT CHANDRAGUTTI.

BY V. N. NARASIMMIYENGAR.

Replying to Major E. W. West's query at page 245 vol. X (September 1881) of the *Antiquary*, I describe below a similar religious observance obtaining in Maisûr at the present day.

In the half *malnâd* or hilly Taluk of Sorab is the small village of Chandragutti, nestling at the foot of a lofty hill of the same name, situated in the extreme north-west corner of the province of Maisûr; latitude 14° 27′ N. and longitude 75° E.

There is a temple in it, dedicated to Rêṇukâ Ammâ, the murdered mother of Paraśurâma, the sixth avatâra of Vishṇu. The shrine is in the enjoyment of considerable inâms, both in land and cash, and is the object of periodical pilgrimages from the neighbouring populations.

The most remarkable fairs or *pariśês* are held—

(1). On the full moon day of Chaitra the 1st month of the Hindu lunar year.

(2). On the full-moon day of Jyeshṭha, the 3rd month. This full-moon is locally known as Agê Huṇṇumi or full-moon of paddy nurseries.

(3). Navarâtrî or the Dasarâ.

The devotees who visit the shrine on the first occasion generally do not come for the third fair, and *vice versâ*. It is the belief that such an act would provoke the goddess to do harm to the transgressors. Besides the offerings (*sêvê*) usually made at the fairs held at Hindu temples elsewhere, the following special services in fulfilment of previously registered vows are performed on the special anniversaries by people (1) desirous of having issue, and (2) suffering from chronic and troublesome diseases. The time for the performance of the vows is generally between 5 and 9 A.M.

(i) *Tulâ bhâra* or balancing service.

(ii) *Gandhada udigê* or sandal dress.

(iii) *Bêvina udigê* or Nîm dress.

(i) For the *Tulâ bhâra*, the devotee weighs himself or herself against cash, or fruit, utensils, or grain, and the latter is presented to the temple, besides a fee of 8 annas per head. Individuals of all ages and sexes make this offering.

(ii) The *Gandhada udigê* service is performed by persons of both sexes. The individual making the vow is required to proceed from his home to the temple, in a state of nudity, with the body thickly smeared with sandal paste, on the *pariśê* day. He does not touch food or drink from the time he starts from home till, in the midst of the crowd, he arrives

at the gate or *mahâdvâra* of the temple, and on entering it he prostrates himself near the Dhvajastambha or the monolithic flagstaff, when the *pûjâri* or attendant of the goddess gives him the sacred water and *prasâd* called *tîrtha* and *bhandâra*, immediately after which his clothes are given to him by his attendant relatives or friends. A fee or *kâṇike* of one anna is paid per head for this vow.

(iii) Persons of both sexes observe the vow of *Bêvina udige.* *Bêvu* or *Nîm* is a tree which does not grow in the locality, and therefore the pilgrims have recourse to the *lakli* shrub, with the leaves of which they dress themselves from the neck to the knees, having previously stripped themselves. Some of them also lock up their mouths with a wire lock (*bâyi bîga*), and observe strict silence during the rite. Others, more enthusiastic, wrap their fingers with rags, and carry a light fed on ghee in the palm of their hands called "*Kai ârati.*" This rite brings in a revenue of four annas per head to the temple.

These gatherings, though held under the cloak of religion, give scope, as may be naturally expected, to much immorality. There is a tradition that, till within few years ago, barren women used to vow on the occasion of these fairs at Chandragutti to have illegal intercourse in one night with more than one stranger in order that the goddess might bless them with children. Happily this detestable practice is a thing of the past.

Togarsi in the neighbouring Taluk of Shikâripur is also the scene of an annual *mêla* or *parišé*, at which somewhat similar observances take place. Immoral and vicious exhibitions at religious gatherings however are fast dying out, and are certainly very much discouraged now-a-days by the more intelligent classes.

ON THE ABSENCE OF THE GUṆA CHANGE OF BHÛ IN THE PRETERIT.

BY WM. GOONETILLEKE, HON. SECRETARY, ORIENTAL LIBRARY, KANDY, CEYLON.

The *sûtra* Pâṇini VII. 3, 84, interpreted and explained by Pâṇini I. 1, 3, requires the substitution of *guṇa* for the final *ik* of a base when a *sârvadhâtuka* or an *ârdhadhâtuka* affix follows. When, therefore, the substitutes of *liṭ*, which are *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes (III. 4, 115), follow the root *bhû*, the vowel *û* should be changed to *o*, unless some other rule of Pâṇini prevents the operation of VII. 3, 84, or some valid reasons exist why the change should not take place. The rule I. 2, 6, इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च, in which the words लिट् and कित् are valid from the immediately preceding *sûtra*, would prohibit the operation of VII. 3, 84, but Kâtyâyana interposes a vârttika questioning the necessity for this *sûtra* and treating it as superfluous. If, then, this rule is struck off from Pâṇini's work as being unnecessary or superfluous, the question arises, what is there to prevent the operation of VII. 3, 84 in the case mentioned?

Before entering upon this inquiry, it is necessary to ascertain what the *sûtra* I. 2, 6 really means. Dr. Goldstücker, one of the ablest of orientalists, has translated it, or rather a portion of it, somewhat incorrectly in his great work entitled *Pâṇini—his place in Sanskrit Literature*—although he seems to have thoroughly understood both its meaning and its application. His translation is as follows:—"The radical *indh* is *kit* in *liṭ*" (page 123). The *sûtra* mentions two radicals, *indh* and *bhû*, and the translation of the entire *sûtra* would, according to him, be,—"The radicals *indh* and *bhû* are *kit* in *liṭ*." This rendering is faulty in more than one respect. In the first place it is not the radicals that are *kit*, but it is *liṭ* that is so. *Kit* is a *bahuvrîhi* compound meaning, having *k* as an *it* or indicatory letter. Goldstücker was perhaps led to believe hastily and without close examination that it was an epithet of *indhibhavatibhyâm*, but this cannot be, as this term is in the ablative case, and *kit* is in the nominative. Apart from this, we nowhere find *k* in Pâṇini's system as an *it* of a root, although we find it so in Vôpadêva's system, where the *k* shews that a root to which it is attached is in the tenth conjugation. In the second place the rendering "in *liṭ*" appears to me to be incorrect and devoid of any meaning. It is difficult to see what meaning is conveyed by the sentence "*indh* is *kit* in *liṭ*." By the words "in *liṭ*" Goldstücker might have intended the meaning "in the preterit," but it must be remembered that *liṭ* is the name given to the *terminations* of the preterit—not to the tense itself.

The correct rendering of the *sûtra* would, I think, be—"*Liṭ* is *kit* after the radicals *indh* and *bhû*," or in other words—"The terminations called *liṭ* are as if they have an indicatory *k* when they follow the radicals *indh* and *bhû*." It is the terminations—not the radicals—that are made to have the *it k*. The office of *k* in the case of the root *bhû* (for we are not now concerned with *indh*) is to prevent the guṇa change of the final *û* by I. 1, 5. The rule I. 2, 6, although it speaks of all the terminations called *liṭ*, was really needed for *ṇal* and *thal*, as by the preceding *sûtra*, I. 2, 5, the other terminations, *atus*, *us*, &c., would have an indicatory *k* when following such a root as *bhû*.

The vârttika of Kâtyâyana to this sûtra is इन्धेश्छन्दोविषयत्वाद्भुवो वुको नित्यत्वात्ताभ्यां लिटः किद्वचनानर्थक्यम् || Patanjali explains this vârttika as regards *bhû* in the following words—भवतेरपि नित्यो वुक् । कृते गुणे प्राप्नोति । अकृते ऽपि प्राप्नोति || The reason given here for treating the rule as unnecessary as regards *bhû* is that *vuk* is *nitya*. This has reference to the *sûtra* VI. 4, 88, which teaches that *vuk* shall be the augment of *bhû* when *luṅ* or *liṭ* beginning with a vowel follows. To understand the expression that this *vuk* is *nitya*, it is necessary to examine the *paribhâshâs* 38 and 42 in Nâgeśa's *Paribhâshenduśekhara*. If there are two rules, *a* and *b*, which are applicable simultaneously, and which are such that *a* would apply, whether *b* has taken effect or not, but, on the other hand, *b* would apply only if *a* has not taken effect; then *a* would be called *nitya* and *b* *anitya*. Of two such rules the *nitya* has greater force than the *anitya*, even if the latter be *para*. Now, the two rules, VI. 4, 88, which teaches the augment *vuk*, and VII. 3, 84, which teaches the substitution of *guṇa*, are two such rules. The former would apply, whether the latter has taken effect or not, for व् may be added to *bhû* as well as to *bho*. But if the former has first taken effect and *bhûv* has been obtained, the latter would cease to be applicable. For as *paribhâshâ* XI teaches that an augment is part of that to which it is added, the whole form *bhûv* would be a base, and its vowel *û* cannot be changed to *o* by VII. 3, 84, as it is not final, nor by VII. 3, 86, as it is not short. The rule, VI. 4, 88, is therefore *nitya*, and VII. 3, 84 *anitya*. The former should therefore apply, and not the latter, and hence the guṇa change does not take place and we get the correct words बभूव and बभूविथ with out the aid of I. 2, 6.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 115.)

No. CXXII.

After Dantidurga, the succession went to his paternal uncle, Kṛishṇa I., also called Vallabha I. There are two explanations given of this. The Baroda plates state that Kṛishṇa I. ousted "his relative," *i. e.* Dantidurga, who had fallen into evil ways, and appropriated the sovereignty for the good of his race. While the Kardâ plates, of considerably later date, state that Dantidurga died childless. Kṛishṇa I. continued the conquests of Dantidurga, and is described as dispersing the darkness which was the race of the Chalukyas, and as depriving them of the goddess of sovereignty.[1] An allusion to the same fact is also made in the statement that he changed into a deer, *i. e.* put to flight, the *Mahâvarâha*, or 'the great boar', the family-emblem of the Chalukyas and Chalukyas. It is also said that he established himself at the hill or hill-fort of Êlâpura, where there was a famous temple of the god Svayambhû-Śiva. This place has not been identified, I believe; but it seems to me not unlikely that it is the modern Yellâpur,[2] in the North Canara District, in the Western Ghauts.

Kṛishṇa I. left two sons. Of the elder, Gôvinda II., also called Vallabha II., we have no historical details, except that he did

[1] The Wani-Diṇḍôri, Râdhanpur, and Sâṅgli plates, of Śaka 728, 729, and 855, respectively.—In the last of them, which will be published in due course, l. 8, the name (whether for metrical purposes or from accuracy of tradition) is properly written Chalukya, with the vowel of the first syllable short. While in the Wani-Diṇḍôri plates, No. CXXV. below, l. 4, and in the Râdhanpur plates, l. 4, where exactly the same verse is given, the name is curiously enough (though perhaps only for metrical reasons) written Châlukya, with the vowel of the first syllable long, though this form of the name was not used by the Chalukyas themselves till the restoration of the dynasty under Taila II. in Śaka 895.

[2] Lat 14° 59′ N.; Long. 74° 47′ E.

succeed to the sovereignty but was dethroned by his younger brother.

This younger brother was Dhruva, or Dhôra, also called Nirupama I., Dhârâvarsha, Kalivallabha, and Iddhatêjas; and he is the next, after Dantidurga, of whose reign any epigraphical remains are as yet known to be extant. We have only one inscription of his time; I publish it herewith from the original stone, with a facsimile.[3]

It is on the front pillar in the west half of the north porch of the temple of the god Virûpâksha, originally Lôkêśvara, at Paṭṭadakal in the Kalâdgi District. The writing covers a space of about 1′ 10″ high by 2′ 1″ broad. The language is Old-Canarese; and it records some grants made by one of the harlots of the temple. The inscription is not dated; but the date of it will be about Śaka 700 (A. D. 778-9). Dhruva is mentioned in this inscription under the names of Dhârâvarsha and Kaliballaha,—the latter being the Prâkṛit correlative of the Sanskrit Kalivallabha, just as Dhôra is of Dhruva.

The present inscription shews that by Dhruva's time the Râshṭrakûṭa power was fully established in at least the north and north-eastern parts of the Western Chalukya dominions. And, in respect of his relations with the other kings of the south, the Waṇi-Diṇḍôri and Râdhanpur plates record that he conquered and imprisoned the Gaṅga king; and the Râdhanpur plates state also that he caused the Pallava king to bow down before him. And Mr. Rice states that his name of Nirupama occurs in a mutilated Pallava inscription on the temple of Râmaliṅgêśvara at 'Avani', in which the Pallava king's name is Noḷambâdhirâja; the same name, Noḷamba, occurring also, he states, in a fragmentary Pallava inscription of Śaka 690 at 'Gûlgânpode' in Maisûr.[4]

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Dhârâva[r*]sha śri(śrî)-pṛithu(thi)vivallabha mahârâjâdhirâja
[2] paramêśvara bhaṭṭâra[5] Śrî-Kaliballahan pṛii(pṛi)thu(thi)vî-
[3] râjya[ṁ*]-geye Lô(lô)kamahâdêviyara dêgu-
[4] lada sûḷe Gôvinda-poḍḍiya magaḷu Bâdi(?ḷi)-
[5] poḍḍiy=emboḷ uttama-gôsâsam-iḷdoḷ a-
[6] śvaratha[ṁ*]-goṭṭoḷ=hastiratham-iḷdoḷ
[7] bhûmi-dânamuṁ ubhayamukhiyuṁ=koṭṭâḷ [||*]

Translation.

Hail! While Dhârâvarsha, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the worshipful one, (*also named*) Śrî-Kaliballaha, was ruling the world:—

(L. 3.)—Bâdipoḍḍi,[6] the daughter of Gôvindapoḍḍi, a harlot of the temple of (*the queen*) Lôkamahâdêvî,[7]—who had (*previously*) given an excellent . . . . ;[8] who had given a horse-chariot; and who had given an elephant-chariot,—gave a grant of land and an *ubhayamukhî*.[9]

No. CXXIII.

Dhruva was succeeded by his eldest son, Gôvinda III. or Prabhûtavarsha I., also called Jagattuṅga I., Jagadrudra I., Vallabhanarêndra I., Śrîvallabha, and Pṛithvîvallabha. We have three entire inscriptions of his time. The earliest of them is the accompanying one, of which an imperfect lithograph, evidently from inferior ink-impressions, has been published by Dr. Burnell in his *South-Indian Palæography*, Plate XXVI.[10] I edit it from the original plates, which belong to Sir Walter Elliot. No information is forthcoming as to where they were found; but it must have been somewhere in the Canarese country.

The plates are three in number, each about $5\frac{3}{4}''$ long by $2\frac{1}{2}''$ broad; they are smooth and flat, the edges of them not having been made with raised or thickened rims. The surfaces

[3] *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*, No. 60.

[4] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. lvi. See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X., p. 36.

[5] This is the earliest instance that I have met with of the word *bhaṭâra* being spelt with a double *ṭ*,—*bhaṭṭâra*.

[6] *Poḍḍi, boḍḍi*, 'a harlot.'

[7] The queen of the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya II. She had this temple built in commemoration of her husband having three times conquered Kâñchî, or the Pallava king whose capital was Kâñchî; see Vol. X., p. 163.

[8] The meaning of *gôsâsam* is not apparent.

[9] A cow, or the image of a cow, in the act of bringing forth a calf, when there are apparently two mouths or faces to only one body.

[10] Dr. Burnell calls it a Chêra grant. But this is a mistake.

of the plates are a good deal corroded here and there; but for the most part the inscription is perfectly legible throughout. The ring on which the plates are strung is about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter; it had been cut before the plates came into my hands. The seal on the ring is circular, about $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter; and it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, a much worn representation of the god Śiva, sitting with his knees bent so that the soles of his feet touch each other, and facing to the full front, and holding a serpent in each hand, with apparently their hoods expanded above his shoulders. The image, in fact, is very similar to that on the seal of the grant of Dantidurga or Dantivarmâ II., No. CXXI. at p. 108 above. The language of the present inscription is Old-Canarese.

It is an inscription of Gôvinda III., or Gôyinda, as the name is here corruptly written; and it is dated Śaka 726 for 725 (A. D. 803-4), the Subhânu *samvatsara.* It gives us the name of Gâmuṇḍabbe as the wife of Gôvinda III. And the object of it is to record that,—having conquered Dantiga, the king of Kañchi or Kâñchî, who must therefore have been of the Pallava dynasty,—Gôvinda III., on his way to levy tribute, came to a *tîrtha* or sacred place called Râmêśvara, on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, and there, having had some sport with wild boars, and being consequently pleased with the place, conferred upon a *Gorava* or priest of the Kuruba caste, named Śivadhârî, a grant which had been previously given to the god Paramêśvara or Śiva by a certain king Kîrttivarmâ.

The Kîrttivarmâ who is mentioned in this inscription is evidently either the Western Chalukya king Kîrttivarmâ II., for whom we have the dates of Śaka 669 and 677, or his cousin Kîrttivarmâ III. Mr. Rice, who has published a transcription and partial translation of this grant in his *Mysore Inscriptions,* p. lvii, note *, states that Ramêśvara-*tîrtha* is an island in the Tuṅgabhadrâ, in a bend of the river a few miles to the north of, *i.e.* below, the junction of the Tuṅgâ and the Bhadrâ; in his map of ancient Maisûr, he places it where the modern maps place 'Anavaree,' in Lat. 14° 4′ N., Long. 75° 49′ E. He further gives the purport of the inscription as being that Govinda III. was "receiving from (?) Vattiga, then ruler of Kâñchî, certain tribute collected for him by the Châlukya king, Kîrttivarmâ III., who, as I gather, may have married the Raṭṭa king's daughter,[11] and to whom this tribute had been assigned, perhaps as her dowry, with authority to her husband to collect it." This, however, is hardly in accordance with the text.

The present expedition of Gôvinda III. to the Tuṅgabhadrâ, which resulted in his conquest for the second time of the Pallavas, who had already been subjugated once by his father Dhruva, is recorded also in his two subsequent inscriptions,—the Waṇi-Diṇḍôri plates, dated Śaka 730 for 728, the Vyaya *saṁvatsara,* the next that I shall edit; and the Râdhanpur plates, dated Śaka 730 for 729, the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara,* already edited by Dr. Bühler. In respect of his relations with the kings of the south, the same two inscriptions also tell us that he released from captivity the Gaṅga king, who had been imprisoned by his father, but shortly had to again reduce him to subjection and imprison him. And the second of them speaks of the lord of Veṅgî, *i. e.* his contemporary of the Eastern Chalukya family,[12] in such a way as to show that he must have been a feudatory of Gôvinda III.; it states that, at the command of Gôvinda, the lord of Veṅgî came and worked for him like a servant, and built for him the high walls of a town or fortress.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti Śaka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsaraṁgaḷ=êḷnûṟ=î(i)rppatt-âṟane-
[2] yâ Subhânu embhâ(mbâ) varshadâ Vaisâ(śâ)kha-mâsa-kṛishṇa-pa-
[3] ksha-pañchamê(mi)-Bṛihaspatî(ti)vâram=âgî(gi) Svastî(sti) Prabhû-
[4] tavarsha-śrîpṛithu(thi)vîvallabha-mahârâjâdhî(dhi)râja-pa[ra*]mê-

[11] Mr. Rice translates the inscription so as to make Gâmuṇḍabbe the daughter of Gôvinda III. But she was his wife.

[12] This must apparently be Vijayâditya, also called N[illegible], whose reign was from about Śaka 71[illegible] to about Śaka 7[illegible].

I.

IIa.

IIb.

III.

J. F. FLEET DEL.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH PECKHAM.

ON A PILLAR IN THE NORTH PORCH OF THE TEMPLE OF VIRUPAKSHA, AT PATTADAKAL

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. BURGESS.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM.

IN A CELL NEAR THE TEMPLE OF GALIGANATHA, AT AIHOLE.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

OVER THE DOOR TO THE SHRINE OF MUKADEVI, AT NANDWADIGE.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

[7] Avam-Gôyindara bhaṭârarâ Gâmuṇḍabbegal[13] mahâdê-
[8] viyâ(ya)r=â[14]gi(gi) râjyâ(jya)-pra[va]rddhamâna-kâladol

Second plate; first side.

[9] Kâñchiyan=âḷvâ Dantiganame geldu kappa[ṁ]-goḷa-
[10] l-bandalli Tuṁgabhadreyâ taḍiyoḷ=tâṇa-biḍuga-
[11] ḷeildu Râmêśvara emba tîrtthadâ modaloḷ=mepp-i-
[12] kki porada pandigaḷan=iriyal=bandalli(lli) tîrttham=oḷpa-
[13] n=kaṇḍu Śivadhâri emba goravargge mu(?muṁ)du(?)mbeya-
[14] manuntu Kittḥi(rtti)vammô(rmma)râja-Paramêśvaradattamân=vittâ[r*] [||*] I-

Second plate; second side.

[15] i[15]daṁ keḍisidaroḷ=a(â)r=appoḍe int-app-ât [||*]
[16] Sva-dattâ[ṁ*] para-datta(ttâ)m[16]=bâ(vâ) yô harêti(ta) vasu-
[17] ndharâṇ(m) shashṭhi(shṭi)-varsha-sahasrâṇî(ṇi) vishṭhâ-
[18] yâṁ jâyatê krimi[ḥ*] api varsha-sahasrâṇi(ṇi)

Third plate.

[19] têna mê n=ânyatô bhayaṁ [||*] Pûrvva-sthiti Ku-
[20] nd=emba tore mêre [||*] Mahâsandhivigrâ(gra)hâ[17]dhî(dhi)-
[21] kâra(â)dhi(dhi)patê[ḥ*] Śrîdharasya li(li)khî(khi)taḥ(ṁ) sya[18] [||*]

Translation.

Hail! On Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha of the year called Subhânu, which was the seven hundred and twenty-sixth[19] of the years that had elapsed from the time of the Śaka king:—

(L. 3.)—Hail! While Gâmuṇḍabbe was the queen of Prabhûtavarsha, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, Gôyinda, the worshipful one:—

(L. 6.)—When (*the king*), in the increasing time of his reign, having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kâñchi, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadre, and when, having at (*his*) first (*visit*) approved of the *tîrtha* called Râmêśvara, he came (*there again*) to spear the boars that had been preserved (*for his sport*),—having seen that the *tîrtha* was an excellent one, he allotted to the *Gorava* named Śivadhâri, ...[20] the grant of king Kîrttivarmâ to (*the god*) Paramêśvara. If there be any one (*taking part*) among those who injure this, he is such (*a sinner as they are*)!

(L. 14.)—He is born as a worm in ordure, for the duration of sixty thousand years, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another,—and even for thousands of years (*more*); therefore have I no fear of any other person (*injuring this grant*)!

(L. 17.)—The ancient position (*of this grant*) is,—the boundary is the stream called Kundu.

(L. 18).—(*This is*) the writing of the *Mahâsandhivigrahâdhikârâdhipati*[21] Śrîdhara.

[13] These two letters, *gal*, were at first omitted, and then inserted below the following letter *ma*.

[14] This letter, *râ*, was at first omitted, and then inserted below the line and between the *yâ* and *ei*.

[15] This letter, *i*, is repeated unnecessarily.

[16] This is the earliest genuine instance that I know of, of the use of this second form of the letter *m*.

[17] This letter, *hâ*, was at first omitted, and then inserted below the following letter *dhî*.

[18] This letter, *sya*, is quite without meaning, unless it is intended for the Sanskrit *syât*.

[19] According to the Tables in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, however, Śaka 726 was the Târaṇa *saṁvatsara*, and the Subhânu or Svabhânu *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 725.

[20] The meaning of *mu(?muṁ)du(?)mbeyamanuntu*, l. 11-12, is not apparent. If we take the words to be *mund-umbeyam-anuntu*, the meaning may possibly be "saying that it was to be his future subsistence." Or, if we read *ḍu* instead of *du*, and take the mark over the *mu* to be a flaw in the copper and not an *Anusvâra*, the meaning may then be connected with *muḍupu*, 'an offering to an idol.'—I do not think the word *tumbe* 'the large black carpenter-bee,' can be brought into the sentence, as Mr. Rice brings it, though of course it would become *dumbe* in composition.

[21] *i. e.* "the great officer who presides over the control of peace and war."

A BAKTRO-PÂLI INSCRIPTION OF SUIBÂHÂRA.[1]

BY PANDIT BHAGVÂNLÂL INDRAJÎ.

The inscription, a transcript and translation of which I give herewith, was discovered in the year 1869 by Rev. G. Yeates from a tope standing on a site called Suibâhâra,[2] situated about 2 miles off the road from Bhâvalpura to Aḥmadapura, and about 16 miles distant from the village of Bhâvalpura in Sindh.

I had an opportunity of visiting Calcutta in the year 1874, when I took copies of several inscriptions in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the late Dr. Bhau Daji. Along with the others I took a tracing of the inscription in question also. It is engraved round the rim of a square copper plate, three sides of which have a whole line each, while the fourth side is only partially engraved. The letters are distinct and clear; the following is a transcript:—

Transcript.

[1] महाराजस्स राजातिराजस्स देवपुत्रस्स कनि-
ष्कस्स संवत्सरे एकादशे सं० ११ दइसिकस्स
मासस दिवसे. अठविसे दि २८

[2] अत्र दिवसे भिछुस्स नागदत्तस्स ताखसेलिस्स(?)
आचाय्य-दामत्रात-शिष्यस्स आचाय्य-कविप्र-
शिष्यस्स यठिं आरोपयत इह दमने

[3] विहारस्वामिनि उपासिकाअ आनंदिअ छिति-
निअ लुजाय मातु च इमं यठि-प्रतिठान
अपनो च अनुपरिवारं ददाति सव्वसत्वानं

[4] हितसुखाय भवतु ।

In the Kapurdigaḍi Baktro-pâli inscription of Aśoka, the distinction between *a* and *â* is clearly marked. There the letter *a* is written thus 𐨀 while in writing *â*, the lower stroke is not made curved upwards as in *a*, but it is left straight thus 𐨀. The same rule is applied in joining these two vowels to other consonants which have their final strokes pointing downwards, as for instance in *ka* and *kâ*, but in the case of compounding these vowels with consonants such as *ma*, &c., which have no stroke pointing downwards, the distinction is shown by putting a dot below the latter to denote short *ma*, and nothing to make *mâ*. They are written respectively thus 𐨨 (म) and 𐨨 (मा). This system, however, does not seem to have been continued in later times as consonants with the vowels *a* and *â* are written alike. For this reason I have taken the liberty of reading long or short letters wherever I thought it necessary to do so.

For राजाधिराज is written राजातिराज: this form of the title is common in ancient Nâgari inscriptions of the time of Huvishka and also in the Baktro-pâli legends of the Greek coins.

At the beginning of the second line, a letter occurs, which looks like *u*, and the word might be read *utra*, but in this place it would have no meaning, and without being able to give a reason for omitting the lower portion of the letter, I read *atra divase*, which is equal to the Sanskrit *asmin divase*, 'on this day': this reading appears probable. But if for *utra* we read *uta*, it may be taken to be a corruption of *ukta*, i. e. aforesaid.

ताखसेलिस is a Prâkṛit form of the Sanskṛit ताक्षशैलस्य which means a resident of Taxila.

The name of the teacher (âchârya) which I have read as दामत्रात may also be read as दमत्रत, owing to the uncertainty regarding the long and short vowels already mentioned.

The name *Kavi* may also be read *Bhavi*.

यठि I think stands for the Prâkṛit अठि and Sanskṛit अस्थि—a bone.

Sanskṛit version.

[1] महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनि-
ष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकादशे सं ११ दइसिकस्य
मासस्य दिवसे अष्टाविंशे दि० २८

[2] अस्मिन्दिवसे भिक्षोर्नागदत्तस्य ताक्षशैलस्या-
चार्यदामत्रात शिष्यस्याचार्यकविप्रशिष्यस्यास्थि
आरोपयत् इह दमने

[3] विहारस्वामिन्या उपासिकाया आनन्द्याः क्षत्रि-
ण्या लुजाया मातु रिदमस्थि-प्रतिष्ठानं आत्म-
नश्चानुपरिवारं ददाति सर्व्वसत्वानां
हितसुखाय भवतु ।

Translation.

On the 28th (twenty-eighth) day of the month of Daisika (Dæsius) in the eleventh year S. 11 of Kanishka, the great king, great king of kings, the Dêvaputra. On this day, the relics

[1] This paper reached us after Dr. Hoernle's paper on the same subject (vol. X. p. 324f.), but before it was printed. We have omitted the author's account of previous translations, and his copy.—Ed. *I. A.*

[2] Vide *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXXIX, p. 65.

of the mendicant Nâgadata (San. Nâgadatta), a resident of Taxila, (?) disciple of Âchârya Dâmatrâta and grand disciple of Âchârya Kavi, are deposited. This repository of relics here in Damana (*is that*) of the worshipper Ânandî —the mistress of the Vihâra, a Kshatri woman and mother of Lujâ. She together with her family presented it; may this be for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

REMARKS.

This inscription records the date on which the relics of a mendicant called Nâgadatta, who was a resident of Taxila and disciple of the Âchârya Dâmatrâta, and grand disciple of Âchârya Kavi, were deposited. The chamber in which the relics were placed was caused to be constructed and given in charity by a Kshatri lady Ânandî, who, it is said, did so for promoting the benefit and happiness of all living creatures. The date was in the 11th year of the great king K a n i s h k a, which probably was that of his reign. It was usual to date from the day of the installation of the king after whom such eras were called; and from the smallness of the numeral of this date the probability seems to be that it is the date of this king's reign. General Cunningham's fourth inscription of Mathura, however, raises a doubt regarding this inference. In it, we read कनिष्कस्य राज्ये संवत्सरे नवमे, *i. e.* in the year ninth *in* the reign of Kanishka, which might not be one of his *reign*, but of some era which was being continued in his reign. But as General Cunningham explains from the Mathura inscriptions that Huvishka and Vâsudeva were his successors, it seems likely that they continued to observe the same era in their reigns.[3] The Mathura inscriptions furnish dates in *Huvishka's* reign as under :—

No. IX.	year 39
An inscription found by me...	„ 44
No. XV.	„ 48

These dates are called हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे or 'in the year of Huvishka.'

In like manner, the inscriptions of Vâsudeva furnish us the dates in his reign as under :—

Inscription No. 18.................	year 80
No. 16.................	„ 83
No. 20.................	„ 98

In these inscriptions this date is also called वासुदेवस्य वर्षे or 'in the year of Vâsudeva.'

The largeness of the numbers in these shows evidently that they cannot possibly be regnal years; they must be the years of the era continued from the reign of Kanishka. For this reason, instead of the literal translation of the phrases हुविष्कस्य, वासुदेवस्य, it might be preferable to translate them as in such and such year in the reigns of these kings. This mode of writing dates was not uncommon at this period. In the Girnâra Kshatrapa inscription we have रुद्रदाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्ततिमे, *i. e.* 'in the seventy-second year of Rudradâman,' so also in an inscription from Gunḍa in Kâthiâwâḍ, we read रुद्रसिंहस्य वर्षे द्व्युत्तरशते, or 'in the one hundred and second year of Rudrasiṁha.' From these it is evident that the above cannot by any means be regnal years but years of some unknown era current in their reigns. It is therefore very probable that the cases of Huvishka and Vâsudeva's years are similar. From these dates we may also infer that Kanishka, Huvishka and Vâsudeva reigned one after the other. But we meet with a difficulty as to this inference by the inscription No. 8 in which it is clearly written वसु[देव]स्य संवत्सरे ४४ and in another inscription found by me at Mathura, there is a date in the 44th year of Huvishka. Also in General Cunningham's inscription No. XV the date in the reign of the last mentioned king is clearly the 45th year. This leads us to ask whether Huvishka and Vâsudeva ruled simultaneously, but if so, the reign of Vâsudeva becomes of unusual length, indeed quite beyond the limits of possibility. Under these circumstances there are doubts leaving room for further investigation. The discovery of more inscriptions will perhaps clear up this obscurity.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHOR.

BY E. REHATSEK.

Before giving the texts and my translations of the inscriptions—very beautifully photographed by Mr. F. B. Hanna and sent to me by Dr. Burgess—it will be proper to state that Raichor is an old fort in the Nizam's territory forming the southern point of a nearly equilateral triangle of which Sholâpur is at the western and Haiderâbâd at the eastern

[3] Vide Cunningham's *Arch. Report*, vol. III. pl. xv. p. 30.

points. I may also remark on these inscriptions:—

Ibrahim I, king of Bijapûr, died in A. H. 965.[1] He left six children, namely, four girls and two sons, the elder of whom A'li succeeded him; the younger, Ṭahmasp, left a son bearing the name of his grand-father, and known as Ibrahim II, the successor of A'li, who had no offspring. Inscription No. I is of the time of A'li, whose full name is Abu Al-Muẓaffer A'li A'âdil-shâh, Ben Ibrahim A'âdil-shâh, Ben Isma'il A'âdil-shâh; he was murdered by a eunuch in A. H. 988,[2] and was succeeded by his nephew Ibrahim II, named above, who is mentioned in the other two inscriptions; the first and the third are in Arabic, but the second is in Persian. It will be seen from them, that in the first and third there is a difference of a few years between the date given in words and that stated in arithmetical figures, and that in the second it is given only in words.

The writing of No. I is in rilievo, and therefore was of more troublesome execution than mere incision. It may be considered beautiful. It consists of four lines, and presents no difficulty; it is in the bastion of the northern wall of the outer line of fortifications. No. II is even more beautiful and likewise in rilievo, but the words are so crowded and placed over each other, that each of the five short lines contains a complete distich. This stone was formerly fixed in a niche in the inner side of the north-wall of Hanumân's bastion, but has lately been removed to Gulburgah[3] by order of the Sadr Ṭa'lukdâr. No. III is merely incised, and not only inferior in caligraphy to the two preceding inscriptions but in every other respect. It may be said to consist of nine lines, if the bars be considered which separate them from each other, and the carver appears to have had no idea where diacritical points were required, sprinkling them with the greatest liberality, and committing other blunders; but he was pedantic enough to give under several letters their isolated form, altered by ligatures in the text. This inscription is at the back of the zenana of the Jemadâr's house, at the east gateway of the outer wall; but as the stone is not fixed, this is not its original position, as appears also from the text.

No. I.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نصر من الله و فتح
قريب و بشر المومنين في عهد السلطان الاعظم
ظل الله في الارضين ابوالمظفر علي عادلشاه
غازي خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بنا الدره طاهرخان
في سنه احد سبعين و تسعمايه ٩٧٨

Translation.

In the name of Allah the merciful, the clement! Aid from Allah and a speedy victory[4] and bear good tidings unto the faithful.[5] In the reign of the most high Sultân, shadow of Allah in the two countries, Abu Al-Muzaffer A'li A'âdil-shâh the hero,—may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and power,—the bastion was built by Ṭâher Khân, in the year nine hundred seventy-one, 978.[6]

No. II.

نهايت برج گشت ز توفيق خدا
بامدادي شفيع ما محمد
در عهد ابراهيم عادلشاه معظم
كه ابتدا اين برج گشت پايه محكم
زعون مهيب ملک ريحان صاحب
بنا كردند تاجي ملک باقوت نايب
منازل يافت بر تاجي اين سعادت
كه روآورد الى القبله مداعت
كه تاريخش يكهزار و هجده هجرت
رسيده برج جوزا باوج عزت

Translation.

The tower was completed by the grace of God
With the help of our intercessor Muḥammad,
In the reign of his Majesty Ibrâhim A'âdilshah.
For, the foundation of this tower was laid firmly,
With the aid of the Grantor of the realm; Rayḥân Saheb
They built the crown of the realm [*i.e.* tower] with the authority of the Nâyb.
Upon the crown this felicity alighted
That it always faces the Kiblah [*towards Mekkah.*]
At its date A. H. 1018.[7] The sign Gemini reached the acme of honour.

No. III.

ابتدا برج قادر درته رابع عشر شهر جمادا الاول
ختم الله عزوجل في العصر هيون [*sic.*] الاعظم
خاقان المعظم مالک خليل الله سلطان ابراهيم
عادلشاه ظل الله ...... و جعل مثويه الجنه

[1] Began 24th October 1557.
[2] Began 17th February 1580.
[3] We think it is a great mistake, except in cases of necessity, to remove inscriptions like this from their original positions.—ED. *I. A.*

[4] *Kurân*, S. lxi. 13.
[5] *Kurân*, S. ii. 223.
[6] The year given in words began 21st August 1563, and that in figures 5th June 1570.
[7] Began 6th April 1609.

سنه سبع عشرين و الف فمرالعيد ... ابو محمد المظفر عادلشاه لا زال ناصرا لعباد الله و حافظا الله لبلادنا و مغيرز [*sic.*] جبا تنا مخص دين منان الوهاب عمل ابن ريحان نور الله مرقده و غفر ذنوبه سنه ۱۰۲۹ ... فضل الله

Translation.

This tower was begun and its bastion rounded on the fourteenth of the month Jomâda I. Allah, be he exalted and glorified, completed it in the time of the august reign of the most high Khâḳân, His Majesty, [the] master, friend of Allah,[8] Sultân Ibrahim A'âdilshah, the shadow of Allah...and made his resting-place paradise, in the year one thousand twenty-seven[9] and the reign has passed away...Abu Muẓaffer [A'li] A'âdil-shâh did not cease to aid the worshippers of Allah, and to be a guardian for Allah of our country, and a promoter of our interests concerning the beneficent religion of the [*almighty*] giver. [*This is the*] work of Ibn Rayḥân, may Allah illuminate his sepulchre and pardon his transgressions. Year 1029[10]... grace of Allah.

[8] An epithet usually given to the patriarch Abraham.
[9] Began 27th December 1617.
[10] Began 8th December 1619.

A BRAHUI SONG.

CONTRIBUTED BY THE REV. G. SHIRT, M.R.A.S.

During my visit to Quetta at the close of last year I made a not very successful attempt to get hold of some Brahui songs. The fact is, that those Brahuis, who sing, generally prefer foreign compositions to anything in their own language—something on the same principle, I imagine, as some English singers affect only to know Italian songs. Be the cause whatever it may, the fact is, I could only get one song fit for civilized ears in the Brahui language from a pure Brahui—a native of the Mastung Valley, while I could have got lots from the same source in Pushtu, Biluchi, or Persian.

So little is known of the Brahui language by antiquarians and philologists that the following song with a translation may not be out of place in the *Indian Antiquary*:—

SONG.

1. Khank nâ larzîrah lakas qarzîrah
2. Dandânk sadafnâ burzî lawangnâ
3. Khankû kharanâ tambû naranâ
4. Gûdî gidân nâ pullus urânâ
5. Purka khawâhî dîr nâ dawâ hî
6. Gûdî shakar khor natte burzâ tor
7. Tûtanâ ṭârî pûskunâ yârî
8. Shâmat shânûzân jwânîtî janûzân
9. Mullânâ bânghî Souzûnâ sângî
10. 'Atarus 'atras kâṭum nâ chatrus
11. Jamdâk janḍîtâ zulfâk ranḍîtâ
12. Dânge arângê sangî barâmî
13. Gûdî pullâ khor bâlâ dî shar tor
14. Khwâja gûdî ko khidmatta tê mûri ko
15. Bâragi hurbo kasarâi salîsunî
16. Sûzûhî hurbo 'ishqati bâsunî
17. Dostus dostus kani hazâr dostus
18. Dosti ṭahpak nîtû ai be bâmus
19. N'alat ki maruî hand'nâ be bakhti
20. Khoṭi kuntû handû elû tû neki.

Translation.

1. The blandishment of thy eyes gives a lakh of rupees.
2. Thy pearly teeth are tall like a cinnamon tree.
3. Thy eyes are like a ram's and pleasant as a tent.
4. Thou art mistress of the camp and the flower of the house.
5. Fill[1] up the water bag; thy water is medicine.
6. Beloved! thou art an eater of sugar; lift up thy feet on high.
7. Of a mulberry tree thou art a branch, but art friends with a new (lover).
8. In the evening thou art resplendent; but in youth thou art a widow.
9. The cry of the Mullah is "It is Souzû's betrothal."
10. Thou art perfume, thou art perfume; thy head is an umbrella.
11. Thy ornaments and long hair are the ringlets of a low-famed woman.
12. On this side and on that side she is betrothed and married.
13. The beloved one eats spiced food: go up well on high.
14. The master and mistress are present; and Hindus are in attendance.
15. See! Bârag is standing on the road.
16. See! Sozuh is dried up with love.
17. Thou art a friend; thou art a friend *to me*; thou art a thousand times a friend.
18. O noseless one! it does not become me to be thy friend.
19. The reproach that comes in this way to an unfortunate one (is)
20. She is false to me, true to another!

[1] It seems to be the work of women to fetch water. Once I saw a great number of them filling their water-bags at a small stream; but there was no man present.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 81.)

XV.

We shewed in the previous paper of this series that the Mongols derived their early alphabet and literary culture from the Uïghurs. To the same source they doubtless owed their famous chronological system, which it will not be unprofitable to describe here. The system of chronology used by the Mongols is founded on a double cycle. One of these consists of 12 years, to each of which is attached the name of an animal in the following order:—

1, Khulughana, the mouse;
2, Uker, the ox;
3, Bars, the tiger or panther;
4, Taolai, the hare;
5, Lu, the dragon;
6. Moghai, the serpent;
7, Morin, the horse;
8, Khonin, the sheep;
9. Bechin or Mechin, the monkey;
10, Takia, the hen;
11, Nokhai, the dog; and
12. Gakhai, the pig.

These names are applied to the years in succession in a recurring cycle of 12 years, but as this is too short for practical chronology, it has been combined with a second cycle of 10. This second cycle of ten is constituted in two different ways. In one of them the cycle is named after the five elements: Modun, wood; Ghal, fire; Shiroi, earth; Temur, iron; and Ussun, water; which, by attaching the masculine and feminine particle *ere* and *eme* to each respectively, makes the full cycle of 10. This is the method usually employed. The second system is similarly named after the five colours: Köke, blue; Ulaghan, red; Shira, yellow; Tsaghan, white; and Khara, black; which in the feminine are respectively Kökekchin, Ulaghakchin, Shirakchin, Tsaghakchin, and Kharakchin. This system is mainly used for the calendar. A third system has adopted the Chinese names Kia, Y, Ping, Ting, Wu, Ki, Keng, Sin, Shin, Kuei; or as the names occur in their Mongol transcription, Ga, Yi, Bing, Ting, U, Ki, King, Sin, Shim, and Kui. This third mode Schmidt says he had only found used in the case of Ssanang Setzen. Schmidt has compared the three systems in a useful table as follows:—

Ere Modun	Köke	Ga
Eme Modun	Kökekchin	Yi
Ere Ghal	Ulaghan	Bing
Eme Ghal	Ulaghakchin	Ting
Ere Shiroi	Shira	U
Eme Shiroi	Shirakchin	Ki
Ere Temur	Tsaghan	King
Eme Temur	Tsaghakchin	Sin
Ere Ussun	Khara	Shim
Eme Ussun	Kharakchin	Kui

By a combination of the 12 animals' names and these 10 names, which always follow one another in the same order, we get a cycle of 60 years: each 60 years beginning with the same name. Schmidt has arranged the years of this century from 1804 to 1863 according to the Mongol system. It will suffice here to give a few as a sample of the rest:—

Ga, mouse year	1804	Sin, sheep	1811
Yi, ox	1805	Shim, monkey	1812
Bing, panther	1806	Kin, hen	1813
Ting, hare	1807	Ga, dog	1814
U, dragon	1808	Yi, pig	1815
Ki, serpent	1809	Bing, mouse	1816
King, horse	1810	etc. etc.	

It will be seen that every 12 years each animal is found linked with a companion from which it was two places distant at the earlier occurrence; and it is this, of course, which constitutes it a cycle of 60 years. If the names are followed out it will be seen that in 1864 we again get to a year which has to be named Ga, mouse year.

Having explained the system, we will now say a few words about its origin, and we may take it that the third method abovenamed, in which Chinese words are used, is a comparatively modern innovation due to Chinese influences. The real systems found in the older Mongol literature are the two earlier ones.

Ulugh Beg, the famous prince astronomer, has recorded for us the names used by the Uïghurs in their 12 years cycle, and they are as follows:—The mouse *kesku*, the ox *uth*, the tiger *bars*, the hare *thawshk'an*, the dragon *lui*, the serpent *yilan*, the horse *yunad*, the sheep *ko'i*,

the monkey *pichin*, the hen *dak'uk*, the dog *it*, the pig *thoughus*; all these names as Klaproth states are Turkish, except the 2nd, 5th, 7th, and 9th. Of the 2nd and 7th he gives no explanation; the 5th is from the Chinese *ling*, while the 9th is derived from the Persian *pusineh*.[1]

It will be seen that the animals forming the twelve year Uighur cycle are precisely the same as those used by the Mongols, while it is most clear that the ape or monkey which could not be known to either Turks or Mongols as anything but a foreign animal must have come to the Mongols from Persia by the intervention of some Turkish tribe like the Uïghurs, while the names in the Mongol cycle for panther and hen, *bars* and *takia*, seem almost certainly to be taken from the Turkish.

There is every probability, therefore, that the Mongols derived their method of chronological computation, as they did their letters, from the Uïghurs.

It was probably no invention of the latter, for we find it in use among the Kirghises during the domination of the Tang dynasty in China. Thus we read in the *Tang shi*, in the article on the Kirghises,—"They call the beginning of the year *Meu-sze-ghai*, and three *ghais* make a season with them. They name the year after 12 beasts and they call the year *In* (*i. e.* the year called *In* in the Chinese duodenary cycle) the year[2] of the tiger."[3] Schott, Remusat and others have argued in consequence of this notice that the Kirghises were the real originators of the animal names used in this cycle.

The latter urges that the cycle itself was borrowed from the very ancient duodenary cycle of the Chinese. After arguing that the use of the twelve animals' names cannot be traced elsewhere than to the Turkish races of Central Asia, he says the Mongols, Tibetans, Japanese, Persians, and Manchus have translated it into their own languages, preserving strictly the same order of the names. The cycle is exceedingly useful in checking other systems of chronology. Remusat has pointed out that Petis de la Croix in synchronizing its dates with those of the Christian era is always one year behind. During the reign of Chinghiz Khân the year of the mouse corresponds to the years 1156, 1168, 1180, 1192, 1204, and 1216, and not to 1155, 1167, 1179, 1191, 1203, and 1215, as de la Croix makes it.[4]

The following table, which I take from Klaproth, gives the cycle in the languages of the several races who use it:—

		Chinese.	Japanese.	Tibetan.	Uighur or Turk.	Mongol.	Kalmuk.	Manchu.
1	Rat	shu	ni	*pdji*	kesku	khluguna	kuluguna	singgeri
2	Ox	nieou	ushi	*klang*	uth	uker	uker	ikhan
3	Tiger	hu	tora	*stak*	bars	bars	bars	taskha
4	Hare	thu	u	yoi	tawshkan	toolai	tolai	gulmakhun
5	Dragon	lung	tats	bruk	lui	loo	lui	muduri
6	Serpent	shi	mi	*sbrul*	ilan	mokhoi	mogoi	meikhë
7	Horse	ma	uma	*rda*	yunad	morin	morin	morin
8	Sheep	yang	fitsuji	luk	k'oi	khoin	khoin	? khonin
9	Monkey	heou	saru	*spre-u*	pichin	mechin	mechin	boniu
10	Fowl	ki	tori	tsa lu	dak'uk	takiya	taka	choko
11	Dog	keou	inu	chi	*it*	nokhai	nokoi	indakhun
12	Pig	hai	i	p'hak	tonguz	khakai	gakhai	ulghiyan[5]

Let us now revert to our more immediate subject. We have carried down our narrative to the year of the tiger 1206. That year was a memorable one in the life of Chinghiz Khân. He had some time previously been elected the overchief of his own special people, but now he was master of a much more extensive dominion and of tribes not subject to his forefathers; and we read in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that he accordingly held an assembly at the sources of the Onon where the standard with nine white yak tails was raised aloft and he proclaimed himself Khakan, *i. e.* supreme chief.[6] In regard to this standard of nine tails Palladius tells us that it is the equivalent of the so-called "ya," which used to stand in the camps

[1] Klaproth, *Beleuchtung und Widerlegung der Forschungen*, des Herrn J. J. Schmidt, pp. 10 and 11.
[2] *i. e.* the 3rd year in the Chinese duodenary cycle.
[3] *Schott, die ächten Kirgisen* 433, Visdelou 174.
[4] Remusat, *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, pp. 300-302.
[5] Klaproth, *Tableaux Historiques*, p. 169.
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

of the Khâns of the Khiung nu and the Thukiu.[5]

Its nine pennons remind us that the number nine was especially favoured among the Turks and Mongols. When presents were made nine articles of each kind, or nine times nine, were generally given, and it recurs frequently as a number of high dignity. Marco Polo says—"And you must know 'tis the custom in offering presents to the great Khân (at least when the province making the present is able to do so) to present nine times nine articles. For instance, if a province sends horses it sends nine times nine, or 81 horses; of gold, nine times nine pieces of gold; and so with stuffs, or whatever else the present may consist of."[6] In the *Jihan kushai* we are told that on Mangu's accession each of the princes presented him with nine sets of nine objects. Ahmed the Jelair's envoys went to Timur with nine times nine objects, while the Prince of Shirvan presented the same conqueror with 9 swords, 9 bows, 9 arrows, 9 tents, 9 state umbrellas, 9 bowls, 9 pieces of rich stuff, 9 slave girls, and 8 slaves, besides himself, who counted as the 9th. In doing homage the custom was to make nine prostrations while the head was made to touch the ground nine times. The bowl was presented nine times, as Horace tells us was the case among the Romans:—"Tribus aut novem miscentur cynthis." At festivals it was the fashion to change the costume 9 times. In the feasts said to have been given by the great Turkish Chief, Oghuz Khân, the number 9 recurs. Thus we are told 900 horses and 9,000 sheep were killed, while 99 bowls were filled with drink, 9 with spirits, and 19 with kumiz. In honour of this number 9 we find Abulghazi dividing his work into 9 sections. The pedigree of Chinghiz Khân was carried up to his 9th ancestor.[7] The Mongol chiefs still take "the whole nine" as their tribute to China, while Vambery says of the Uzbegs, when bargaining for a wife, "The question is always how many times nine sheep, cows, camels, or horses, or how many times nine ducats (as is the custom in a town) the father is to receive for giving up his daughter."[8]

Turning from the number 9 to the colour of the pennons on the great standard.

White was an especially sacred and honoured colour among the Mongols and other northern races. A white horse was offered in sacrifice. The members of the Imperial Family were alone allowed to drink of the milk of white mares, of which a special herd was kept by the Uirats for the purpose. The court sorcerers, when going through their incantations, wore white clothes, as did the same class among the Khitans; and it would appear that the parade or holiday dress of the Mongol, which was presented by their Khans, and was called by the Chinese Tai-siun,[9] were white. Sometimes they were made of ermine.[10] Marco Polo tells us how it was the custom at the New Year's Feast for the Kaan and all his people to be dressed in white. And this was done, he says, "in order that they may thrive all the year, for they deem that white clothing is lucky * * * * and the people also make presents to each other of white things, and wish each other happiness and good luck for the coming year. On that day I can assure you among the customary presents there shall be offered to the Kaan from various quarters more than 100,000 white horses, beautiful animals, and richly caparisoned."[11] Colonel Yule adds that the first month of the year is still called by the Mongols Chaghan or Chaghan Sara; *i. e.* "the white" or "the white month."[12] Let us now revert to the proclamation of Chinghiz.

Ssanang Setzen tells us that it was accompanied by the planting of the white standard having nine feet and the black one having four feet; and he declares once more that it was on this occasion that Chinghiz Khân gave his people the name of Köke Mongols or Blue Mongols.[13] The last statement is an absurdity. Schmidt says the standard with four feet was the Khakan's special standard, and was called *Sulta*. It was hung with four black horse tails.[14] The *Yuan-shi*, in mentioning this proclamation in 1206, tells us it was then our hero took the name of Chinghiz Khân.[15] These annals date the beginning of his reign from this event.

[5] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 431.
[6] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 377.
[7] Von Hammer's *Golden Horde*, pp. 208, 209.
[8] *Sketches of Central Asia*, p. 103.
[9] *i. e.*, Single colour, simple, and without ornament.
[10] *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, notes 466 and 7.
[11] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I. pp. 376 and 377.
[12] Id., vol. I, p. 378 note 1.
[13] *Op. cit.*, 71.
[14] *Op. cit.*, page 379, note 21.
[15] Douglas, pp. 53 and 54; Hyacinthe, p. 35; *Journ. Asiat.* 1st ser. tom. II, p. 200.

books. According to this legend there lived in early days a Khân who was called Galdan Duger Khagan by the Tangutans[21] and Badaringoi Zagan Tyngyri by the Mongols. Once when he was ill, and prayed Sakyamuni to go to his aid, the latter appeared to him in the person of a distinguished Lama, who told him his illness arose from the fact that he did not know God, that he did not accept his laws, nor reverence the priesthood but despised their teaching. If he would reverse all this, would pray to God, follow his laws, hold the priesthood in honour, and would devote his son and nine of his chief supporters *to a religious life, he should* be restored to health. He thereupon ordered his son and nine of his chief people to adopt the religious life. This order was very distasteful to them, and they fled to an inaccessible place where he could not hear of them. There they joined themselves to the people of the country, and needing a chief to lead them in their various struggles, they elected the son of their late Khân, and it was thought that as they had a new Khân he should have a new name. At this time a small bird flew by, and alighted near their place of assembly, and cried out with a clear voice *Chingiz, Chingiz.* Thereupon they gave him the name Chingiz, his previous name as given him by his father was Sotubogdo. The names of his nine chief supporters were—1, Suldusun-torgun-shara; 2, Dsallirtc-Kua-Mokholi; 3, Zua Mirgan; 4, Kulu Borji; 5, Urianu-dsalma; 6, Bosogon-dsap; 7, Kara-kirgo; 8, Borogol; 9, Shingun Kutukhtu.[22] This curious legend is a good type of the distorted history which passes muster among the Lamas, and in which their faith is dragged in on all possible occasions in spite of anachronisms.

We may here devote a few words to the titles Khakan and Khân.

As Quatremère says, we meet in the historians of the Mongols with the two titles of Khân and Kaan or Khakan. The former is common to the Turks and Mongols, and is doubtless connected with the Chinese Han. Kaan and Khakan are the same word. Remusat says that in Mongol the *k* in the middle of a word is often changed into a simple aspiration, or is dropped altogether with the vowel supporting it; thus *kobakun* a son is pronounced *heubeun*; *sibbakan* a bird, *sibbun*; *maku* bad, *mu*; *ekulan* a mountain, *aula.*[23] He adds further that originally Khakan was the same as Khân and Kaan, although the two latter titles had afterwards acquired a special meaning.[24] Quatremère shews from the use of the word Khakan or Khagan by Ssanang Setzen and from the letters of Arghun and Uljaitu that Kaan is in effect a mere form of Khakan.

The term Khân having been employed by the Turks to designate any sovereign prince, *it was necessary, when the hierarchy of chiefs* was created by the Mongols with a supreme chief governing several minor Khâns, to *distinguish him, and he therefore was styled* Khakan or Kaan. Thus in the Uighur vocabulary sent home by Amyot, Khakan is explained by the Chinese term *wang-ti, i. e.* supreme emperor. In the letters of the Ilkhans above cited the supreme Khân is referred to as the Khakan. The Arab author of the *Mesalek-alabsar* similarly distinguishes the supreme Khân as the Great Kaan.[25] Marco Polo always applies the name Kaan to the supreme Khân. We have therefore limited the name Khakan in these papers to the supreme Mongol Chief, making it equivalent to Khân of Khâns, and applied that of Khân indiscriminately to any ruling sovereign. It is curious to trace the degradation of this latter title. Generally among the early Mongols and Turks it was strictly limited to the reigning sovereign, just as our word *king* is. But the descendants of Timur finding the title too simple, like the Byzantine emperors in the days of their decay, took other titles to themselves and passed that of Khân on to their subordinates. Thus we read in the *Akbar Nameh* that Sultan Ali, having received the title of Khân from Humâyun, Sikander was given the same title. The later emperors of Hindustan still further degraded it by adding adjectives to increase its force. Thus we read in the same work that Khoja Abd'ul-Mujid received the title of Asaf Khân. Hosain Kuli-Beg received the style of Khân-i Zeman; Iskendar Khân that of Khan-i Alam. In the history of *Shah Abbas mention is made of a Khân-i Alam*

[21] *i. e.* Tibetans.
[22] Müller, *Saml. Russ. Gesch*, vol. VI, p. 114-115.
[23] *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, p. 163.
[24] Id., p. 168 note.
[25] Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, pp. 10-15.

sent as an envoy to Persia by Selim, emperor of Hindustan. Mir Munshi bore the style of Ashraf Khân; Biram Khan that of *Khân i-Khanan*, and Quatremère adds that during the domination of the Mongols in India we have the following list of titles in which Khân is used :—Leshkar Khân, Muzaffar Khân, Vazir Khân, Mirza Khân, Nejabet Khân, Azem Khân, Ghairet Khân, Dianet Khân, Asâd Khân, Kizelbashi Khân, Bibedel Khân, Khân-i Devran, Akidet Khân, etc. etc. At the Persian court a governor of a province was called Khân, and eventually the title there and in Afghanistan became so degraded that it is now merely equivalent to noble, while as Colonel Yule says it is used in India now among Musalmans as a common affix to names. This humbler use of the title is of old date however in some places. Thus Juveni in reporting the doings of the Khuarezm Shâh Jelalu'd-dîn Mankberni tells us that being irritated against the greater number of his principal dependents, he assembled the *Khâns* and generals who were devoted to him. Presently he selected a certain number of amirs and gave some of them the title of Khân and others that of Malik. While according to the *Mesalek-Alabsar* the titles of Khân and Malik were used by the great officers of the court of Delhi in the time of the pre-Mongol sovereigns.

From the word Khân the Turks formed that of *Khanum*, which has passed into the language of Persia, and which is used indiscriminately with *begum* and *khatun* to distinguish the sovereign's wife. In the Turkish edition of Abulghazi the title *Khanum* is always so used. Baber also uses it; so does the Armenian historian of Timur's expedition, who calls the wife of the sovereign of Samarkand the Khanum. Clavigo tells us Cano meant the great empress, while the second wife was styled Quincheano, (*i. e.* Kichik Khanum, the little lady, la señora pequeña). In the *Zafernameh* mention is made of Seraimulk Khanum, while Chardin says *Khanum* means the king's mistress.[26]

Another title in use among the Mongols to which a few words should be devoted is that of *Beki*. Upon this title Palladius has a valuable note. He tells us that it was in use among the Kin Tartars, and reports how an ancestor of Aguta, (the famous founder of the real importance of that race,) who was called Suiko, having become a great reformer among his people, was thence styled *Bekin*. He says that with the Kin Tartars the title meant honourable, noble. Bekin was no doubt the equivalent of the Mongol *Beki*. Both words, as Palladius suggests, and in my view the Turkish *Bek* also, are doubtless derived from the Chinese *bo* or *bi*, one of the hereditary honorary titles. Another derivation was apparently the title *bé-gi-lié* or *beili* meaning great, honourable, also used by the Kin Tartars. The title *bi* or *bo* was formerly more important than now, and meant the eldest or the first person in a society. Thus the head of a family, when China was divided into appanages, was styled *bo* or *bi*. The meaning of eldest in a tribe only remained attached to the derivatives *Beki* and *Bekin*, and thence the use of the term *Bek aul*.[27]

Let us now turn again to Chinghiz Khân. After his own elevation to the throne of Tartary he proceeded to reward and promote the various companions to whom he owed his position. He told Shigi Khutukhu to summon Boorchu, Mukhali and the rest. Shigi Khutukhu thereupon reminded him how great his own services had been, that he had been with him from childhood till he was grown up, and asked what his reward was to be. 'You have become my sixth brother,' he replied, 'and have a right to possessions equal to those of my own brothers. I absolve you from punishment till you have committed nine crimes;[28] be you my eyes and my ears.[29] Let no one disobey your commands. I give you authority to try and to punish robberies and cheating and to punish those with death who deserve it; to settle the division of land among the people and to note down decrees on the black tablets, so that they may not be changed.'[30] Shigikhutukhu replied, "I am the youngest of the brothers. How shall I dare to claim equal possessions with them. If you will extend a favour to me, give me a people living inside an earthen rampart." Chinghiz

[26] Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, pp. 10-12, 84-88. Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, Introduction p. 9.

[27] Palladius, *op. cit.*, notes 464 and 465.

[28] *i. e.* granted him the privileges of a *terkhan*.

[29] *i. e.* his privy councillor and adviser.

[30] Palladius says these duties were afterwards performed by the great judge, Yeke Jarkhuchi.—*Op. cit.*, note 440.

said "Let it be according to your choice."[31] Chinghiz then said to Munlik, "You have been my comrade from my childhood until now, and many times have you shielded and helped me, particularly when Wang Khân and his son enticed me to go to them, and I was on the way thither. If you had not stopped me then, I should have got into deep water and into a big fire. Remembering this service, I will not allow my descendants even to forget it. From this time forward you shall sit at the corner,[32] and I will reward you and your descendants monthly and yearly."

He then addressed Boorchu. "During my childhood," he said, "robbers stole eight grey horses. I chased them for three days and until I met you. You then became my companion, rode with me for three days, and helped me to recover the horses. Why did your father Nakhuboyan, a wealthy man with but one son, namely yourself, decide on giving you to me as a comrade, but because the spirit of fidelity was to be traced in you. Afterwards when I summoned you to be my companion, you did not refuse. When the three Merkit tribes drove me to the mountain Burkhan, you did not desert me, but shared my poverty with me. When I was resting in the district of Talannemurgiesi, near the Tartar country, you spread out your felt cloak, stood over me, and did not let the rain fall on me. Thus you stood until dawn, only once changing from one foot to the other. This is an example of your heroic courage.[33] Other instances are too numerous to relate. Besides this, you and Mukhali have made me do that which is right, and have censured me and prevented me doing that which is wrong. Whence I have reached this high position. Now when seated with others your seat shall be above every one. I absolve you from punishment till you have committed nine crimes. Be a *temnik* and rule over the Western country as far as the Golden Mountains."[34] To Mukhali he said. When we were in the district of Khorkhonajubur under a thick-leaved tree some words of prophecy were said by your father Gunnkhua.[35] I now for the same make you a prince. Sit above the rest. Be the *temnik* of the left hand, and rule the country to the East to the mountains Kharaun. Your descendants shall inherit this dignity."[36] The title Chinghiz Khân gave Mukhali was that of Govang,[37] given as Guiwang or Kiwang by Rashidu'd-dîn.

He then turned to Khorchi. "In my youth you spoke prophetic words to me, shared my troubles and were my companion. At that time you said if my prophetic speeches are fulfilled, give me 30 wives. They are now fulfilled. I give you permission to choose 30 beautiful maidens among the conquered people. Moreover, having brought together 3,000 of the tribe Baali,[38] the tribes Adarki and others ruled by Tagai and Ashikh, and thus made up 10,000 men,[39] I make you their *temnik*. Choose your residence according to your pleasure among the forest people[40] along the river Erdish[41] and guard that frontier. Let all the people there be under your control and punish all those who resist."[42] To Jurchidai, Chinghiz said, "The greatest service you did me was during the battle with Wang Khan in the district of Khalakhaljielet, although, at the moment when we hesitated Khuildar was the first to say that he wished to fight, yet the success of the affair belongs to you. You broke and repulsed the strongest of the enemy's divisions, the Jirgins and others, penetrated to the Khân's very tent, and wounded Sankun in the cheek with your arrow. If you had not thus wounded Sankun it is impossible to say what would have happened. Again, as we came down the river Khalkha I trusted in you as I would in the shelter of a high mountain. When we arrived at lake Baljuna you were among the first. We conquered the important empire of the Kerait and the tribes Naiman and

[31] Palladius says in a note that it is unknown who the people here referred to was. All Chinghiz Khân's brothers received portions in the east of Mongolia. Shigi Khutukhu's lands perhaps lay near Nerchinsk, where such ramparts still abound, or in the Merkit country, in regard to the settlement of which, he says, there is mention in other legends.—*Op. cit.*, note 442.

[32] *i. e.* at the beginning of a row of seats, doubtless meaning a post of honour.

[33] In the *Yuan-shi* this incident is attributed to Boorchu and Mukhali. *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, note 446.

[34] *i. e.* the Altai.

[35] *i. e.* doubtless a prophecy of Chinghiz Khân's success.

[36] *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, pp. 115-117.

[37] Palladius says this means a ruling prince in Chinese, and was given to him by anticipation. Mukhali was afterwards, as we shall see, appointed Chinghiz Khân's viceroy in China. Rashid says the title means Great Khân. *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, note 433; Erdmann, p. 173.

[38] *i. e.* Barin?

[39] *i. e.* a tuman.

[40] *i. e.* the Uriangkai.

[41] *i. e.* the Irtish.

[42] *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, 117.

Merkit could no longer resist, and dispersed. The Naimans and Merkit having again revolted, you subdued them. After their dispersal, Jakhaganbu brought two of his daughters to me, and thus saved his own people from destruction. Having nevertheless afterwards revolted you devised a plan by which he and his people were subdued."[43]

Chinghiz thereupon divorced his wife Ibakhu, the daughter of Jakhaganbo, and made her over to Jurchidai. It is not, he said, from any ill-feeling nor that you lack beauty that I no longer love you, nor did I ever say your body was unclean when I placed you among my wives. I give you to Jurchidai because he has done me brilliant services, has risked his life in battles, and has collected the tribes for me. I enjoin my descendants that they must not insult the family of Ibakhu.[44]

Chinghiz then said to Ibakhu, "Your father Jakhaganbo gave me with you the cook Ashtimur together with 200 men. On leaving me leave him also with 100 men as a souvenir." He then turned to Jurchidai, and said, "I also commit to you 4,000 men of the tribe Uruut." He then addressed Khubilai,[45] and said, "You have subdued the savage and unruly, you and Jelmi, Jebe, and Subietai are to me like four fierce hounds. No matter whither I have sent you, you have broken the stones in pieces, have thrown down rocks, have stopped the deep water. Therefore it is that I ordered that your post should be in the front of the battle, that of Boorchu, Mukhali, Borouli and Chilaun behind me, and that of Jurchidai and Khuildar before me, so that my heart may be at peace.[46] You Khubilai in all military arrangements and affairs shall have the lead." He then added, "Speak to Beduun about his unruliness, I do not want to make him an independent commander, and thought it better to bind him to you. Act according to your mutual decision."[47]

To Boorchu, Mukhali and others Chinghiz said, "Khunan (? who is here meant) is to me in the night like a fierce wolf, in the daytime like a black raven. He has clung to me and has not followed bad people. In all things consult Khunan and Kokososi. Jochi is my eldest son. Let Khunan govern the Genigesis and be attached to Jochi's household." He said further, "Khunan, Kokososi Diegai and Usunebugan have never deceived me but have told me what they have heard and seen."[48]

To Jelmi, Chinghiz said, "When I was born at Deliunbolda, near the Onon, your father the old man Jarchiudai came from the mountain Burkhan with a smith's bellows behind his back, and gave me a sable wrapper; at that time Jelmi was still in swaddling clothes. He gave him to me, and he has been a faithful slave. He has grown up with me and has been my companion and has performed many services for me. I absolve him from punishment till he has committed nine offences."[49]

To Tulun he said, "Why have you and your father been entrusted with the government of thousands? Because you helped him to bring together much people. I gave you the title of Cherbi. Be ruler over the thousands whom you have brought together, and always consult Tulukhân."[50]

To Vangur, son of Mungetukiyan, he said, "Formerly you together with the three Tokhuraut clans, the five Tarkhut peoples and the two tribes Chansshikit and Bayan, formed one camp with me. You did not stay out in the dark and fog, nor did you part from me during disorders and ill-fortune. You have borne the cold and wet with me. What reward do you wish for?" Vangur said, "If in your kindness you bid me choose I should like to assemble the tribe Bayaut, who are scattered over several settlements." Chinghiz consented and said, "Having collected them be a leader of thousands and govern them." He said further, "Vangur and Boroul, from this time in large assemblies in the open field, do you distribute the food and drink on horseback, while in-doors stand right and left near the wine cellar,[51] and take charge of it with Tolun and others. With your faces turned towards the north do you superintend the eating and drinking."

[43] *Op. cit.*, p. 118. In the life of Juchitai, as Jurchidai is apparently called in the biographical part of the *Yuan-shi*, we are told that he got Jakhaganbu into his power by craft and killed him, after which his people were subdued. We thus learn the end of Wang Khân's famous brother.

[44] Palladius says it became a rule that each member of the chief line of Chinghiz Khân's family took a wife from the family of Ibakhu, *i. e.* from among the Kerait, and this injunction probably means that this rule was to be strictly carried out.

[45] *i. e.* his General Khubilai Noyan.

[46] These names, Khuildar being dead, represent the nine *örloks* already mentioned.

[47] *Id.*, *p.* 119.

[48] This clause is confused and apparently corrupt.

[49] Id., 120.

[50] This passage also seems corrupt.

[51] Probably near the door.

To Boroul he said, "My mother adopted you with Shigikhutukhu, Guchu, and Kokochu as her children, when you had been found in deserted camps. She fed and petted you and prepared you to be companions of men and to be companions for us her children. You have already not a little repaid my mother's good nature. Boroul having become my companion in the most dangerous battles, in the most difficult times, you never allowed me to want food or drink, nor to pass my nights in hunger. When we destroyed the Tartars, one of them named Khargilshila escaped by flight, and having no food came to my mother's house and asked for food and clothing. Upon which she bade him seat himself, and he sat down by the door to the west of it. At that moment my five-year old child Tului entered the tent and went out again. As he came out Khargil seized him under the arms, and went out and drew his knife. At that time Altan, Boroul's wife, who was seating on the eastern side of the tent, ran out and seized Khargil by the hair and pulled down the hand which held the knife. Jedai and Jelmi claimed to have done the greater service in the affair. 'If we had not arrived,' they said, 'you a woman all alone could not have overcome him and he would have killed Tului.' Altan replied that, if she had not called out they would not have come, and if she had not seized him by the hair and wrenched the knife from him, Tului would have been dead before they arrived. 'In this dispute Altan, Boroul's wife, had the best of it,' says our sententious authority. Again, during the fight with Wang Khân in the district of Khalkhaljit, Ogedai[52] was wounded in the mouth by an arrow. Boroul sucked the coagulated blood from the wound, and saved his life. Thus in return for the kindness of my mother he has saved the lives of two of my sons. In the most difficult circumstances he has never been idle. I absolve him from punishment 'till he has committed nine offences."[53] Chinghiz also said he would reward women.[54]

To the old man Usun he said, "Usun, Khunan, Kokososi and Diegai never deceived me, and always told me what was passing in their hearts."

By the recent regulations, *i. e.* probably by the *Yasa* or code of laws recently promulgated the title *Beki* has become one of great honour. "Usun, you are the senior descendant of Baalin;[55] you ought to be *Beki*.[56] When you become a *Beki*, ride on a white horse, clothe yourself in white clothes, and in the assemblies take the highest place. Choose a propitious month and year. May you be honoured and respected."[57]

Chinghiz then went on to say, "Khuildar was the first to volunteer to fight. For this valour may his descendants share in the alms given to widows and orphans."

To Nalintaolin, son of Chakhankhoa, he said, "Your father served me faithfully and perished at the battle of Talanbaljut through Jamukha. Receive therefore the alms due to orphans." Taolin replied, "My people the Negus are scattered in many camps. I should like to collect them together." He told him he might do so, and appointed that he and his heirs should rule over them in succession. To Skohanshira he said, "In my childhood when Tarkhutai Kiriltuk with the people Taijut took me prisoner you and your son concealed me in your house, ordered your daughter Khadaan to wait upon me and let me depart. This service of yours I remembered day and night, but it is only lately you have joined me. And I have not been able to reward you until now. What would you like to have?" He and his son replied, "We should like to be allowed to pitch our tents according to our pleasure in the Merkit country of Selinga. As to the rest, decide yourself how to reward us." Chinghiz replied "Be it as you wish. Pitch your tents where you will in that country. In addition let your descendants carry bows and arrows and have each a separate cup,[58] and let them be forgiven until they have committed nine offences." To the children of Chilaun and Chinbo he said, "How shall I forget the words you once spoke to me? Whenever you lack anything which your souls cannot obtain, come to me yourselves and ask me." He said

[52] *i. e.* his son Ogotui.

[53] Id., p. 122.

[54] Palladius (note 462) suggests that in the tonic text of the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* these rewards were enumerated, but they are not mentioned in the text he translated.

[55] *i. e.* of Baarin.

[56] The title *Beki* was given to the leader or senior of a tribe.

[57] Id., pp. 122, 123.

[58] *i. e.* probably in the royal feasts.

further:—"Sorkhanshira, Badai and Kishlek, be free. The booty you obtain and the beasts you capture in predatory raids, keep for yourselves alone."[59]

To Naia he said, "When you and your father took Tarkhutai Kiriltuk, you said, How shall we, treacherous to our own master, seize him." You immediately gave him his liberty and became my subjects. For this act I then said I would sometime reward you. Boorchu is made *temnik* of the right hand, Mukhali *temnik* of the left, you be *temnik* of the centre.[60]

To Jebe and Subeidai he said, "Rule the people collected by you as commanders of thousands." He also ordered Dirgai to collect the homeless and to become their commander. When the various appointments had been made, it was found that Guchugur had very few people under him. Chinghiz ordered each of the chiefs to give up a few of his men and then appointed him and Mulkhálkhu commanders.[61]

This long story from the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* can only be supplemented in a slight degree from other sources. Douglas has translated a passage in his life of Chinghiz Khân which is probably derived from the *She-wei*, in which he tells us that Muhule[62] and Purshu[63] were created princes of the right hand and left by Chinghiz, who said to them, "It is to you that I owe my empire. You are and have been to me as the shafts of a carriage or the arms to a man's body. I pray that you may never falter in your attachment to me."[64] In the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* we also read that after Chinghiz had proclaimed himself emperor he declared Mu-holi and Porchu his two principal generals and first ministers.[65]

[59] *i. e.* do not bring them into hotch-potch as was the usual Mongol fashion.

[60] Palladius says the command of the centre was inferior in dignity to those of the two wings, thus accounting for Naia's reward, which otherwise seems excessive when measured by his services.

[61] *Op. cit.*, pp. 124 and 125.

[62] *i. e.* Mukhali.

[63] *i. e.* Boorchu.

[64] Douglas, pp. 55 and 56.

[65] Gaubil, p. 12.

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(*Continued from p. 47.*)

Sugar-cane Hawkers.

These are Muhammadans and Marâṭhâs or Hindûs; their time of hawking is at night, from 7 P. M. to 12 or 2 in the morning. They cry "*Ganderi, gulâb gandheri,*" "sugar cane, sweet as roses"; this they sell by weight at one anna a seer. They buy the bundles of sugarcane from *vakhârs.* During the day they scrape the canes with large knives, and cut them into pieces, about an inch long, with scissors made for the purpose. From each cane they make about twenty pieces. The knots and ends, called *gâthi*, are sold to cattle-keepers. The pieces are then soaked in water to make them appear fresh and weigh heavier. They are then placed in a wooden tray, on which a plantain leaf is spread, and are covered with a thick cloth soaked in water, to keep them in good condition. To the tray is attached a small earthen lamp, to afford light. These people sell from 10 to 15 seers a night, and are much patronized by the lower orders of people. The business is carried on all the year round, but during the rains the demand is not great, as then the streets are deserted. In the warm months they have a good business, because people who stay out late are tempted to buy it to refresh themselves.

Vegetable Hawkers.

These are chiefly Hindûs, and their cry is "*Ghê mirchiâ, kothimbri, bhâji,*" meaning chillies, coriander, shrub, and vegetables of sorts. They go about the town from early morning till 11 A. M., and again from 4 to 5 P. M. After this, if any vegetables are left which are not likely to remain fresh till next morning, they squat by the wayside or on a veranda near a bazâr, and do their best to dispose of them, and then return home. These people leave their houses as early as 4 A. M., and go to Bhâikalâ[1] where people from the carts and from Mahim, Warli, Vândrê, and the country, bring vegetables of all sorts for sale. From them the petty hawkers purchase their stock, bargaining so as to allow of some gain. This bazâr, which is now held near the Victoria Gardens, was formerly held near the Bhâikalâ Bridge: it is over by 6 A. M.

[1] Bhâikalâ, derived from *bhai*, brother, *kal* tomorrow; *â* come, or 'brother come or meet me tomorrow.'

After the hawker has done his morning work he returns home, and after his meal he goes to sleep. What is left he takes out again in the evening. Such hawkers make a daily profit of 6 to 8 annas or more, and their business lasts all the year round.

Mâlis or Flower Sellers.

Flower-selling is invariably followed by men (Hindûs only). In a small light basket they put wreaths or garlands of *Mogri*, *Champeli*, *Jai*, *Jui*, *Chapa*, *Gulchhedi*, *Roses*, and other flowers. but the greatest demand is for the first two. The basket, tied with strings and hung from the hand, rests on the waist. Their business commences in the afternoon from 3 p. m., and lasts till 9 or 10 p. m., during which time they go about from house to house crying out in a sharp tone the names of the flowers they carry. Hindû women are fond of decorating the top-knot, *shendâ*, with garlands of either of these flowers, and this practice is common both with respectable women and prostitutes; the doors of the latter are open to the flowersellers till a late hour, and it is an indispensible portion of their toilet; for, however poor they may be and unable to find jewels wherewith to decorate their persons and show themselves to advantage, the wreath must be got and put on every evening. These flower-sellers follow no other profession. They buy their flowers from gardens on an annual payment, for they do not all rear flowers. As flowers are in great demand with the Hindû women, these Mâlis manage to make a comfortable livelihood. If they do not find customers they go to some of the numerous Hindû temples, and present them to the gods. Well-to-do Hindû females buy flowers daily, in which case they pay a Mâli from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 a month, and the Mâli is required to give them the best flowers made into wreaths.

Besides these there are other classes of nominal Mâlis employed in gentlemen's gardens to water trees, who make away with the inferior kinds of flowers such as *Jâswant*, *Kanher*, &c., from the gardens, and sell them to the Mâlis at from one anna to eight, according to the quality and nature of the flowers. These inferior flowers are not purchased by Hindû females but are used for the worship of the gods. The Mâlis tie a small bunch of flowers in a leaf, not forgetting to add a few leaves of *Tulsi* or sweet Basil and a leaf or so of *Bel*, and sell them at the rate of a pie for each bundle, or on a monthly payment of from two to four annas. Poor people who need flowers for their household gods are supplied every morning by a few Banyâs living on the Bhulêshwar road. But should it not be convenient for a Hindû to go that distance, he will, before the break of day, go to some garden near his house, and steal the flowers for his gods.

Ground-nut Hawkers.

These are both Mârwâdis and Marâṭhâ Hindûs. They carry a basket on their head, and cry out "*Retini bhunjeli singa, garam garam*," meaning 'ground nuts parched in sand, hot, hot.' They hawk about the town from 12 to 5 p. m. They purchase these nuts from godowns, and parch them either at their own houses or get them parched at kilns in the town. Hindû women and children are very fond of the nuts, and both males and females eat them, especially on *Ekâdashi* (11th) and other fast days. They would not buy them from Muhammadan hawkers, and hence there are no hawkers of this article belonging to that sect.

Pâpaḍ-Hawkers.

The hawkers of *pâpaḍ*, or very thin cakes, are both Banyâs and Musalmans, male and female. Hindûs, Musulmans, Pârsis and others are very fond of these. The cakes are very thin, and made from the flour of *Udid* or mash (*phaseolus max*), highly seasoned with asafœtida and salt, called *pâpaḍ khâr*. These ingredients are all kneaded with the *Udid* flour and plantain or other water into a tenacious paste to form the *pâpaḍ*, which is rolled into cakes as thin as wafers. These are dried in the sun and kept in quantities, and then baked at the fire until crisp, or boiled in sweet oil, and eaten with great relish.

There is another kind of these wafer biscuits called in Marâṭhi *Kalakhand*: These are made in the same way as the *pâpaḍ*, but highly seasoned with the hottest chilli pepper.

Kuṅku Hawkers.

The hawker of *Kuṅku* is generally an old woman, by caste a Hindû. She does not cry out as she goes along, but goes from house to house asking if the inmates are in want of the stuff. The *Kuṅku* "is a reddish-coloured powder, prepared by steeping the roots of turmeric for three days in water and for three days in lime-juice. The roots are then cut up into small

pieces, and kept for a day in a solution of sal ammoniac, alum, and limejuice, and when dried, ground in a hand mill," and the powder mixed with cocoanut oil. When ready for use it is applied to the forehead by married and unmarried women and girls. Widows are forbidden the use of it.

The lot of the Hindû widow is hard indeed, She is not only prevented from applying *kuṅku* to her forehead, but forbidden to see her own face in a looking-glass. At the time of the removal of the remains of her deceased husband, the *kuṅku* is rubbed off her forehead, and she herself consigned to a dark room, where nobody can see her; her very children are kept away, and nobody, not even her grown-up married daughters or her mother, will see her face. Only widows like herself can have access to her. Dinner is served her by a widow, but in case there should be no widow to do this a male cook leaves the plate in the room at some distance from her. If the unfortunate widow, who has been punished (as it is held) by the Almighty for sins done in a past life, is poor and cannot afford to employ a cook, then a daughter, if she has one, will do this service; but before approaching her, she will inform her mother that she is coming; whereupon the latter covers herself from head to foot and crouches in a dark corner. The food is then placed at some distance in the dark room, where she is kept from the time of her husband's death. "Young and old, beautiful and ugly, are alike amenable to the hateful rite. The cruel treatment of widows has long excited the compassion of Europeans, who would not be backward to do anything for the Hindû widow, but are powerless in the matter. A girl of 3, 5, or 7 is betrothed or married to a person of 30, 50, or 70." She does not know what marriage means, has perhaps never seen her lord's face or only by a shy glance, bashfully taken at him, and the person called her husband dies hundreds of miles off. The poor little thing is his widow; she cannot apply the red stuff to her forehead; she must not chew betelnut and leaves or attend dinner parties; she must not attend the marriage or thread ceremony; she is forbidden to join processions; her lot is cast in the dark recesses of a single room,—for was she not the cause of her husband's death? The younger she is, the greater the sinner she must have been to be overtaken so soon by the calamity of her husband's death, "and her accusations are proportionately malignant. Her presence is a curse that must never blight social festivity, nor sacred ritual, the house is cursed for her sake, no accident or misfortune occurs but it is her fault; she is the drudge, the butt, the sorrow, the reproach of her family." For three days a Hindû widow is not allowed to step into a new house, but three days after the housewarming is over, she may enter it. The writer of this knows of a case where a girl-widow often asked her mother, when seeing her comb her hair and apply *kuṅku*, why her (the girl's) hair was not combed nor *kuṅku* applied to her forehead, when the mother would cry bitterly, and clasping the young widow tenderly to her heart would say, "Child, it is my fate, would to God I had not been born to see you so." The mother and father led a solitary life; they attended no festivities, the former would not stir out of the house, she combed her hair and applied the *kuṅku* early in the morning before her widowed daughter left her bed to put such painful questions.

The British Government has passed a law permitting Hindû widows to re-marry, and giving them the same rights as those enjoyed by women whose husbands are still living. But a Hindû married woman will not appear before any person without *kuṅku* on. There are some women who keep a small looking-glass, and a *karandi* (wooden box) containing *kuṅku* under their pillows, and apply the latter with the help of the former early in the morning before leaving their beds. Fashionable women do not apply more *kuṅku* than would adhere to a needle point between their eyebrows, but the majority make a mark of the size of a small pea, and others of low caste and some Brâhmaṇs make the mark of the size of a shilling or a florin.

SMALL-WARE VENDORS.

The hawkers of thread and needles, &c., are Bohorâ-Muhammadans. They carry a small square wooden box on the head containing small looking-glasses with tin frames, thread, needles, pins, glass-beads called *pôt*, wool, match-boxes, soap, buttons, studs, sleeve-links, lead and slate pencils, slates, corkscrews, knives and forks, spoons, scissors, knives, note paper, envelopes, &c., and cry *Suya dhâgâ, âgini*

peti, sâbu vilâyati. The articles they vend are bought from wholesale dealers. It is women generally who buy from these hawkers.

TÂKI, TÂKI.

This is a profession followed both by Marâṭhâs (Hindûs) and Musalmans from the Dakhan, men and women. The morning and noon is the time they go about. *Tâki* means 'incision,' either on the hand-mill or a slab. They operate on curry stones and handmills. The latter, if small, is called in Marâthi *jâtê*, and if large, *gharat*,—indispensible articles in every Hindû dwelling. The curry stone is a slab 18 inches by 6 or 8, and about three inches in thickness.

The constituents of good curry stuff are a couple of chillis and a piece of cocoanut, both either dry or fresh, some fresh coriander, and saffron. These are put together and ground upon the stone, called in Marâṭhi *pâṭâ* (slab). The grinding on the *pâṭâ* is done by means of a stone roller about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 18 inches long, called *varonta.* In addition to curry stuff the well-to-do Hindûs daily grind cocoanut scrapings, which is thus made to yield a juice called either *shirê* or *dudh*—in colour like milk, and this juice they use in their *kaḍi* (curry). Now the slab and mill require at intervals a Tâkiwâlâ, who goes about with a curved iron instrument pointed at one end with a small handle made of wood fixed to it. When he is called in, the *pâṭâ* or the mill, as the case may be, is laid before him, and after fixing the price, he proceeds to hammer away to make it rough, as necessary for the proper grinding. From a half to one anna for a *pâṭâ*, and from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas for a *jatê*, and from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ as. for a *gharat* satisfies him for his labour. The muller is not operated upon, but in some cases among Portuguese it also is dressed. A few superstitious Hindus of high caste will not allow a Musalman to operate upon their *pâṭâ*, though they will not hesitate to buy a new one from a Musalman stone mason. Among the lower castes, after the re-dressing of the hand mill, a handful or two of rice is ground by the owner in the mill, and from 5 to 7 circles drawn with the flour on the middle of the public road to ensure that the work is good and may last for a long time. When the hawker goes out in pursuit of his calling, he carries his instrument on his shoulder.

SWEETMEAT SELLERS.

These men tastefully arrange their various kinds of sweetmeats, to attract people to their shops. Some of their articles are exceedingly sweet, and others indigestible, but the Hindûs and other natives indulge freely in them, and often to injurious excess. Among them the shop of Amichand, with no pretensions whatever to show, is considered the best, as the articles sold are reputed to be always made with clarified butter, *ghi,* of a superior sort, and sold at fixed prices. His *halwâ*, a kind of nutritious sweetmeat, is of the very best kind, and no high-caste Hindû, excepting a Brâhman, will buy this sweetmeat at any but Amichand's shop. He sells his *halwâ* at three annas per *seer.*

SHOE-MAKERS.

The *mochi* makes singularly formed pointed and square-toed shoes, also slippers, and it is a peculiarity that he generally works with his head uncovered.

HAWKERS OF RAGS.

These men are either Musalmans or Hindûs. They go about the town from 11 or 12 till 5 P. M., calling out "*Chindi, chithdi,*" or "*phâteli, tuteli chindi,*" 'rags, bits of rags.' The Musalman, when he is called, inspects the rags one by one, and then looking at the seller declares them not good or fit for his purpose, wishing thereby to lower their value. He then offers a trifling sum for them, and goes away a short distance, then returns offering better terms, say at the rate of six annas per *mân,* and completes the sale by paying the money. The Mahâr hawker will not pollute the rags by his touch, but have a look at them from a distance. In addition, the Mahâr picks up rags from lanes, gutters, &c, The wives and daughters of these men follow the same occupation, and even visit dust-bins, where they pick up cocoanut shells, pieces of wood, &c.

ONIONS, GARLIC AND POTATOES.

The hawkers of these are Musalmans, Banyâs and Marâṭhâs. The Banyâs mostly hawk onions and garlic only. They cry out "*Kânde, lasuṇ, batâte,*" 'onions, garlic, and potatoes.' Some, when hawking garlic, only call out "*Lasuṇ, Ghoghâri lasuṇ,*" 'garlic from Ghogha.' They purchase these articles from godowns in the markets, and retail them by weight. Their time for hawking is from 7 to 12 A. M. and again

from 3 to 5 P. M. The rest of their time they spend in their houses making preparations for the next day's sale, or in purchasing new stock from *vakhârs*.

PULSE HAWKERS.

The hawkers of pulses are either Khârvis or Marâṭhâs, Hindus by caste. Early every morning they go about the town with baskets full of pulses, calling "*Wâl, watânâ, chanê*," "dolichos, peas, and gram." These are put in water a night previous to soften them and the next day they are fit for eating, for generally no pulse is cooked without first soaking it in water. The hawker buys these articles in quantities, according to the requirements of his customers, and keeps the stock ready for sale. His busy hours are from 6 to 9 A.M. During the rest of the day some sell parched pulse calling "*Chane, kurmuri*," "gram and parched rice." Besides gram and rice, they sell almost all pulses, including ground seed, and beaten rice called in Marâthi *pohe*. At night or late in the evening they hawk about *gandheri*, or sugarcane cut into small pieces.

BUTTER-MEN.

The hawkers of butter are generally of the carpenter or Gavli caste, Hindûs with a few Musalmans. The hawker of the carpenter caste starts early in the morning from Warli, Mâhim, &c., and hawks about the European localities with a fresh supply of butter in a small wooden tray, and calls out, "*Loni*," "butter." They sell butter by a measure called *côp*, from the English word "cup." Each cup costs one anna. Hindûs seldom purchase butter from them. Butter is made at outstations, and imported in large quantities, which the well-to-do Hindus purchase and boil into *ghi*. The hawkers of the carpenter caste, who deal among Europeans, &c., make about fifteen or twenty rupees a month; the others not so much.

THE COTTON CLEANERS.

The Pinjâri or cotton cleaner in Bombay is always a Musalman. He beats the cotton against a tightened leather cord, till it becomes loose, and then fills pillow-cases and mattresses with it. He charges three pies for cleaning and filling one and a half to two seers of cotton.

CALICO-PRINTERS.

These people display much skill in printing from wooden blocks, which they hold in their hands, but their work is not much in demand, since the handsomer and less expensive English prints have come into fashion.

THE CARPENTER.

The Sûtâr goes about the streets inquiring if his services are required. He employs few tools, and in a sitting position not only makes neat furniture, but boxes of sandalwood inlaid with metal and ivory, in the most delicate and elegant patterns.

PAPER-KITE MAKERS.

As soon as the dry season sets in and the winds prevail, the trade of the *patangwâlâ* commences, for old and young of all castes delight in flying the *patang*, and while the Musalmans select those which are adorned with the crescent, the Hindûs choose those which are ornamented with stars and painted in gay colours. The price of these kites varies from one pie to twelve annas. The smaller kites are called *Vâvdi* and the larger *Patang*. The paper-kite makers are generally Musalmans.

LOCK AND KEY HAWKERS.

The hawkers of locks and keys are Bohorâs only, Musalmans by caste. They go about the town and Fort crying out "*Tâlâ, châvi*," "locks and keys," or "*alâya châvi*," "keys." They carry with them some scores of keys of different sizes on a large iron ring, and a small wooden box rolled in thick coarse cloth, containing implements necessary for repairing locks, and fitting new keys, a few broken screws and nails of sizes. The busy time for these men is from 10 or 12 o'clock to 4 P. M. There are very few of these hawkers, and they do not make more than two to three annas a day.

SHIKALGHARS—KNIFE-GRINDERS.

These are Musalmans by caste, they cry out, "*Morli suri lâ dhâr lâvâyachi*," asking whether any one wants his vegetable, or other knife, sharpened. The whet-stones are turned with a strap round the axle, and pulled to and fro by the alternate motion of the arms. They charge from one to two pice for sharpening a vegetable knife, and one pice or so for a penknife or other small instrument.

COPPER AND BRASS POT HAWKERS.

The hawkers of such articles are Hindûs, Musalmans, Banyas, Mârwâḍis, Marâṭhas, and others. They hawk about the town the whole day, and sell by weight. The Kânsârs manufacture the pots at their own houses or workshops. Few purchase them from whole-

sale dealers. The Mârwâḍi repays himself by selling those mortgaged to him and not redeemed, or he buys old and worn out ones at the lowest rate possible, and after cleaning them sells them on credit at the highest rate. Besides these Marwâḍis, Musalmans from Delhi and other places, and Mâpillas from Malabar also come to Bombay to sell such goods. These hawkers are generally well-to-do persons, being men of property; they do not cry out, but go from street to street. Those that come from Puṇâ call out "*bhâṇḍi pâtele*," "pots." They do not sell for cash, but barter for old clothes, &c. The Mâpilla from Malabar goes about ringing a small bell which he carries in his hand at intervals. The Mârwâḍi holds a brass hanging lamp in his hand and goes on shaking it, so that the chain coming in contact with the lamp produces a noise, which makes known the Indian Jew come to sell his goods.

MOLASSES.

The hawkers of molasses are by caste either Banyas or Mârwâḍis. They go about with a wooden or metal tray on their heads, full of molasses, and a scale and weights. They call "*god lé patni god*" or "*god sâkaryâ god*," meaning "take, if liquid *patni*, and if like sugar, *sâkaryâ* molasses." They hawk this article the whole of the day, especially a few days before a Hindu holiday. They do not confine themselves to the selling of molasses only, for they also sell clarified butter, sugar, oil, &c.

(*To be continued.*)

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

ELAPÂTRA NÂGA, &c.

With reference to the Rev. Mr. Beal's letter *ante*, p. 50, he writes to say that "the account of Elapâtra Nâga visiting Buddha is found in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Mahîśasaka school (Chinese version, K. xv. p. 18). The account agrees entirely with the sculpture.

"Allow me also to suggest," he continues, "that the phrase *vijaṭi vidyâdharaḥ* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XI. p. 27) does not refer to a king of the Vidyâdharas undoing his hair, but to Sumedha untwisting his hair to let Dipankara pass over, as in the legend. Sumedha is called frequently possessor of magical power (*irdhi*). In a note (p. 17) of my translation of the Legend of Dipankara Buddha, I referred the peculiar flower (called by Fahian 'a five-stalked flower') in plate L. of Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, to the girl who became Sumedha's wife. The sculpture at Bharhut evidently refers to this."

STORY OF VARARUCHI.

SIR,—Referring to Mr. Grierson's interesting paper on Maithila folk-lore in vol. X. p. 366ff., I beg to state that the story of Vararuchi is told also in the *Siṁhâsanadvâtriṁśikâ*, see my paper on this work in vol. XV. of the *Indische Studien*, pp. 249, 301-309. The names differ; the king's name is Nanda, his son is called Vijayapâla, and the minister Vahuśruta; the place of Vararuchi is filled by Śâradananda, but the queen's name[1] is the same, Bhânumatî. The four syllables *sa sé mi râ*, and the verses belonging to them are identical, with some variations. The greater number of the versions used by me read however *vi sé mi râ*, and the first verse begins there with *viśvâsa* instead of *sadbhâva*. The bear is here an *ape*. The story turns out to be founded on a Buddhistic source (the *Karmagatama*), communicated by Schiefner to Benfey, who has treated the subject in his translation of the *Pañchatantra*, p. 1208.

A. WEBER.

THE SO-CALLED HENOTHEISM OF THE VEDA.

We have long been accustomed to class religions as monotheistic and polytheistic, according as they recognize the existence of one personal God or of a plurality of such, and to call pantheistic a faith which, rejecting the personality of a Creator accepts the creation itself as divine, or holds everything to be God. The last of these is the one least definite in character, and confessedly latest in the order of development; nor has it any popular or ethnic value; it is essentially a philosophic creed, and limited to the class of philosophers. The other two, monotheism and polytheism, divide between them the whole great mass of the world's religions. As to which of the two is the earlier, and foundation of the other, opinions are, and will doubtless long or always remain, divided, in accordance with the views taken respecting the origin and first history of the human race. But it does not appear doubtful that they will settle down into two forms: either man and his first conditions of life are a miraculous creation, and monotheism a miraculous communication to him, a revelation; or, if he is a product of secondary causes, of development, and had to acquire his knowledge of the divine

[1] Preserved in the sixth verse भानुमतीतिलकं यथा.

and his relations to it in the same way with the rest of his knowledge, namely by observation and reflection, then polytheism is necessarily antecedent to monotheism; it is simply inconceivable that the case should be otherwise—nor can we avoid allowing everywhere a yet earlier stage which does not even deserve the name of religion, which is only superstition.

Nearly all the religions of men are polytheistic; monotheisms are the rare exception; namely—1, The Hebrew monotheism, with its continuators, *a*, Christianity, and *b*, Mohammedanism; and 2, the Persian monotheism, or Zoroastrianism (so far as this does not deserve rather to be called dualism): the former apparently has behind it a general Semitic polytheism; the latter certainly grows out of the Aryan or Indo-Iranian belief in many gods. That they should be isolated products of the natural development of human insight is entirely in harmony with other parts of human history; thus, for example, all races have devised instruments, but few have reduced the metals to service, and the subjugation of steam is unique; all races have acquired language, but few have invented writing: indeed, all the highest elements of civilization arise at single points, and are passed from one community to another.

A single author, of much influence—namely, M. Müller—has recently endeavoured to introduce a new member, with a new name into this classification: he calls it *henotheism* (or *kathenotheism*) 'the worship of one god at a time,' as we may render it. The germ of his doctrine is to be found in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*; where, after speaking of the various gods of the Veda, he says (p. 532, 1st. ed., 1859): "When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as limited by the power of others, as superior or inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the supplicant as good as all [*i.e.* as any of ?] the gods. He is felt at the time as a real divinity—as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers." And later (p. 526), after quotation of specimens: "When Agni, the lord of fire, is addressed by the poet, he is spoken of as the first god, not inferior even to Indra. While Agni is invoked, Indra is forgotten; there is no competition between the two, nor any rivalry between them or other gods. This is a most important feature in the religion of the Veda, and has never been taken into consideration by those who have written on the history of ancient polytheism." In his later works, where he first introduces and reiterates and urges the special name *henotheism* Müller's doctrine assumes this form: (*Lect. on Sc. of Rel.*, p. 141) that a henotheistic religion "represents each deity as independent of all the rest, as the only deity present in the mind of the worshipper at the time of his worship and prayer," this character being "very prominent in the religion of the Vedic poets;" and finally (*Or. and Growth of Rel.*, lect. VI.). that henotheism is "a worship of single gods," and that polytheism is "a worship of many deities which together form one divine polity, under the control of one supreme god."

As regards the fundamental facts of Vedic worship, Müller's statements so exaggerate their peculiarity as to convey, it is believed, a wholly wrong impression. It is very far from being true in any general way that the worship of one Vedic god excludes the rest from the worshipper's sight; on the contrary, no religion brings its gods into more frequent and varied juxtaposition and combination. The different offices and spheres of each are in constant contemplation. They are addressed in pairs: Indra-Agni, Indra-Varuṇa, Mitra-Varuṇa, Heaven and Earth, Dawn and Night, and a great many more. They are grouped in sets: the Adityas, the Maruts, Indra and the Maruts, and so on. They are divided into gods of the heaven, of the atmosphere, of the earth. And they are summed up as "all the gods" (*viśve devás*), and worshipped as a body. Only, in the case of one or two gods often, and of a few others occasionally (and of many others not at all), the worshipper ascribes to the object of his worship attributes which might seem to belong to a sole god: never, indeed, calling him sole god, but extolling him as chief and mightiest of the gods, maker of heaven and earth, father of gods and men, and so on. This fact had been often enough noticed before Müller, but no one had any difficulty in explaining it as a natural exaggeration, committed in the fervour of devotion. And it is in fact nothing else. This is evidenced by its purely occasional or even sporadic character, and by its distribution to its various objects. The office of Agni, as the fire, the god on earth, mediator and bearer of the sacrifice to the other gods, is as distinct as anything in Vedic religion, and the mass of his innumerable hymns are full of it; but he, in a few rare cases, is exalted by the ascription of more general and unlimited attributes. The exaggerations of the worship of Soma are unsurpassed and a whole Book (the ninth) of the *Rig-Veda* is permeated with them: yet it is never forgotten that after all, *soma* is only a drink, being purified for Indra and Indra's worshippers. The same

exaltation forms a larger element in the worship of Indra, as, in fact, Indra comes nearest to the character of chief god, and in the later development of the religion actually attains in a certain subordinate way that character: but still, only as *primus inter pares*. These are typical cases. There is never a denial, never even an ignoring, of other and many other gods, but only a lifting up of the one actually in hand. And a plenty of evidence beside to the same effect is to be found. Such spurning of all limits in exalting the subject of glorification, such neglect of proportion and consistency, is throughout characteristic of the Hindu mind. The *Atharva-Veda* praises (XI. 6) even the *uchchhishṭa* 'the remnant of the offering,' in a manner to make it almost supreme divinity: all sacrifices are in and through it, all gods and demigods are born of it, and so on; and its extollation of *kâla*, 'time' (XIX. 53, 54), is hardly inferior. And later, in epic story, every hero is smothered in laudatory epithets and ascriptions of attributes, till all individuality is lost; every king is master of the earth; every sage does penance by thousands of years, acquires unlimited power, makes the gods tremble, and threatens the equilibrium of the universe.

But this is exceptional only in its degree. No polytheist anywhere ever made an exact distribution of his worship to all the divinities acknowledged by him. Circumstances of every kind give his devotion special direction: as locality, occupation, family tradition, chance, preference. Conspicuous among "henotheists" is that assembly which "with one voice about the space of two hours cried out 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!'"—all other gods "disappeared for a moment from its vision." The devout Catholic, even, to no small extent, has his patron saint, his image or apparition of the Virgin, as recipient of his principal homage. If thus neither monotheism nor a monocratically ordered polytheism can repress this tendency, what exaggeration of it are we not justified in expecting where such restraints are wanting? And most of all, among a people so little submissive to checks upon a soaring imagination as the Indians?

The exaggeration of the Vedic poets never tends to the denial of multiple divinity, to the distinct enthronement of one god above the rest, or to a division of the people into Indra-worshippers and Agni-worshippers and Varuṇa-worshippers, and so on. The Vedic *cultus* includes and acknowledges all the gods together. Its spirit is absolutely that of the verse, curiously quoted by Müller among his proof-texts of henotheism: "Among you, O gods, there is none that is small, none that is young; you all are great indeed." That is to say there are an indefinite number of individual (Müller prefers to call them "single") gods, independent, equal in godhood; and hence, each in turn capable of being exalted without stint. No one of them even arrives at supremacy in the later development of Indian religion; for that the name Vishṇu is Vedic appears to be a circumstance of no moment. But, also according to the general tendencies of developing polytheism, there come to be supreme gods in the more modern period: Vishṇu, to a part of the nation; Śiva, to another part; Brahman, to the eclectics and harmonizers. The whole people is divided into sects, each setting at the head of the universe and specially worshipping one of these, or even one of their minor forms, as Krishṇa, Jagannâtha, Durgâ, Râma.

Now it is to these later forms of Hindu religion, and to their correspondents elsewhere, that Müller would fain restrict the name of polytheism. To believe in many gods and in no one as of essentially superior rank to the rest is, according to him, to be a henotheist; to believe in one supreme god, with many others that are more or less clearly his underlings and ministers, is to be a polytheist! It seems sufficiently evident that, if the division and nomenclature were to be retained at all, the names would have to be exchanged. A pure and normal polytheism is that which is presented to us in the Veda; it is the primitive condition of polytheism, as yet comparatively undisturbed by theosophic reflection; when the necessity of order and gradation and a central governing authority makes itself felt, there has been taken a step in the direction of monotheism; a step that must be taken before monotheism is possible, although it may, and generally does, fail to lead to such a result.

It may be claimed, then, that henotheism, as defined and named by its inventor, is a blunder, being founded on an erroneous apprehension of facts, and really implying the reverse of what it is used to designate. To say of the Vedic religion that it is not polytheistic but henotheistic, is to mislead the unlearned public with a juggle of words. The name and the idea cannot be too rigorously excluded from all discussions of the history of religions. It is believed that they are in fact ignored by the best authorities.[1]

W. D. WHITNEY.

[1] From a paper read before the American Oriental Society, at New Haven, Oct. 26th, 1881.

PANDHARPÛR.

BY THE REV. DR. J. MURRAY MITCHELL.

THE following notes on Paṇḍharpûr are intended as a kind of supplement to the paper on Tukârâm in the *Antiquary, supra*, pp. 57-66. Our readers will remember that Paṇḍharpûr was to Tukârâm a kind of heaven on earth; equal to all other holy places put together. To bathe in the waters of the Bhîmâ, to dance on its sands, and to gaze on the image of Viṭhobâ,—this was, to the Marâṭhâ poet, the consummation of blessedness. His ardent utterances powerfully sway, up to this hour, the mind of Mahârâshṭra; and the number of the pilgrims who visit Paṇḍharpûr is not, as yet, perceptibly falling off.

My object in this paper is to give an account of what I saw at Paṇḍharpûr, and to do so in the simplest language possible. My purpose is not to moralize, but to describe.

I have not been able to visit Paṇḍharpûr recently. I had planned to do so from Poona during last rains; but on inquiry I found that the Government bungalow was full of officials, who required all the available room; and I could not trust to finding a suitable corner in the town at a time when it was full to overflowing of pilgrims. I shall state towards the end of my paper in what respects Paṇḍharpûr has changed since I knew it. The worship, at all events, has not changed; and it is of the worship almost exclusively that I mean to speak.

My friend H. and I reached Paṇḍharpûr, at night, on the 16th December. The town is about 112 miles S. E. of Poona. We were easily led to the place by the rockets that were ascending in great numbers—partly, I suppose, to guide the pilgrims who had begun to pour in. On entering the town we could find no one who could or would tell us where to put up. Every one seemed a stranger to the place. We rode along, on our tired ponies, over paved and slippery streets, catching from a lofty bank a glimpse of the Bhîmâ glittering in the moonlight. We found our way to the public *chavaḍi*, where we were advised to put up in a *maṭh* on the opposite bank of the river, the Government bungalow not being yet furnished. Happily we had a small tent with us, which we pitched close to the *maṭh* under a clump of trees, so as to secure some measure of privacy. We could not have desired a more pleasant position. We were separated from the town by the Bhîmâ, which, however, was easily fordable on pony-back. I gazed with no small interest on a stream so celebrated in Mâraṭhî poetry. It seemed about three feet deep, and perhaps some thirty broad; winding with a clear, swift, whispering current, to mingle its classic waters with those of the distant Krishṇâ.

We were tired by a series of long marches; for there was no railway in those days, and we had started from Bombay almost too late to witness the beginning of the *yâtrâ*. Next morning we did little more than see visitors, who had already discovered the presence of European strangers.

In the afternoon towards evening, however, we crossed the river, and walked along its ample sands. Everywhere the scene was most striking. The temperature was perfect; the golden lustre of the setting sun filled the whole valley, save where it was slightly dimmed by the smoke of the pilgrims' fires; the moon, nearly full, was shining, half way up the sky, with a silvery light ever brightening as the golden hue receded; the Bhîmâ glittered and hastened on its way. The pilgrims seemed for a time subdued almost into silence by the exquisite calm of the sunset. Then as the evening advanced, and we threaded our way amidst a multitude of tents, great and small, extending along the sands for a mile at least, we came to one company after another engaged in religious recitation.

Here is a gathering of at least two hundred people, men and women, seated in a circle on the ground with no studied separation of the sexes; and beyond the sitters, are many standing. The principal actors form a kind of inner semicircle; they are about twenty in number; each is provided with a *ṭâl*; several have *chipalya* and cymbals; there is also a small drum; many have garlands round their necks. Within this semicircle stands the chief performer, with a *viṇâ* in his hand; he seems about forty-five years old, rough, and almost ragged, not high-caste in appearance, yet said to be a Brahman. He and his twenty companions stand on a carpet, which extends

far enough to allow a good many of the hearers to share it. We go nearly into the front ranks, anxious to see and hear all; there is no sign of opposition or dislike; the chief performer looks at us, but does not pause in his address. Several point to the front as our proper place; but we wave a polite declinature. We listen. The leader speaks a few sentences in Mârâṭhî; then gives a poetical quotation, which is instantly caught up by the twenty, who repeat it over and over again, with a great clashing of the tâls. The first of these quotations is—

Nâhî sukha koṇâ âliyâ sansârî—

(Happiness falls not to any who comes into the world); and the address is simply a discourse on that text; treating of the shortness of life and the vanity of all earthly joys. Man's life, said the speaker, is not one hundred years; even if it were, nearly one half goes in sleep. Then diseases come; you are laid aside; perhaps you die young. So the strain ran on; it seemed quite in the spirit of the lines—

Tukâ said, One refuge—Hari's feet—ne'er faileth;
Nothing else availeth;
All but pains thee.

"All earthly things are vanity; therefore draw thy heart away from them, and devote thyself to the worship of Viṭhobâ." Such was the exhortation—a strange mixture of truth and error. We longed to tell of a better refuge than Viṭhobâ; but the recitation was far from finished, and we had to depart before we could say anything.

The preacher introduced illustrations pretty frequently from Hindu mythology. The names of the god and his wife Rukhmâî were often mentioned; and when this was done the multitude broke out in a loud and long-continued shout. The feeling was very infectious; old men and even little children clapped their hands, and shouted, *Viṭṭhal, Viṭṭhal, jaya, jaya, Viṭṭhal* (Viṭṭhal, Viṭṭhal, victory, victory to Viṭṭhal). Almost equally frequent is the shout of *Jnândev Tukârâm*—the combined names of the two chief Marâṭhî poets, who have been exalted to the rank, at least, of demi-gods. The twenty men moved in a kind of dance. There was nothing of what could be called solemnity. The reciter sometimes stopped and told people where to sit. He once attempted a Sanskrit quotation, but broke down in the middle;—a Brahman helped him out with it; "thank you," said he, and proceeded with his address. Generally, at the end of the recitations the dancing became very animated. It was not dancing, however, so much as jumping. The leader jumped; all his assistants jumped; many of the audience jumped. Some, with heads bent down, were running wildly round. Shouting; jumping; clashing of cymbals; clouds of sand; will the people go mad? No; in the height of the tempest of emotion a loud call is heard; and instantly all is over, and the assembly breaks up. So this was what Tukâ meant when he said—

Saints are there, a noble band,
Dancing joyful on the sand!

We moved on and found some twenty assemblies at short distances from each other, all similarly employed. This sort of thing continued for hours. My friend went out again, towards midnight, to see how matters were going on, and found the reciters in many cases making desperate efforts to keep their audiences awake. One man, a Mâḷî (gardener) by caste, had his whole congregation sound asleep. My friend began to expostulate with him on his lost labour. "Do not, my good sir, take all this trouble; see, you are speaking to deaf men." "Do you think," said the preacher indignantly, "that I do this for men? I am doing it for God."

All through the night there had been borne across the river to our resting place the mingled noise of the clashing cymbals and "the sounding of the name," *i.e.* the loud shouting of the name of one of the manifestations of Vishṇu—especially Viṭṭhal. During the day, even at a considerable distance, we heard a continuous murmur which we named "the roar of the yâtrâ."

On going out early next morning we found the recitations still barely concluded. A cheerless night many of the poor pilgrims must have spent, whether they waked or slept. The breeze towards morning became very chill; and we were glad when we could exclude it from our tent. Most of the pilgrims were, doubtless under some kind of covering; but those who remained, professedly listening to the recitations all night long, were not few in number.

So, with little variation, the *kîrttans* were conducted night after night. The most notable

alteration was this—the first company we came to on the second evening was addressed by a woman. We were told she was a widow named Sâlubâî. She might have been fifty years of age. She had no band of assistants with her. She had a *vînâ* on her shoulder; but did not play nor sing;—she simply spoke in a mild, yet distinct voice. She was explaining a passage of the celebrated poem the *Jnâneśwarî* (or, as the Marâṭhâs pronounce it, Dnyâneśwarî), which is a commentary on the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*. A Brahman would have called her pronunciation and accent vulgar. We caught her meaning with difficulty; but we remained some time, admiring the quiet self-possession of the woman. There was no gesticulation—little animation; but she had the full sympathy of her audience. She uttered the words, often used as a *mantra* or spell, *Râma Krishna Hari*; and instantly the well-known sound was caught up by the hearers, and loud and long-continued was the shout, *Râma Krishna Hari*. People at last held up their hands, and called out, Hush! and Sâlubâî, in her mild persuasive tones, cried *Aikâ mâbâp—Listen, good friends.* There were about a hundred and fifty people attending with evident interest to the female preacher.

We go on. Here is an audience exceeding 400, addressed by a man with great vehemence, who has preached himself quite hoarse. Who is he? He is speaking fair Marâṭhî, but may probably be from the Gangetic valley. We find he is no disciple of our Marâṭhâ school, but a follower of the celebrated Kabîr, or Kabîr Swâmî as they call him. And here is a man addressing a small company in Hindî. He turns out to be a follower of Swâmî Nârâyaṇ, who was a teacher—to some extent a reformer—that has exercised considerable influence in Gujarât, though not in Mahârâshtra. The man holds that the supreme divinity is specially revealed in Krishna; but he says little or nothing about Viṭhobâ. He has come here apparently to proselytize; and no one hinders him. There is large toleration exercised at Paṇḍharpûr.

But this evening we already begin to perceive a most disagreeable odour in many places on the sands; indeed, it drives us away from some of the companies when we would gladly have stayed. It is a disagreeable subject to mention; yet, as having been, throughout all the centuries since *yâtrâs* and *melâs* commenced, one of their most characteristic features, it cannot be passed over in silence. At the time I refer to there were no sanitary regulations enforced at *yâṭrâs* by Government. The consequence was that, in two or three days, the air became poisoned—sickening, almost pestilential. So it used to be at all the great religious gatherings I have seen; and knowing what was to be expected, I had always to pass through a mental struggle before I could attend a *yâtrâ*—a scene, in many respects, most interesting, yet, in this one respect, unutterably disgusting. Paṇḍharpûr contains about 16,000 inhabitants. The great *yâtrâ*, which is held twice a year, brings generally about 120,000 pilgrims. Overcrowding and infinite discomfort are inevitable in such a case;—disease is frequent. But let us quit the unsavoury subject.

The cry was still, they come. Every morning, as we rode out to the sands we noted bands of pilgrims arriving. They crossed at two fords, in endless succession; men, women, children; some on foot, many on ponies, bullocks, or buffaloes, or in carts. They rested on the sands—trying to find a decently clean place; then generally they went to bathe, and stood shivering in the cold water, till we sometimes pleaded with them to get their ablutions over more quickly. After their humble meal, they moved up into the town to gaze on Viṭhobâ, "upright on the brick." We ourselves tried to penetrate into the temple. We got as far as the entrance, which is from a narrow, crowded street; but permission to go farther was politely, yet peremptorily, refused. We certainly were anxious to see that particular image. We were told it had not been fashioned by human hands but was *svayambhu, i. e.* self-produced. We were further informed that in the morning it looked like a child; at noon like a full-grown man, in the evening like an old man. All day long crowds were passing into and out of the temple. The image is in a small dark apartment which is lighted by a lamp. The temple with its aisles, courts, &c. covers a large space of ground. Part of it is very old and much decayed. Some thirty years ago, however, important repairs were executed at the expense of a Poona *Sardâr*.

It is often asserted that caste is disregarded at Paṇḍharpur; but we found that Mhârs were

not allowed to approach beyond a certain point. This led us to ask for an explanation; and we quoted one of Tukârâm's most remarkable *abhangs*, beginning—

'Twixt the low and lofty, God no difference knoweth;
Still to faith He showeth
All his glory;

in which the poet declares that the god Vithobâ assisted the Mhâr devotee, Tsokhâ Meḷâ, even to bear off dead cattle,—which is one of the most humiliating of employments. "Why then," we asked, "exclude Mhâr worshippers now?" "That was all very well for the god," was the reply; "he may do as he pleases; but men must obey the rules of caste."[1]

We were Missionaries; and of course we sought opportunities of conversing with the people and of preaching. We met no bitter opposition: many expressed a desire to hear us again. I do not enter either on the manner, or matter, of our addresses farther than as doing so may serve to illustrate the mental state of the pilgrims. We generally began, in humble imitation of the Apostle at Athens, with a *conciliatio benevolentiæ.* "You, good friends, are very much in earnest. Some of you have come 600 miles to this festival. The expense, the labour is very great; the risk to life not small; for you all know how frequently cholera breaks out at these gatherings. You expect much from this pilgrimage. How sad if you do not get what you want; but what do you want?": —somewhat in this way began our addresses. "We bathe in the Bhîmâ, and gaze on the god; and so all sin is removed, and much righteousness acquired," was the usual answer. "Are you sure that bathing in the Bhîmâ washes away sin?" "Why, who doubts it? have not I come 300 miles to be purified so?" "And how does gazing on Vithobâ give righteousness?" "Vithobâ is Îśvar; don't call the image a mere stone." We found a perpetual confusion of thought between the material image and an unseen Vithobâ. "Vithobâ," said one of the hearers, "is almighty and omnipresent." "Is he in your own village?" "To be sure." "Then why travel 400 miles to see him here?" "Ah! but this is a special Vithobâ; this is a *svayambhu* image." "Well; but is it the image or the deity, you trust in?" "The deity." And so on—the reader can conceive for himself how Christian missionaries would proceed from such a starting-point. We found then, as we had found and have found in a thousand other cases, that you may say anything you please to the people without giving offence, provided your manner and words be friendly. A little gentle irony is at times unavoidable; but anything approaching scorn or sarcasm must sedulously be shunned; and if this is done, the common people (though not always the Brahmans) hear you gladly.

We heard less of miracles being performed than we had expected. "We shall show you a stone that swims on water," said one. We said we should be glad to see it; but somehow the promise was not kept. "When the palanquin of Vithobâ goes to the Bhîmâ, the river rises to meet it," said another. We saw the procession of the palanquin by and by; but no one afterwards referred to the homage of the water.

We were anxious to discover what precise meaning was affixed to the phrase which we heard continually—that the waters of the Bhîmâ "wash away sin." Evidently the pilgrims believed that the guilt of sin was removed; but did they hold that their hearts were also purified? We repeatedly put questions regarding this. "Unless our hearts are purified," said one man, "there is little good in our coming here." But *were* they purified? we persisted in inquiring; did experience show that they were? No one affirmed that they were; or if one or two maintained this, it was easy to silence them by proverbs current in all parts of India to the effect that those who go on pilgrimage generally come back worse men than before. "Visit Benares thrice," say our Marâṭhâ people, "and you become a thorough scoundrel." We asked again—"when a pilgrim visits Pandharpûr, does he not generally carry home a load of pride and self-conceit?" "Too often," was the reply. "Has he then got any good by bathing in the Chandrabhâgâ?" "Very little." "Has he not got harm?" "Perhaps."

[1] Tukârâm thus contrasts three great places of pilgrimage:—
At Kâśî, they shave the head; at Dwârakâ, they brand the arm;
But at Pandharî, all become one;
The eighteen castes are all just Vaishṇavas,—
There is no other belief at Pandharî.

Poor, simple country-folks; it is custom, rather than real conviction, that brings them to Paṇḍharpûr. But custom in India is omnipotent.

Tukârâm and his brother poets, who extol the importance of *bhakti*, do not inculcate extreme asceticism. We were therefore rather surprised to see at least six persons, during the festival, who were performing *daṇḍawaṭ* around the temple, some of them having come in the same fashion from great distances. They prostrated themselves on their faces on the ground; with a small piece of stick they made a semicircle as far in front of the head as the arm could reach; they then rose and, planting their feet on the mark thus made, prostrated themselves again. Another man had come, rolling like a log at the rate of two miles a day, from the neighbourhood of Nâgpûr, occupying about two years in the achievement. We talked with these people. Some of them disliked the interruption; but one man, after a friendly conversation, said—"Gentlemen, if your words are true, I had better go home at once."

In most cases such austerities were performed in fulfilment of a vow. Some blessing had been prayed for and the vow made. When the votary believed that the prayer had been heard, the vow was faithfully performed. In other cases, righteousness was sought for; the penance was a work of supererogation done to merit a great reward in the next birth. In one case the object was distinctly stated to be worldly good in the present birth. I think that in three out of the six cases, the observance was in fulfilment of a vow. In one instance a child had been given; in another, a child had recovered from sickness; in a third, a nephew had done so.

We were not a little touched by these last cases and the details mentioned in connexion with them. Those poor hearts were grateful, however much mistaken as to the mode of rendering thanks and as to the Being who had granted the blessing. We tried to deal tenderly, as well as faithfully, with such worshippers as these.

The crowding of the worshippers into the small apartment in which the god resides was reported to us as exceedingly great. Women were often injured in the dreadful crush; sometimes subjected to sad indignities; sometimes had their ornaments torn off. A thoughtful English magistrate had ruled, a few years before, that the sexes, on the great day of the feast, should, as far as possible, be kept separate. Even as we could see, the police peons beat the people mercilessly with twisted and knotted cloths, to keep them, as they said, in order. Altogether, the scene was one of terrible confusion; and it passed our power to conceive how any feeling akin to devotion could long animate the breast of any of the struggling, reeking multitude.[2] But the sight of the image was overpayment for all their toils and trials. So, at least, they said,—even as Tukâ sang more than two hundred years ago—

Said Tukâ, This is all my happiness—
I shall see the blessed face of Viṭhobâ.

Western readers would hardly believe that the very men who were thus earnest in worshipping would, next day or perhaps an hour later, enjoy a little playful banter, or even downright ridicule of the whole exhibition. We had heard an *abhang* of Nâmâ's quoted, in which the glory of Paṇḍharpûr and Viṭhobâ was celebrated in strains more wildly hyperbolical than anything Tukâ ever wrote. Well, we made a parody on Nâmâ's verses, and repeated the lines to the people. They were instantly caught up and repeated with laughter, till we regretted that we had ever uttered them; and for this reason, that we did not deem it right to treat any religious belief with ridicule. But be it remembered that the Hindus themselves can, at one hour, worship their deity with all seeming reverence, and at another quiz him without mercy.[3] Strange people; when shall we fully understand them?

We had heard that the observances at Gopalpûr on the great and closing day of the festival would far surpass in interest anything

[2] Of late several new entrances have been made by Government. Ingress and egress are now far easier than before; and within the temple people can breathe more freely. These improvements were made at the suggestion of a deputy collector who died soon after they were effected. The god was displeased with his foolish interference, and punished him with death; so say the people connected with the temple.

[3] Thus, Ganeśa, the remover of difficulties—"Ganĕśa sublime," as Campbell calls him in the "Pleasures of Hope," violating both prosody and common sense—is a god much worshipped. Yet, with his elephant head and huge belly, he rides on a rat. Accordingly, the following lines are popular all over Mahârâshtra:—

Poor Ganpati bewails his rat
Abstracted by felonious cat;
"Short are my thighs; how can I trudge?
And how shall this big belly budge?"

we had witnessed. We accordingly proceeded to Gopâlpûr, distant rather more than a mile from Paṇḍharpûr; and we did so with high expectations. The road was densely crowded with men, women, children—many on foot, some on ponies, a few in palanquins; and there were some elephants and camels. This promised to be a grand occasion. The pilgrims—many of them—bore small flags, generally of a dirty red colour. Streams of people were evidently coming in from the villages around. On, on to a rising ground, on which stands a large and solidly built temple. We ascended to the summit, and waited patiently for the expected ceremonies. Still the people poured in, till an immense crowd surrounded the temple. Murmurs; the clashing of cymbals; occasional shouts; showers of parched grain, which are flung about till the ground becomes perfectly white. People crowd into the temple; but we are of course excluded. The bands of pilgrims, with their multitudinous banners, still fill all the road to Paṇḍharpûr; they look almost like regiments marching to battle. But what is it all about? There is no recitation; it is all play. Men wrestle; some stand on one leg; some dance; others fence with sticks; all sorts of antics go on. There, positively, are women dancing with men;—can we believe our eyes? Occasional shouts—loud, almost terribly so; clapping of hands—how the thing spreads! It runs along the line of pilgrims, far into the distance towards Paṇḍharpûr. At length we see a large black clay vessel, fastened on a tree; it is broken, and the mingled *dahi* (curdled milk) and parched grain tumble down, are snatched up by the screaming, struggling crowd below, and greedily devoured. And so ends the ceremony; which is evidently meant to commemorate the sports of the youthful Kṛishna, in the groves of Vṛindâvan. (Viṭhobâ is a manifestation of Kṛishna.) We ride slowly back, sadder and perhaps wiser men,—talking to the pilgrims who return singing the praises of the god, but are anxious now to get back to their own homes.

We were informed that they would now hurry off because it was the day of the full-moon; and it was said that, if it had not come before, disease would certainly break out in a violent form on that day. The dreaded cholera had not yet come; but the terrific demon-goddess was sure speedily to make up for lost time;—away, therefore, at once! So thought multitudes; and all day the two fords were crowded with people, bullocks, ponies, carts,—all speeding from Paṇḍharpûr. Soon the Bhîmâ sands began to wear a different appearance; not a few tents were struck by the afternoon.

That evening came the procession of the god in his palanquin. We ride over to the town at a pretty late hour; the procession is already begun,—stormy music proclaims it. We move on through the narrow winding streets, till we meet the palanquin. First come the musicians, with two enormous brazen trumpets, which they use now and then; there are two smaller trumpets, flutes, cymbals, drums; men with baskets of rockets to be discharged, blue lights, blazing lights of all kinds. Then comes a company singing, dancing, and shouting *Dnyândev Tukârâm, Dnyândev Tukârâm*,—some holding large, floating banners. We stand in a lane and look on the crowd as it passes. How slowly they move! At last comes the palanquin, carried by twelve or fourteen men; it is splendidly adorned; there are very rich cushions of red silk; but we can see no image, and we are told that only the *pâdukâ* (marks of feet) are there in brass or, as some say, silver. The excited people gaze on the two Europeans. The late hour, the wild music, and the lurid lights might awaken a feeling of insecurity. Had the crowd been composed of Musalmans, there would have been danger; but we can trust the Hindus. We quietly look on; and not a word is said on either side. We then proceed to the river, recollecting what had been said about the Bhîmâ saluting the god; but our patience becomes exhausted before the palanquin reaches the water.

I seem to have omitted to mention in its proper place the procession of the chariot. We had visited the *rath* a day or two before it was to be used; it was a lofty, cumbrous erection of wood. A poor decrepit wretch was lying beneath it; and, as we examined the structure, "this also," said he, "hears prayers." We were startled; yet the sentiment was thoroughly Hindu. Even from the most ancient days,—those of the hymns of the Rig Veda—implements used in sacrifice or worship have been regarded as partaking of divinity, and have been prayed to accordingly. Thousands of people wait for the procession of the chariot, on walls,

on roofs, at windows. Bands of pilgrims parade the streets, beating ṭâls, and shouting *Dnyândev Tukârâm.* But here comes the chariot, drawn by apparently hundreds of men holding on by two immense, strong cables. Two similar ropes are attached to it behind. As the huge vehicle comes on rumbling, tumbling, jolting, crashing, along the rudely paved streets, the question occurs:—Can the worshippers intend this as a pleasure drive to Viṭhobâ? It is enough to break every bone in his body, if he has any bones to break. Or is it a procession in state? Strange that any one can think this frightful hubbub exalts the dignity of the god. People fling quantities of sweetmeats and dried fruits, which the bystanders eagerly catch up; and the procession turns to fun and frolic, except when a great lurch sends the crowd a-flying. A good many people stand on the car with chowries in their hands, vociferating loudly. The silver image of Viṭhobâ, which is raised on the front, is small. A small brass canopy overhangs it. A horse richly caparisoned is led in front of the chariot. "Whose horse is this?" we asked. "The god's horse, of course." "Does Viṭhobâ then take a ride occasionally?" No answer, except a sort of grin. This procession took place during the day. The people came crowding around us—most willing to listen. Some of them seemed to think the whole exhibition childish.

Probably the details I have mentioned are sufficient to give a tolerably clear idea of the worship performed at Paṇḍharpur during the two great annual festivals. Considerable numbers of devotees resort to it at other times, all through the year. About ten thousand are said to arrive on the 11th day of each Hindu month—to bathe in the Chandrabhâgâ and gaze on Viṭhobâ.

I cannot at present inquire into the origin of the worship at Paṇḍharpûr. I incline to believe, with Dr. Stevenson and others, that Paṇḍharpûr was originally a gathering place of the Buddhists, which has been usurped and gradually Hinduized. We found it was no uncommon belief that Viṭhobâ was an image of the Bauddha Avatâr rather than of Kṛishna. There are still in Paṇḍharpûr about 75 families of Jains. Some of these said that Viṭhobâ was properly "a Jain deity" (meaning *tîrthankar*). About eight of the seventy-five families have the designation of *Viṭṭhal dâs*, or *slaves of Viṭṭhal.* These play on instruments before the palanquin and the image in the temple.

I do not seem yet to have mentioned the *Baḍave* or sons of the river (*Gangâputra*), who with their families amount to about 500 persons, all Brahmans. These are the men who show the visitors the temples, images, &c. and who receive the offerings they bring. Those of the "sons of the river" with whom we came in contact were amazingly ignorant of everything except the ceremonies to be performed and the price to be paid.

We had intended to remain at Paṇḍharpûr till the pilgrims had all dispersed. But as we crossed the sands on the evening of the full-moon, the unutterably filthy condition of the place not only filled us with disgust but made one of us seriously ill. So we suddenly altered our plans, and marched off to a neighbouring village.

I visited Paṇḍharpur a few years afterwards. On that occasion cholera broke out; and we had to minister to the bodies, as well as the souls, of the pilgrims. Happily the disease did not appear in so virulent a form as, in those days, it often assumed at the great gatherings.

A few years ago, a disappointed worshipper actually threw a great stone at the image and smashed one of its knees. The "self-existent" Viṭhobâ has now a broken leg. Still, the pilgrimage seems as popular as ever; the visitors do not sensibly diminish. It is even possible that, when the projected railway to Bârsî Road is constructed, the attendance may increase—that is, for a time.

This paper threatens to exceed its proper dimensions. I hasten therefore to notice that the last statement I have read regarding Paṇḍharpûr is one made by its inhabitants themselves, in November last year. The place had then the honour of a visit from Sir James Fergusson, Governor of Bombay; and in the address made to His Excellency by the Managing Committee of the School of Industry, the following words occur:—"From a dirty place, in which garbage and filth of all kinds were the conspicuous features, whose only water-supply consisted of the impure waters of the Bhîmâ, and whose name was ever associated with the outbreak and spread of virulent cholera epide-

mics, Pandharpûr has developed into a decent-looking, clean town, with a plentiful water-supply, and enjoying comparatively as much immunity from cholera as any other mofussil station."

We pause in the midst of our quotation. Alas! poor Tukâ, has it come to this? Is thy beloved Chandrabhâgâ to be thus spoken of? The impure waters of the Bhîmâ! And is thy "blessed, blessed Pandhari," thy "second heaven," to be called "a dirty place, full of filth and garbage," and that by its own children? Well; *we* at least can pardon the scorners, when they tell us farther that "sanitation has lately been much attended to; the annual outlay under this head being Rs. 7,500."

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET., Bo. C.S, M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 127.)

No. CXXIV.

Amongst the numerous stone-tablets extant at Lakshmêśwar, there is one which has on it the remains of an Old-Canarese inscription of Gôvinda III. in which he is mentioned by his name of Śrîballaha, *i.e.* Śrîvallabha. Lakshmêśwar itself is mentioned, in line 3, under the name of Purigere; and this is the form used in all the Râshṭrakûṭa inscriptions that mention the place, though the inscriptions of other dynasties use the form Puligere. The fragment does not contain the date, and it consists only of twelve lines of about seven letters each; it therefore cannot be edited unless some further portions of the tablet can be found.

No. CXXV.

The last inscription of Gôvinda III. that remains to be noticed is the copper-plate grant from Wani, in the Dindôrî Tâlukâ of the Nâsik District, which was published by Mr. Wathen in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, O. S., Vol. V., pp. 343 &c. I reëdit this inscription now from the original plates, which belong to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The plates are three in number, each about 10¾" long, by 7¾" broad at the ends and a little less in the middle. The edges of the plates were fashioned slightly thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is very well preserved, except about the centre of the second side of the second plate. The writing on the plates is arranged so that they read consecutively if they are turned over like the pages of an English book; this is a somewhat exceptional arrangement in copper-plate grants, or in Hindu documents of any description. The ring, which had been cut before the grant came into my hands, is about ⅝" thick, and 4¼" in diameter. The seal on it is circular, about 2¼" in diameter; and it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, an image of the god Śiva, above a floral device, sitting cross-legged and facing to the front, and very similar in details to the image of the same god on the seals of the grants of Dantidurga and Gôvinda III., Nos. CXXI. and CXXIII. above. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

The seventeen verses of this inscription are all repeated in the Râdhanpur inscription. And, in addition to them,—between the sixth and seventh verses of this grant, the Râdhanpur grant inserts another verse beginning *Êkatr=âtma-vahêna*, descriptive of Dhôra or Dhruva hemming in the Pallavas between his army on the one side and the ocean on the other, and despoiling them of their elephants; the eleventh verse of this grant, which consists of five *pâdas* and is hardly translatable as it stands, is in the Râdhanpur grant properly given in two verses of four *pâdas* each; between the twelfth and thirteenth verses of this grant, the Râdhanpur grant inserts another verse beginning *Saṁdhây=âsu śilîmukhân*, descriptive of the flight of the Gurjara king before Gôvinda III.; and between the fifteenth and sixteenth verses of this grant, the Râdhanpur grant inserts another verse beginning *Lêkhâhâra-mukh-ôdit-ârddha-vachasâ*, and describing how, before Gôvinda's messenger could utter more than half of the message that was sent by him, the lord of Veṅgî came and worked for Gôvinda III. like a servant, and built for him the high walls of a town or fort. The fact that the Gurjara king, and the lord of Veṅgi,—apparently the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayâditya, also called Narêndra-mṛigarâja, who reigned from about Śaka 710

to Śaka 750,—are not mentioned in the present grant, suggests the inference that it was between the dates of the two grants[1] that Gôvinda III. conquered them.

The present grant is issued from the capital of M a y û r a k h a ṇ ḍ î, which Dr. Bühler[2] has identified with Môrkhaṇḍa, a hill-fort to the north of Waṇi.[3] It is dated Śaka 730 for 728 (A. D. 806-7), the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*. And it records a grant of the village of A m b a k a g r â m a, in the Vaṭanagara *vishaya* or district of the Nâsika *dêśa* or country. Ambakagrâma has been identified for me by Mr. W. Ramsay, C.S., with the modern Ambê, to the south of Waṇi; and Vârikhêḍa with the modern Warkhêḍ on the river Unandâ, evidently the Pulindâ of the inscription, close to Ambê, and about eight miles south of Waṇi. The other places mentioned in the inscription remain to be identified; Vaṭanagara being, perhaps, the modern Waṇi.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Sa vô=vyâd=Vêdhasâ dhâma yan-nâbhi-kamalaṁ kṛitaṁ | Haraś=cha yasya kânt-
êndukalayâ kam=alaṁkṛitaṁ |(||) Bhûpô=bhavad=vṛihad-ura[ḥ*]sthala-

[2] râjamâna-śrî-kaustubh-âyata-karair=upagûḍha-kaṇṭhaḥ saty-ânvitô vipula-chakra-vinirjit-
âri-chakrô=py=akrishṇacharitô

[3] bhuvi Krishṇa-râjaḥ [||*] Paksha-chchhêda-bhay-âśri(śri)t-âkhila-mahâ-bhûbhṛik(t)-kula-
bhrâjitâd=durlaṁghyâd=aparair=anêka-vimala-bhrâjishṇu-

[4] ratn-ânvitât yaś=Châlukya-kulâd=anûna-vivu(bu)dha-vrât-âśrayô vâridhêr=llakshmîn(m)=
Mandara-vat=salîlam=achirâd=âkṛi-

[5] shṭavâṁ(n) Vallabhaḥ [||*] Tasy=âbhût=tanayaḥ pratâpa-visarair=âkrânta-diṅmaṁḍa-
(ḍa)laś=chaṁḍâ[ṁ*]śô[ḥ*] sadṛiśô=py=a[4]chaṁḍakaratâ-pra-

[6] hlâdita-kshmâtalaḥ Dhôrô[5] dhairya-dhanô vipaksha-vanitâ-vaktr-âṁvu(bu)ja-śrî-harô
hârîkṛitya yaśô yadîyam=ani-

[7] śaṁ diṅ-nâyikâbhi[r*]=ddhṛitaṁ [||*] Jyêshṭh-ôl[l*]aṁghana-jâtay=âpy=amalayâ
lakshmyâ samêtô=pi san=yô bhû-nirmala-maṁḍa-

[8] la-svi(sthi)ti-yutô dôsh-âkarô na kvachit=Karṇ-âdha[ḥ*]sthita-dâna-saṁtati-bhṛitô
yasy=ânya-dân-âdhikaṁ dânaṁ vî-

[9] kshya su-lajjitâ iva diśâṁ prântê sthitâ dig-gajâḥ [||*] Anyair=ṇṇa(nna) jâtu
vijituṁ(taṁ) guru-śakti-sâram=âkrâ-

[10] nta-bhûtalam=ananyasamâna-mânaṁ yên=êha va(ba)ddham=a[va*]lôkya chirâya
Gaṁgaṁ dûraṁ[6] sva-nigraha-bhiy=ê-

[11] va Kaliḥ prayâtaḥ [||*] Hêlâ[7]-svîkṛita-Gauḍa-râjyakamalâ-mattaṁ pravêśy=
âchirâd=durmârgam=Maru-ma-

[12] dhyam=aprativa(ba)lai[r*] yô Vatsarô(râ)jaṁ va(ba)laiḥ Gauḍîyaṁ śarad-indu-
pâda-dhavalaṁ chha(chchha)tra-dvayaṁ kô(kê)valaṁ tasmân=n=âhṛita ta-

[13] d-yaśô=pi kakubhâṁ prântê sthitaṁ tat-kshaṇât[8] [||*] Lavdha(bdha)-pratishṭham=
achirâya Kaliṁ su-dûram=utsâ[r*]ya śuddha-charitair=dharaṇî-

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[1] *i. e.*, between the full-moon of Vaiśâkha of the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, Śaka 728, and the new-moon of Śrâvana of the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, Śaka 729.

[2] Vol VI., p. 69.

[3] Lat. 20° 24′ N., Long. 74° E.

[4] The engraver commenced to cut the *i* of *api*, and then left it unfinished.

[5] Mr. Wathen read *Paurô*. But the facsimile will show that the first syllable is certainly *dhô* here, as also in l. 5 of Dr. Bühler's grant. Also, contrast the *pau* of *pautrâya*, l. 39, and the slightly different *pau* of *pautra*, l. 44.

[6] Mr. Wathen read *Gâṁgaṁ pûraṁ*; and Dr. Bühler, in his grant, reads *Gaṁga-pûraṁ*. But in both grants the facsimile distinctly reads *dûraṁ*. In Dr. Bühler's grant, the final *Anusvâra* of *Gaṁgaṁ* has been omitted. In the present grant, there is a mark over the second *ga*, and another after the *ga* and on the upper line of the writing, either of which may be meant for the *Anusvâra*.

[7] In Dr. Bühler's grant, this verse is preceded by one commencing *Êkatr=âtma-vahêna*, and describing the conquest and humiliation of the Pallava king.

[8] We have here, and also in *abhût*, l. 14,—as also in the same words in ll. 14 and 15 of Dr. Bühler's grant, and in *bhrâjitât*, l. 3, *anvitât*, l. 4, *Pallavât*, l. 11, *na kvachit* and *achirât*, l. 12, *abhyadhât*, l. 21, *âyatât*, l. 24, and *na chêt*, l. 35, of his grant,—rather a curious sign. In l. 38 of Dr. Bühler's grant, but *not* in the corresponding passage in l. 32 of the present grant, it occurs also after the verse ending with *tad-girâ*; and it was probably the fact that that verse happens to be the twentieth in his grant, coupled with the resemblance which this sign, as rendered by him in his footnote to the passage, has to the old numerical symbol for 20 (see Vol. VI., p. 44, cols. 3 and 4), which led him to interpret it as the numerical symbol for twenty, denoting the number of the verse. But, in doing so, he overlooked the facts,—1, that none of the other verses in his grant are numbered;

[14] talasya kritvâ punaḥ Kṛitayuga-śṛi(śri)yam=a[py=a*]śêshaṁ chitraṁ kathaṁ Nirupamaḥ Kalivallabhô=bhût [||*] Prâbhûd=dhai[r*]yavatas=tatô Niru-

[15] pamâd=indu[r*] yathâ vâridhêḥ śuddh-âtmâ paramêśvar-ônnata-śiraḥ-saṁsakta-pâdaḥ sutaḥ padm-ânandakaraḥ pratâ-

[16] [pa*]-sahitô nity-ôdayaḥ sônnatêḥ pûrv-âdrêr=iva bhânumân=abhimatô Gôvinda-râjaḥ satâṁ [||*] Yasmiṁ(n) sarva-guṇ-âśra-

[17] yê kshitipatau Śri-Râshṭrakûṭ-ânvayô jâtê Yâdava-vaṁśa-van=Madhuripâv=âsîd=alaṁghyaḥ paraiḥ dṛishṭ-âś-âvadha-

[18] yaḥ kṛitâ[ḥ*] syu(su)-sadṛiśâ dânêna yên=ôddhatâ mukt-âhâra-vibhûshitâ[ḥ*] sphuṭam=iti pratyarthinô=py=arthinâm |(||) Âstâm[9]

Second plate; first side.

[19] tâta tav=aitad=apratihatâ dattâ tvayâ kaṇṭhikâ kiṁ n=âjñ=aiva mayâ dhṛit=êti pitaraṁ yuktaṁ vachô yô=bhyadhât=tasmiṁ(n) svarga-

[20] vibhûshaṇâya janakê yâtê yaśaḥ-śêshatâm=êkîbhûya samudyatân=vasumatîn(m)=êkô=pi yô dvâdaśa khyâtâ-

[21] n=apy=adhika-pratâpa-visarais=saṁvartakô=rkân=iva |(||) Yên=âtyanta-dayâlun=âtha nigaḍa-klêśâd=apâsy=âyatât=sva-

[22] n=dêśaṁ gamitô=pi darpa-visarâd=yaḥ prâtikûlyê sthitaḥ yâvan=na bhṛi(bhru)kuṭi lalâṭa-phalakê yasy=ônnatê lakshyatê vikshê-

[23] pêṇa vijitya tâvad=achirâd=va(ba)ddhaḥ sa Gaṁgaḥ punaḥ [||*] Yat-[10]pâd-ânati-mâtrak-aika-śaraṇâm=âlôkya lakshmîn=nijân=dû-

[24] rân=Mâlava-nâyakô naya-parô yat=prâṇamat=prâñjali[ḥ*] kô vidvâṁ(n) va(ba)linâ sah=âlpa-va(ba)lakaḥ sparddhân(m)=vidhattê

[25] parâṁ nîtês=tad=dhi phala[11]ṁ yad=âtma-parayôr=âdhikya-saṁvêdanaṁ |(||) Vindhy-âdrêḥ kaṭakê nivishṭa-kaṭa[ka*]ṁ śrutvâ charai[r*] ya[ṁ*]

[26] nijaiḥ svan=dêśaṁ samupâgataṁ dhruvam=iva jñâtvâ bhiyâ prêritaḥ Mârâśarva-mahîpatir=drutam=agâd=aprâ-

[27] ptapûrvaiḥ paraiḥ yasy=êchchhâm=anukûlayaṁ(n) kula-dhanaiḥ pâdau praṇâmair=api |(||) Nîtvâ Śrîbhavanê

[28] ghanâghana-ghana-vyâpt-âmva(mba)râṁ prâvṛishaṁ tasmâd=âgatavâṁ(n) samaṁ nija-va(ba)lair=â-Tuṁgabhadrâ-

[29] taṭaṁ tatra-sthaḥ sva-kara-sthitâm=api punar=ni[ḥ*]śêsham=âkṛishṭavân=vikshêpair=api chitram=ô(â)nata-ri-

[30] puḥ yaḥ Pallavânâ[ṁ*] śṛi(śri)yaṁ |(||) Santrâsât[12]=para-chakra-râjakam=agât=tat-pûrva-sêvâ-vidhir(dhi)-vyâva(ba)ddh-âñjali-śôbhi-

[31] śôbhi[13]têna śaraṇaṁ mûrdhnâ yad-aṁhṛi(ghri)-dvayaṁ yad-yad-datta-parârdhya-bhûshaṇa-gaṇair=n=âlaṁkṛitaṁ tat=tathâ mâ bhaishîr=iti satya-

[32] pâlita-yaśaḥ-thi(sthi)tyâ yathâ tad-girâ |(||) Tên=êdam=anila-vidyuch-chañchalam=avalôkya jî[14]vitam=asâraṁ kshiti-dâna-

2, that the twentieth verse in his grant, though it is the last of the genealogical descriptive portion, is not the last of the whole metrical portion of the grant, but is followed immediately by one more verse; and therefore there was no particular reason for particularising it with a numeral; and 3, that, in ll. 3, 4, 11, 12, 14, 15, 21, 24, and 35, of his grant, he has rendered precisely the same sign by final *t*.—In the present grant there are only seventeen verses; so this point furnishes no criterion. Also, in the words *bhrâjitât*, *achirât*, *abhyadhât*, and *âyatât*, of Dr. Bühler's grant, the final *t* is, in this grant, avoided by *Saṁdhi*; the words *Pallavât*, *na kvachit*, and *na chêt*, of his grant, do not occur in this grant; and, in the case of *anvitât*, l. 4, as also in *vasêt*, l. 56, we have, in this grant, distinctly the usual form of *ta*, with a *Virâma* under it to denote the absence of a vowel.—The fact, of course, remains that a final *t* is not wanted, and is a mistake, after *tad-girâ*, the closing word of the twentieth verse in Dr. Bühler's grant.—But, taking all these instances together, it appears to me clear and certain that this sign is nothing but a special form of final *t*.

9 This is a verse of five *pâdas*. In Dr. Bühler's grant, ll. 19 to 23, some additional matter is given, and we have two complete verses of four *pâdas* each. It is difficult to translate the verse without this additional matter especially as it contains no verb; in my translation, therefore, I complete the meaning from Dr. Bühler's grant.

10 In Dr. Bühler's grant, this verse is preceded by one commencing *Saṁdhây=âśu śilîmukhân*, and describing the defeat of the Gurjara king.

11 The engraver cut *ya* first, and then altered it into *la*.

12 In Dr. Bühler's grant, this verse is preceded by one commencing *Lêkhâhâra-mukh-ôdit-ârddha-vachasâ*, and describing the building of the walls of a town or fortress for Gôvinda by the lord of Vengî.

13 These two syllables, *śôbhi*, are repeated unnecessarily.

14 The engraver first cut *vi*, and then altered it into *jî* without properly cancelling the *i*.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH PECKHAM

[33] parama-puṇyaḥ pravartitô vra(bra)hma-dâyô=yaṁ |(||) Sa cha paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrîma-

[34] d-Dhârâvarshadêva-pâd-ânudhyâta[ḥ*][15] paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-Śrî-Prabhûta-

[35] varshadêva-prithvîvallabha-Śrî-Gôvindarâjadêvaḥ kuśalî sarvân=êva yathâsamva(mba)-dhyamânakân=râ-

[36] shṭrapati-vishayapati-grâmakûṭ-âyuktaka-niyuktak-âdhikârika-mahattar-âdîṁ(n) samâdi-

Second plate; second side.

[37] śaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ Mayûrakhaṇḍî-samâvâsitêna mayâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=ch=aihik-âmushmika-

[38] puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê | Veṁgi[16]vâstavya-tachchâturvidyasâmânya-Bhâradvâjasagôtra-Taiṭri(ttirî)yasadvra(bra)hmachâ-

[39] ri-Vishṇubhaṭṭa-pautrâya Dâmôdara-du(dvi)vêdi-putrâya Dâmôdara-chaturvêda(di)-bhaṭṭâya Nâsika-dêśîya-Vaṭanagara-[17]

[40] vishay-ântargataḥ Amva(mba)ka-grâmaḥ tasya ch=âghâṭâḥ pûrvataḥ Vaḍavura[18]-grâmaḥ dakshiṇataḥ Vârikhêḍa-grâmaḥ

[41] paśchimataḥ Pallitavâḍa[19]-grâmaḥ Pulindâ-nadî cha uttarataḥ Padmanâla-[20]grâmaḥ êvam=ayaṁ chatur-âghâ-

[42] ṭan-ôpalakshitaḥ sôdraṁgaḥ sa(sô)parikaraḥ sadaṁḍadaśâparâdhaḥ sabhûtôpâttapratyâyaḥ sôtpadyamâ-

[43] mavishṭikaḥ sadhânyahiraṇyâdêyaḥ achâṭabhaṭapravêśya[ḥ*] sarvva-râjakîyânâm=aha

[44] stapraksbêpaṇîyaḥ â-châ(cha)ndr-ârk-ârṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvata-samakâlîna[ḥ*] putra-pautr-ânva-

[45] ya-kram-ôpabhôgyaḥ pûrvva-pradatta-dêva-vra(bra)hma-dâya-varjitô=bhyantara-siddhyâ bhûmi-

[46] chhi(chchhi)dra-nyâyêna Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu tṛi(tri)ṁśad-adhikê-

[47] shu Vyaya-saṁvatsarê Vaiśâkha-sita-paurṇamâsî-sômagrahaṇa-mahâ-parvvaṇi va(ba)-

[48] li-charu-vaiśvadêv-âgnihôtr-âtithi-paṁchamahâyajña-kṛi(kri)y-ôtsarpaṇ-ârthaṁ snâtv=âdy=ôdak-âtisargê-

[49] ṇa pratipâditaḥ [| *] yatô=sy=ôchitayâ vra(bra)hmadâya-sthityâ bhuṁjatô bhôjayataḥ kṛishataḥ karsha-

[50] yataḥ pratidiśatô vâ na kaiśchid=alp=âpi paripa[ṁ*]thanâ kâryâ [| *] tath=âgâmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhir=asma-

[51] d-vaṁśyair=anyair=vvâ sâmânyaṁ bhûmi-dâna-phalam=avêtya vidyul-lôlâny=anity[âny*]=aiśvaryâṇi tṛiṇ-âgra-la-

[52] gna-jala-vindu-chaṁchaṁ(cha)laṁ cha jîvitam=âkalayya sva-dâya-nirviśêshô=yam=asmad-[d*]âyô=numanta-

Third plate.

[53] vyaḥ pratipâlayitavyaś=cha [|*] yaś=ch=âjñâna-timira-paṭal-âvṛita-matir=âchhi-(chchhi)-dyâd=âchhi(chchhi)dyamâ-

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[15] The whole may of course be correctly treated as a compound; but the insertion of a *Visarga* here is permissible, and it serves to conveniently divide a very long word.

[16] Mr. Wathen read *Veśiṁ*. But the consonant of the second syllable is clearly *g*, not *ś*. The *Anusvâra* is altogether in the wrong place to belong to the second syllable; and, though it is not directly above the *ve*, as it should be, we have similar instances of its being placed as it is placed here, a little to the right of its proper place, in, *e. g.* the *taṁ* of *saṁviditaṁ* in the preceding line, in *triṁśad*, l. 46, and in *shashṭiṁ*, l. 59.—The *Anusvâra* of *chaṁḍa*, l. 5, might be quoted as an instance for reading it here as belonging to the second syllable. But at that place, there was hardly room to put the *Anusvâra* in its proper position. And, as reading it here as part of the first syllable gives us an intelligible and familiar name, there is no reason for adopting the contrary course.

[17] Mr. Wathen read *Vaṇnagara*; but, as the facsimile shows, wrongly.

[18] Mr. Wathen read *Vaḍatura*; but the last two syllables are certainly *vura*.

[19] Mr. Wathen read *Pallitavâra*; but the consonant of the last syllable is *ḍ*, not *r*.

[20] Mr. Wathen read *Padmavâla*; but the consonant of the last syllable but one is *n*, not *v*.

[54] nakaṁ v=ânumôdêta sa paṁchabhir=mahâpâtakaiḥ sôpapâtakaiś=cha saṁyuktaḥ syât [||*] I-
[55] ty=uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna[21] Vyâsêna [|*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svargê tishṭhati bhûmi-daḥ
[56] âchhê(chchhê)ttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [||*] Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-âdi-
[57] bhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Sarvvân=êtâṁ(n) bhâvinaḥ pârthivê[ṁ*]drâṁ(n) bhûyô
[58] bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ sâmânyô=yaṁ ddha(dha)rma-sêtu[r*] nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô
[59] bhavadbhiḥ [||*] Iti kamala-dal-âṁvu(vu)-vi(viṁ)duṁ(du)-lôlâṁ śṛi(śri)yam=anuchi-(chiṁ)tyaṁ(tya) manushya-jîvitaṁ cha
[60] ativimala-manôbhir=âtmanînair=na hi purushaiḥ para-kîrttayô=pi gôpyâḥ [||*]
[61] Likhitaṁ śrîmad-Aruṇâdityêna Vatsarâja-putrêṇa Bhûvirâma-dûtakaṁ [||*]

Translation.

May he protect you, the waterlily in whose navel is made a habitation by Vêdhas; and Hara, whose head is adorned by the lovely crescent-moon!

(L. 1.)—There was a king, K ṛ i s h ṇ a r â j a, upon the earth, whose throat was hidden by the hands, stretched out with fingers joined (*behind his neck*), of the goddess of fortune as she shone (*reclining*) on his broad chest, and who was endowed with truth, and who, though he conquered the host of his enemies with his large army, was yet free from any black deeds, —(*like unto Kṛishṇa*), whose throat was hidden by the far-reaching rays of the jewel called *śrî-kaustubha* that shone on his broad chest, and who was possessed of Satyâ,[22] and who, though he conquered the host of his enemies with his large *discus*, was yet free from any black deeds. He, V a l l a b h a,[23] who was the asylum of the entire assemblage of learned people, sportively and quickly tore away the goddess of (*regal*) fortune from the C h â l u k y a[24] family, which was made lustrous by the multitude of all the great kings who took refuge with it through fear of the destruction of their armies, and which was hard to be overcome by others, and which was possessed of many pure and resplendent jewels (*of men*),—just as (*the mountain*) Mandara, which was the asylum of the entire assemblage of the gods, sportively and quickly extracted Lakshmî from the ocean, which was made lustrous by the multitude of all the great mountains which had taken refuge in it through fear of having their wings cut off, and which was hard to be crossed by others, and which was possessed of many pure and resplendent jewels.

(L. 5.)—His son was D h ô r a, rich in fortitude, the destroyer of the beauty of the waterlilies which were the faces of the wives of his enemies,—who, though he was like the fierce-rayed sun in pervading all the regions with the expansion of his prowess as the sun does with the expansion of its glowing heat, yet gladdened the earth by the lightness of his taxes, (*while the sun torments it by the fierceness of its rays*); and whose fame was made into a necklet of pearls and was always worn by the guardian-women of the quarters. Though he was endowed with a (*regal*) splendour which was pure, notwithstanding that it was attained by leaping over his elder brother (*in the succession*), yet he was established in a stainless realm of the world and never committed any faults,—(*just as the moon*), though endowed with a splendour which is pure in spite of being caused by passing (*the constellation*) Jyêshṭhâ, is established in a halo which appears spotless to the world, and is not any more the maker of darkness; and, having seen the liberality, which surpassed the liberality of others, of him who maintained a continuance of charity which was inferior (*only*) to (*that of*) Karṇa, the elephants of the quarters, maintaining a continuous flow of the rutting fluid from

[21] The mark before this letter, *na*, is evidently only a slip of the engraver's tool.

[22] Lakshmî.

[23] This may either be taken as a proper name or title, or be translated by 'the lover, husband, friend, or favourite (of the world; *i. e.* king).'

[24] It is curious that we have here, as also in the same verse in the Râdhanpur grant, a form of the name which was not used by the Chalukyas themselves till the restoration of the dynasty by Taila II., about a hundred and thirty years after the date of this grant.

IIb.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH PECKHAM.



beneath their ears, stood, covered as it were with shame, at the (*very*) edges of the quarters of the compass. Having seen that Gaṅga,—who verily had not been conquered by any others; who was strong in the possession of the excellent constituents of regal power; who had pervaded the (*whole*) world; and who was possessed of a pride that was held in common with no others,—was at length (*conquered and*) imprisoned by him, Kali fled far away, as if through fear lest he himself should be punished with confinement. Having with his armies, which no other army could withstand, quickly caused Vatsarâja, intoxicated with the goddess of the sovereignty of (*the country of*) Gauḍa that he had acquired with ease, to enter upon the path of misfortune in the centre of (*the deserts of*) Maru, he took away from him not only the two (*regal*) umbrellas of Gauḍa, that were as radiantly white as the rays of the autumn moon, but also, at the same moment, his fame, that had reached to the extremities of the regions. Since, with his pure actions, he quickly drove far away Kali, who had established himself on the earth, and made again complete the splendour of the Kṛitayuga,—it is wonderful how Nirupama became (*invested with the name of*) Kalivallabha.

(L. 14.)—From that same Nirupama, possessed of fortitude, there sprang a son Gôvindarâja, highly esteemed of good people,—who was pure of soul, and whose feet were touched by the proud heads of kings (*who bowed down before him*), just as from the ocean there sprang forth the moon, which is of pure essence, and the rays of which touch the lofty head of Paramêśvara,—and who caused gladness to the goddess of (*regal*) fortune and was possessed of prowess and was always rising higher and higher, just as if he were the sun, which causes the happiness of the waterlilies (*that flower by day*) and is possessed of glowing heat and is always rising from the lofty mountain of the East. When he, the king, the asylum of all virtuous qualities, was born, the Śrî-Râshṭrakûṭa family became invincible to its foes, just like the Yâdava family when Madhuripu[25] was born: and by him his enemies were clearly made to be exactly like his followers, since the former, by his slashing, (*were driven away so that they*) saw the boundaries of the regions and were destroyed and were made to abandon their food and ornaments, while the latter, by his liberality, (*were satisfied so that they*) saw the limits of their desires and were made proud and were decorated with necklaces of pearls. [When his father, seeing his superhuman form which like that of Krishṇa was fitted to protect the three worlds from misfortune, was giving him the sole supremacy over the earth*],[26] he addressed to his father this seemly speech, "Let it be, O my father!; this belongs to thee; has not the necklet,[27] given by thee, been accepted by me like a command that is not (*to be*) withstood?": and then,—when that father had gone to adorn heaven so that nothing was left (*of him*) save (*his*) fame,—he, though alone, by the expansion of his preëminent valour quickly [bereft of their lustre*] twelve famous [kings*] who, combining together, had prepared themselves [to destroy*] the earth,—just as the fire of universal dissolution with the diffusion of its excessive glowing heat [deprives*] the twelve suns [of their lustre*]. When Gaṅga,—though liberated by him, in his exceeding compassion, from his long captivity, and sent away to his own country,—through excess of pride stood (*again*) in opposition to him, then, in less time than that in which a frown could be noticed on his lofty brow, he was quickly conquered by his shower (*of arrows*)[28] and imprisoned again. The politic lord of Mâlava, seeing from afar that his fortunes depended solely and entirely upon bowing down at his feet, performed obeisance to him with his hands placed palm to palm in supplication: what wise man, possessed of but little strength, enters into the extremity of competition with a strong man?; for the

[25] Vishṇu, or Krishṇa.

[26] See note 9 above.

[27] Dr. Bühler's suggestion, that the *kaṇṭhikâ* was the sign of the position of *Yuvarâja* seems to be correct. [illegible] ere occurs [illegible] -*kaṇṭhikâ*- [illegible] *âh-âdhipô* [illegible]]

[28] *Vikshêpa.* Here, and in l. 29 below, I adopt the meaning suggested by Dr. Bühler. It seems to be justified, as *vikshêpa* has the meanings of 'the act of throwing apart or asunder; sending, despatching; scattering,' and *vi+ kship* has the meaning of 'letting loose a bowstring, shooting off.' But, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler, *vikshêpa may* have some purely technical meaning not yet determined, being used in the Gurjara grants in the place of the *skandhâvâra*, 'camp', of other grants.



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[25] Vishṇu, or Kṛishṇa.

[26] See note 9 above.

[27] Dr. Bühler's suggestion, that the *kaṇṭhikâ* was the sign of the position of *Yuvarâja* seems to be correct. In an unpublished Eastern Chalukya grant there occurs the passage *T*[illegible] *-kaṇṭhikâ-paṭṭabandh-âbhi* [illegible] *âh-âdhipô mâsam=êkaṁ* [V[illegible]]

[28] *Vikshêpa.* Here, and in l. 29 below, I adopt the meaning suggested by Dr. Bühler. It seems to be justified, as *vikshêpa* has the meanings of 'the act of throwing apart or asunder; sending, despatching; scattering,' and *vi+kship* has the meaning of 'letting loose a bowstring, shooting off.' But, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler, *vikshêpa may* have some purely technical meaning not yet determined, being used in the Gurjara grants in the place of the *skandhâvâra*, 'camp', of other grants.

result of (*the study of the rules of*) polity is the power of discerning whether the superiority belongs to one's self or to one's enemy. Having heard through his own spies that he had pitched his camp on the slopes of the Vindhya mountains, and thinking that he had already arrived at his own territory, king Mârâśarva, impelled by fear, went quickly to gain his goodwill by (*offering*) his excellent heir-looms, (*the like of*) which had not been previously obtained (*by him*), and to propitiate his feet by bowing down before them. Having passed the rainy season, when the sky is enveloped by compact clouds which have no interstices between them, at Śrîbhavana, he went thence with his army to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ; and, abiding there, he, whose enemies bowed down before him, with the shower (*of his arrows*) in a wonderful way drew to himself in its entirety, though it was already held in his hands, the wealth of the Pallavas. The hostile kings, with their foreheads adorned by their hands joined palm to palm in the act of doing obeisance to him, through fear betook themselves for protection to his two feet, which were not adorned so much by the heaps of most costly jewels given (*by them*), as by his (*own*) speech "Fear not!", which by its truthfulness maintained the continuance of his fame.

(L. 32.)—By him, having seen that life is as unstable as the wind or the lightning and is unprofitable, this gift to a Brâhmaṇ, comprising the supreme religious merit of a grant of land, has been effected.

(L. 33.)—And he, the most worshipful one, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, Śrî-Prabhûtavarshadêva, the favourite of the world, Śrî-Gôvindarâjadêva,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful one, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the glorious Dhârâvarshadêva,—being in good health, announces to the *râshṭrapatis*, *vishayapatis*, *gramakûṭas*, *âyuktakas*, *niyuktakas*, *âdhikârikas*, *mahattaras*, &c., according as they are concerned:—

(L. 37.)—"Be it known to you that,—by me, settled at (*the city of*) Mayûrakhaṇḍî,—in order to increase the religious merit and the fame, both in this world and the next, of my parents and myself,—seven hundred and thirty years having elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, in the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, on the great occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Vaiśâkha,—the village of Ambakagrâma, which is included in the Vaṭanagara *vishaya* belonging to the Nâsika *dêśa*, and the boundaries of which are, on the east, the village of Vaḍavura; on the south, the village of Vârikhêḍa; on the west, the village of Pallitavâḍa and the river Pulindâ; and on the north the village of Padmanâla,[20]—this (*village*), thus defined as to its four boundaries,—together with the *udraṅga*, the *uparikara*, (*the right to*) fines and the (*proceeds of punishments inflicted for the*) ten (*classes of*) offences, the *bhûtôpâttapratyâya*, (*the right to*) forced labour that arises, and that which is receivable (*in kind*) in grain and gold; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; not to be pointed at with the finger (*of appropriation*) by any of the king's people; to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and son's sons as long as the moon and sun and ocean and earth and rivers and mountains may endure; with the exception of grants previously made to gods and Brâhmaṇs; and (*to be held*) according to the (*custom of*) *abhyantarasiddhi* and the rule of *bhûmichchhidranyâya*,—has to-day, after bathing, been given, with libations of water,—for the purpose of keeping up the rites of the five great sacrifices of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadêva*, *agnihôtra*, and *atithi*,—to the *Chaturvedî* Dâmôdarabhaṭṭa, the son of the *Dvivedî* Dâmôdara, and the son's son of Vishṇubhaṭṭa, an inhabitant of (*the city of*) Veṅgi, who belonged to the assembly of the *Chaturvêdîs* of that place, who was of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, and who was a student of the Taittirîya (*śâkhâ*).

(L. 44.)—"Wherefore, not even the slightest obstruction is to be made by any one to him who, according to the proper condition of a *brahmadâya*, enjoys (*this village*) or causes it to be enjoyed, or cultivates it, or causes it to be cultivated, or assigns it (*to another*). And so this, my gift, is to be assented to and preserved, just as if it were a gift made by themselves, by future pious kings, whether

[20] This, in other inscriptions, is the Sanskrit form of Pannâḷa, the name of the hill-fort above Kôlhâpur. That, however, cannot be the place intended in the present inscription.

of my lineage or others, recognising that the reward of a grant of land belongs in common (*to him who makes it and to all who preserve it*), and bearing in mind that riches are as transient as the lightning and are not enduring, and that life is as unstable as a drop of water on the tip of a blade of grass. And he will be invested with the (*guilt of the*) five great sins, together with the minor sins, who, having his mind obscured by the thick darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (*this grant*) or assent to (*its confiscation*)."

(L. 54.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the *Vêdas*:—The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant of land*), and he who assents to (*such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Thus does Râmabhadra again and again make his request to all these future princes,—"This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you!" And are not the reputations, even of others, to be preserved by men of very spotless minds, regardful of their own advantage, reflecting that wealth, and also human life, is as unstable as a drop of water on the petal of a waterlily?

(L. 61.)—(*This charter has been*) written by the illustrious Aruṇâditya, the son of Vatsarâja; and it has Bhûvirâma for its *Dûtaka*.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL, WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p.* 76.)

No. 14.—POPULAR SONG.

The Song of the Canal.

Sung by the Sâṅsîs and also by small boys in the neighbourhood of Firozpûr.

Nahir dá Rág.

Pîr Ustâd Luqmân Hakîm.

1. Naharî naharî phal pakke pânî gaharî.
2. Jadoṅ paṭṭ le ândî nâhar lagge moghe te jhalâr.
3. Rang sipâhîâṅ thekadâr jitthe nahar paindî sî â;
4. Tar tar gaṇḍhe te tarkârî êvî nahar de kaṇḍe.
5. Lokî khânde kanak dâl jitthe suâ piâ sî â.
6. Jitthe Jaṭṭâṅ moghe lai lâ otthe kanak te kapâh:
7. Phâhtâ Jaṭṭ te julâhâ tânî tôr galoṅ te lâha.
8. Vîga rupaiya Sarkâr dâ, âna Lambardâr dâ.
9. Jarmâna bhardî khâl dâ Sâhib Jî lendâ chiṭṭi chândî.
10. Sâhib Jî lendâ kharî chândî pânî pan fuṭ rahâ:
11. Pânî panj fuṭ rahâ suâ ṭuṭno rahâ.
12. Suâ ṭuṭ rohî vich piâ, Sâhib chhittar leke piâ.
13. Thoko kille; deho parâli; aggoṅ khetî jândî mârî.
14. Agge Painch, pichchhe Paṭwârî, chhittar painde wârowârî.

The Song of the Canal.

In the name of the Holy Teacher, the Doctor Luqmân.

By the deep waters of the canal the fruits ripen.

When they dug the canal, they made cuts and water-wheels.

Where the canal goes there are the profits of the watchmen and the contractors.

Also there are cucumbers, onions and vegetables on the canal banks.

Where the canal goes there the people eat wheat and pulse.

Where the Jaṭs take the canal-cuts there grow wheat and cotton.

The Jaṭ begins in earnest and the weaver breaks his loom.

A rupee an acre to the Government and an anna to the Lambardâr.

The magistrate demands silver in payment of fines for cutting the canal.

The magistrate takes good silver for five feet of water:

The water comes up to five feet and the cut runs continuously.

The cut breaks into the jangal and the Magistrate beats (the watchmen) with shoes.

Drive in the pegs! Give up your straw; and then your field will go to the bad.

First the headman and then the accountant are beaten in turn with slippers.

NOTES.

This song, though not strictly folklore in the sense of being descriptive of religion, superstition or custom, was sung us by the same Sânsî from whom the *mantras* in No. XII. were collected, and is very popular among the small children of the Firozpûr District. It is rough and homely in the extreme, and exhibits in a most interesting manner the popular (illiterate) history and notions regarding the canals of Firozpûr, the value of which was foreseen by Sir H. Lawence in the first days of European occupation (1840), which were urged as a necessary work by Mr. Edward Brandreth and Sir Richard Temple in 1853, and finally taken in hand and brought into useful existence by Major Grey in 1875. I need hardly say that it has never been previously reduced to writing. Like all the unwritten popular songs of the illiterate natives with which I am acquainted its metre is exceedingly rough and the rhythm uncertain, but it is evidently intended for the common double rhyming eight foot metre of modern Panjâbî poetry. The following are specimen verses:—

I where shows the accent, II a strong accent.

1 Jadoṅ | paṭ le | andi | nahar || lagge | moghṛe te jha | lar.

2 Jitthe | Jaṭṭaṅ | moghe | lai | la || otthe | kanak | te ka | paḥ.

3 Agge | Painch pich | chhe Paṭ | wari || chittar | painde | waro | wari.

I give below some scanned verses from the more literate song on the same subject attached to these notes for the sake of comparison; single rhyme twelve foot metre.

1 Pindaṅ | andar | shahr de | jo bad | ma'ash sha | rir ||
Waro | wari | osne | kite | siddhe | tir ||

2 Sat ta | rikhoṅ | mai di | muṅhaṅ | chhaḍḍya | an ||
Do mah | bai | roz vich | kite | nahir | rawan |

Such a metre as the above occurring in English lyric verse would be printed as follows, and this form will perhaps best bring home the metre to English eyes and ears:—

1 Pindâṅ andar shahr de,
Jo badm'âsh sharîr,
Wârowârî osne
Kite siddhe tîr

2 Sat târîkhoṅ Mai dî
Mûṅhâṅ chhaḍḍyâ ân
Do mâh baî roz vich
Kitî nahir rawân.

When printed in this form it will be seen that the metre, rhythm and rhyme of a modern Panjâbî and a modern English ballad are constructed on precisely the same system.[1]

The poem opens with a very practical description of the blessings afforded by the canals, with a passing touch of irony at the profits made by the Government canal-watchmen and the contractors —a point readily appreciated by the poorest villager in the Panjâb. The line "the Jaṭ begins in earnest and the weaver breaks his loom," is very forcible, showing that it was now worth the while of the cultivator by trade (Jaṭ) to apply himself to his work, which it never was before in the good old days of the *bârânî* (rainfall) cultivation, and not only that, but that it paid workmen (weavers) to give up their trades, and to take to ploughing. Then follows a characteristic notice of the Government taxes in consequence of the canals, and finally the closing verses described in the most homely fashion that eternal trouble of the canals the careless and illegal use of the water. In these final verses too is an allusion to the pressure on the people caused by the taxes and fines being levied in hard cash. Altogether the poem is one that could only have originated among the "people," and as such is instructive and interesting.

Dedication. Luqmân, the fabulist, usually invoked at the commencement of songs and incantations in the above form.

V. 1. *Naharî naharî*—the final î is merely euphonic for the sake of metre.

V. 2. *Jadoṅ* and *jad* = Hind. *jab*, when. This ablative inflection (?) *oṅ* is a very common Panj. addition, apparently optional, to adverbs.

Paṭṭ le ândî, lit. to dig and bring along; usual Panj. expression for digging a canal. *Paṭṭ* is here a very interesting word. Panj. *paṭṭnâ* is to dig, but Hind. *paṭnâ* with causal *paṭânâ* is to irrigate, and in its sense of to pay, settle, *paṭnâ* is also used in Panj. *Paṭṭnâ* would seem to have a clear derivation from Sansk. *paṭ*, to cleave, tear up.

Moghâ, lit. a hole, Panj., the water-cut or opening from a canal to irrigate the neighbouring fields, a canal cut, cut. Cf. Sansk. *mûsha* an air hole, Hind. *mûkha*. *Te* for *ate* Panj. and. *Jhalâr*, Panj. and Hind. rustic, a Persian water-wheel. In the Panj. *rahaṭ* or *harṭ* is used for the wheel in a well, and *jhalâr* in a canal or stream.

V. 3. In this and the following line there is some sarcasm in making the first fruits of the

[1] I have gone into this question at length and explained my views in "A Song about Sakhî Sarwar," *Calcutta Review*, 1881.—R. C. T.

canal to be the profits of the watchman and the contractor, and the presence of vegetables, etc., a secondary result. *Rang*, income, profit, probably arising out of the sense of "pleasure," "enjoyment," common to *rang*. *Sipáhí*, in common use for any Government messenger, peon or inferior servant: on the canals used as here for the canal watchmen. *Jitthe*, Panj., where. *Paindí sí á* (= Hind. *ákar paṛtí thí*) came: went. This *á* or *án* is very common in Panj. poetry: and is thrown in wherever convenient to fill up a syllable, very much as our old friends *jam* and *nunc* of school Latin verse. The use of *paṛná* or *painá* to mean come, arrive, is very common in Panjabi. *Sardí paindí sí*, there was great cold.

V. 4. *Tar*, Panj., a kind of cucumber. *Gaṇḍhá*, Panj., an onion. *Eví*, Panj. also for *yeh bhí*, this too. *Káṇḍhá*, bank, margin—Panj.

V. 5. This verse alludes to material prosperity—as wheat, pulse (*dál*) are usually beyond the reach of poor tribes like the Sânsís. *Súá*, a canal cut, properly a needle; Sansk. *súí*. *Piá sí á*, *piá* is another form of *paindá* in common use, see v. 4.

V. 6. *Jaṭṭán*, the Jaṭs, the cultivating race of the Panj. *Moghe lai lá*; *lai lá* = *lákar láe*, a redundant expression for brought; *Moghá láná*, idiomatic, to make a canal cut. *Otthe*, Panj., these: *jitthe*, *otthe*, *etthe* are really all compounds with *thán*, a place, and mean which place (*jeh*), that place (*oh*), this place (*eh*), and so on. *Kapáh*, the Panj. form of *kapás*, Sansk. *karpása*, cotton. Here a prosperous and remunerative cultivation is meant: cotton is a new growth in the Firozpûr district since the canals.

V. 7. The point of this verse is that the Jaṭ finds it worth his while to redouble his efforts, and that the weaver finding cultivation so profitable gives up his loom for it. *Pháhtá*, Panj. *pháhná* = *phasná* to be entangled, thence as here to be engrossed with: to be in earnest. *Táni*, properly the warp, usually however the whole loom and also the woven cloth. *Galoṅ to láha*; *tó* for *toṅ*, Panj. form of *se*. *Láhná* or *láhuná*, Panj., to lift off, unload, *lit.* lifted off from their necks, gave up. Common Panj. idiom.

V. 8. This verse is in allusion to the taxes for canals. *Víga* for *bíga*, an acre, commonly in Panj. *ghumáo* (⅝ acre). *Lambardár*, corruption of *nambardár* (*i.e.* number + *dár*), bearing a number, registered: common, vulgar, rustic and official term for a village headman.

V. 9. The point here is that a fine inflicted in silver falls very heavily. The poor in the Panjab can usually pay easily in kind, but with difficulty in cash. They are very fond of illegally drawing water from canals, and the fines are purposely demanded in silver. *Bhardí*, is paid, *lit.* is filled; *bharná*, commonly used in Panj. for to pay (a fine, tax, rent), thus *bhára bharná*, to pay hire. In Hindi *bharná* apparently in this sense is used to mean to extort, exact, demand payment. *Khál*, a rivulet, watercourse; technically, a cut for private purposes from a Government canal, private canal cut, here it is used for one made without leave or payment, illegal use of water. *Lendá* (= *letá*) Panj. form, takes. *Chiṭṭí chándí*, white coin, rupees, silver money.

V. 10. This is in allusion to the demand of cash for payments for the use of canal water. *Kharí chandí*, pure coin, in contradistinction to *khoṭí chándí*, counterfeit coin. *Fuṭ*, Eng. foot. This word and *inchí*, Eng. inch, are current everywhere in the Panjab. From *fuṭ* has come a curious word *dofuṭṭá*, any measuring rod, from the ordinary *two-foot* measure. Its use here proves its universality, as the persons singing such songs have no connexion, official or otherwise, with the English.

V. 11. *Súá ṭúṭno rahá*, the cut kept on rushing, ran continually, *ṭúṭná* (*lit.* to break) in Hind. and Panj., with reference to water is to rush forth, pour out in torrents.

V. 12. It is not an uncommon thing for canal cuts to overflow or burst owing to the carelessness of the canal watchmen and the villagers and headmen *en route*, and whenever this happens severe penalties invariably follow. This is the theme of this and other two concluding verses. *Ṭúṭ piá*, rushed forth, broke into: *ṭuṭ painá*, emphatic form of *ṭúṭná*, see preceding verse. *Rohí*, properly upland, above water or flood level, in the Panjab synonymous with sandy jangal, desert; whence Rohtak, the name of a Panjab district. In the Firozpûr district the land is pretty nearly divided into the *Rohí*, uplands, *i. e.* the higher land to the south of the old beds of the Satlaj river, and the *Bhêt*, or river inundated lands, lowlands representing the former channels of the Satlaj. Before the era of canals the only irrigation in the *Rohí* was by means of wells from 30 ft. to 100 ft. deep before water was reached. The inhabitants of the Rohî and the Bhêt differ remarkably,—of the former they are nearly all Hindu Jaṭs, and in the latter, Musalmâns; the Jaṭ (Hindu) cultivators are distinguished, as a rule, by their industry and frugality, while the Musalmâns of the fat Bhêt lands are noted for being the idlest, most improvident and perhaps meanest race in the Panjâb. *Chiṭṭar*, Panj., an old shoe: to beat with shoes is in the Panj. a synonym for any severe punishment.

V. 13. The meaning of this verse is that the order to fill up the gaps in the cut compels the delinquents to use their own labour and the straw from their fields, which consequently have to be

neglected while the work of repair goes on. The punishment for carelessness therefore falls very heavily. *Deho* (= *deo*) give, *aggoṅ* Panj. (*agge*) for *âge* with a common sense of and then, afterwards, consequently, and so on.

V. 14. *Painch*, Panj. (=*panch*) or *sarpainch*, the head of the village council (*panchâyat*, Panj. *pachâyat*), a village headman. *Paṭwârî*, the village surveyor and accountant. These two worthies with the *chaukidâr*, village watchman, form the official portion of the ordinary village, and are therefore the most influential persons in it, and to say that they are punished is to say that no one escapes punishment. *Wârowârî*, Panj. (*bârî bârî*, Hind.) in turn.

I append another song about the Firozpûr Canals which is very popular in the district. It is strictly local in all its allusions, and written by one of "the people," and I give it here for the sake of comparison with the above. It does not soar far above the Sâṅsî song in point of poetry, but is written in very smooth verse, and the author shows his education by the frequent interlarding of Arabic and Persian words. It is valuable in so far as it is a specimen of what the modern Panjâbîs call "good Panjâbî poetry," and has many non-dictionary words and phrases in it:—

Qissa Nahir Firozpûr Panjâb.

Qissa, yâro, nawaṅ maiṅ dîâṅ ik sunâ,
'Ajâib vich Firozpûr jo kuchh nazarî â.
Zillâ Sâhib vich shahr de, Sâhib jah o jalâl,
Grey Sâhib us nâm hai,[2] Sâhib hunar kamâl.
Jaddâ[3] vich Firozpûr â Sher Jawân.[4]
Râzî barik oste[5] hoyâ hai insân.
Dukh ne dêvê kissenûṅ[6] hargiz zara mûl,[7]
Chhoṭe waḍḍe[8] osdâ[9] karde amar qabûl.
Râhzanâṅ te juârîâṅ kardâ mâromâr,
Pâë bandî vich[10] os[11] jitne chor-chakâr.
Piṇḍâṅ andar shahr de jo badma'ash sharîr
Wârowârî osne kîte siddhe tîr.[12]
Ḍâḍhâ[13] osdâ dabdaba[14] andar zillâ pachhâṅ,
Sûrat vekhan[15] sârhî[16] kamban[17] dêo jawâṅ.[18]
'Adal wâṅgoṅ[19] Naushîrwâṅ kardâ din te rât.
Sher, darîndâ, lomṛoṅ pâe na bâhir jhât.[20]
Jaddâ ethe âyâ Sâhib qadar buland.
Vich ujâṛâṅ jangalâṅ raunaq[21] hoî dochand.
Rahindî[22] khushk zamîn sî ehî purânî jân,[23]
Ba'ze piṇḍâṅ vich banjar bahot pachhân.
Arâm ra'yat wâste kîtî koshish ân,
Nahir mangâî osne karke ḍâḍhâ tân.[24]
Sabhrâwâṅ[25] ik grâûṅ[26] hai shahroṅ chaṛhdî wal,[27]
Otthe mûṅhâ[28] nahir dâ kaḍḍhyâ[29] nâl[30] 'aqal.
Vich mahîne Farwarî[31] kîtâ kam shurû',
Târikh ehaudâṅ sî jâṅyoṅ hoyâ jadoṅ rujû'.
Athârâ sau vich san de hor panjhattar sâl[32]
Kîtâ jârî kam â hôî khushî kamâl.
Mohtamim âhâ[33] nahir dâ Munshî Dayâ Râm,
Dârogha ôho[34] shahr dâ khaslat nek tamâm.
Tahsîldâr Sâhib jâṅyo Mayâ Dâs Amîr
Khush khulq halîm-ul-taba' hai jâno be-nazîr.
Muhammad Sulimân bhî Sharistadâr najîb;
Munshi 'Abd-ur-Rahmân sî Nâzir nek nasîb:
Hâfiz Ilâhî Baksh Nâib osdâ jân,
Us jihâ[35] koî âdmî virlâ vich Jahân.
Rahmat 'Ali Hakîm ik sâhib 'ilm halîm:
Râî Gopî Mall Chaudhrî 'âqil, sughaṛ fahîm.

[2] Major Grey, C.S.I., the officer who made the canals.
[3] *Jaddâ*, for *jadoṅ dâ*, poet, 'from when,' *lit.* 'of when.'
[4] *Sher Jawân* = *Bahâdur*, in allusion to the difficulties encountered by Major Grey in introducing the canal.
[5] *Oste*, Panj. poet. for '*ohde*' *te*, 'with him': *te* = *to* = *toṅ* Panj.=Hindî *se*, 'from,' compare with Sansk. *saś* and *taś*. *Vide* former notes to XII. (1).
[6] *Kissenûṅ*, = Hind. *kissîko*, 'any one.'
[7] *Mûl* and *mûloṅ*, *lit.* 'from the root, altogether, entirely,' Panj. usually found in negative sentences—*hargiz zara mûl*, 'never at all.' [8] *Waḍḍâ* = Hind. *baṛâ*, 'great.'
[9] *Osdâ*—Panj. poet. for *ohdâ*, 'his, of him.'
[10] *Bandî*, poet. for *band*, imprisonment. *band pâunâ* 'to meet imprisonment: to be imprisoned.'
[11] *Os* for *osne*, poet. for *ohne*, by him, he.
[12] *Kîte siddhe tîr*, *lit.* 'he made straight as arrows'—'he chastised thoroughly,' forcible form of the expression *sidhâ karnâ*, 'to make straight, chastise.' It is a common idiom, e.g. *Tûṅ hun badma'ashî chhaḍḍe, nahîṅ tûṅ maiṅ tainûṅ choṅgâ siddhâ karângâ, jehojyâ siddhâ tîr, tâṅ tûṅ 'umar bhar mainûṅ yâd rakhengâ.* 'You had better give up your evil ways at once, or I will make you as straight as an arrow (punish you well), so that you will remember me for life.' [13] *Ḍâḍhâ*, Panj., strong, firm.
[14] *Dabdaba* Panj. (Hind. *dâb*) 'sway, authority, the fear or awe inspired by a great man.'
[15] *Vekhan* (= *dekhan*) 'to see.'
[16] *Sârhî*, 'at the moment when: at the very time when.' Panj. *sâr* + *hî*: *sâr* Panj. 'pith, essence.' *Sârhî* = Hindos. *ushî waqt*. [17] *Kamban* (= *kâmpâ*) 'trembled.'
[18] *Dêo jawân*, 'godlike men,' *i. e.* th[illegible]
[19] *Wâng*, *wâṅgu*, *wâṅgoṅ*, *wangar*, [illegible]
[20] *Jhât* or *jhâtî pâunâ*, 'to peep.' cf. [illegible]
[21] *Raunaq*, *lit.* 'splendour,' here the [illegible] of the land.
[22] *Rahindî* (= *rahtî*) 'remains.'
[23] *Jân*, *jâṅyo*, *jâno*, *jâṅyoṅ* interjectional—'know, that; know!' [24] *Tân*, Panj. 'strenuous effort.'
[25] *Sabhrâwâṅ*, the proper name for the well-known battlefield of Sobraon about 20 miles to the east of Firozpûr. [26] *Grâûṅ* (= *gâûṅ*) 'village.'
[27] *Wal*, Panj. 'side, direction,' *chaṛhdî wal*, 'the side of the rising,' the east, *lehndî wal*, the side of the lying down the west.
[28] *Mûṅhâ* = *moghâ*, a canal cut, see Sâṅsî song.
[29] *Khuḍḍhna*, Panj. 'to open.'
[30] *Nâl*, Panj., 'with.'
[31] *Farwarî*, corruption of English 'February.' The English months are now as well known as the Hindu or Musalman months and in common use among the literate classes.
[32] A. D. 1875. The English era is now well known and understood owing to the custom the Courts have of using it.
[33] *Âhâ*, *âhî* Panj. was, peculiar to the Sikhs and of frequent occurrence in the *Sâkhî Bâbâ Nânak*, Life of Bâbâ Nânak.
[34] *Oho* = 'oh, he.' [35] *Jihâ*, Panj., 'like.'

Paṭṭan[36] lagge nahir nûṅ âdam lakh hazâr;
Ant[37] ne âve asâṅ nûṅ[38] âhî bâjh[39] shumâr
Rôzi khulli[40] khalaq dî hoṛ âbâdî jân:
Andar thore dinâṅ de hôî nahir rawâṅ.
Sûê pinḍâṅ vich bhî kaḍḍhe be-shumâr
Pânî deh[41] zarâ'etâṅ hoî bâgh-bahâr.
Girdî girdî Shahr dî bâghâṅ vich pachhân,
Nahir phere Sâhib ne nal 'aqal de tân.
Shahr panâhoṅ kaḍḍhke kîtî nahir rawâṅ,
Duâle[42] Thânḍî Saṛak[43] de dohâṅ taraf pachhân.
Pâî vich Chhâuni Kachahrî jith[44] karan,
Jhûṭe sache ôs jâ, tarn wâng taran.[45]
Sârâ hâl na likhyâ, maithoṅ[46] jândâ mûl,[47]
Matlab âkh sunâyâ, galloṅ[48] hor fasûl.
Sat târîkhoṅ Mai[49] dî mûṅhâṅ chhaḍḍyâ[50] ân;
Do mâh bâî[51] roz vich kîtî nahir rawâṅ,
Lakh lakh milan mobârakâṅ; hoyâ mulk âbâd:
Grey Sâhib vekh nahir nûṅ bahot hoya
Jitne sukke bâgh san[52] hôe sabj tamân;
Pânî ṭhâṭhâ mâr dâ[53] vekhan khâs 'awâm.
Zimyâṇ[54] banjâr khushk jo hoyâṅ khushî pachhân:
Jâge bhâg asâḍaṛe[55] hoî nahir rawâṅ.
Pinḍâṅwâle âkhde, "tinḍâṅ[56] wâho na mûl,
"Pânî âyâ nahir dâ khâr hojâsan phûl."[57]
Pânî wagdâ âwandâ kardâ mâromâr;
Lahrî lahrâṅ vekhde lahrâṅ lakh hazâr.
Bâghâṅ andar raunaqâṅ phûl rahe phalwâr,
Rangâ-rang gulzâr sî, rangâ-rang bahâr.
Ik sire[58] tâlâb hai dâdhî manj banî,
Dûyâ pânî nahir dâ mâre manj ghanî.
Saṛak kinâre chalde khûh fawâredâr,
Hauz bane te nâlîâṅ, nâle bâjh shumâr.
Phal 'ajâib qism de rangâ-rang pachhân,
Gulâb, chambâ te motyâ,[59] kî kujh[60] karan bayân:
Kelâ, seo vilâyatî, ja'fal hor badâm,
Jammûṅ, nibbûṅ[61] sarv bhî, mewe haiṅ tamâm.
Khâtir sair Lâhôr dî jândî khalq hazâr,
Hun âsan[62] Firozpûr vekhan bâgh-bahâr.
Firozpûr is nâm hai pûr firozyâṅ[63] nâl,
Goyâ dûyâ ban gyâ Shahr Lâhôr misâl.
Zikar tamâm na likhyâ, hondâ sî[64] phir thûl:
Zâhar kîtî Jag vich gall itnî har mûl.[65]
Ghulâm Ahmad sî âkhyâ[66] "Qissa Nahir banâ:"
Tâhiṅ[67] das vî[68] baint[69] maiṅ ditte jor sunâ.
Rahndâ vich Firozpûr Fatteh-ud-dîn faqîr;
Shâ'ir nâhîṅ mûl maiṅ,—'âjiz te haqîr.

Faqt.

THE STORY OF THE FIROZPUR CANAL.

By Miâṅ Fattehu'd-dîn of Firozpûr.

My friends, I will tell you a new tale
Of a wonderful thing to be seen in Firozpûr.
There is a Sâhib[70] in the district, of dignity and pomp,
Grey Sâhib is his name, a Sâhib accomplished in art!
Since that Lion-heart came to Firozpûr,
Every man has rejoiced over him.
He has never injured any one at all:
Great and small agree to do his bidding.
He took great pains with the robbers and gamblers,
And all the thieves he put in prison.
All the bad and wicked in the villages and cities
He thoroughly chastised in turn.

[36] *Paṭṭan*, 'to dig,' Panj., see notes to Sâṅsî song.
[37] *Ant*, 'end,' this is Sansk. *anta*.
[38] *Asân nûn*, 'to us': the end does not come to us: we cannot count them. [39] *Bâjh*, Panj., 'without, beyond.'
[40] *Rôzî khullî*, lit. 'the livelihood opened': work was obtained.
[41] *Deh* = *dê* = *dekar*, 'being given.' Cf. *deho*, 'give,' in the Sâṅsî song.
[42] *Duâle*, Panj., 'round about (?)' from *do* + *wal*, both sides.
[43] *Thanḍî Saṛak*, lit. 'the cool road,' the watered road of a British station, the Mall.
[44] *Jith*, for *jitthe*, 'where.'
[45] *Tarn wâng taran*; *tarnâ* (=*tirnâ* Hind.) 'to swim.' *tarn*, one who does a thing well, probably from Sansk. *taruṇ*, young, active, etc. (*jawân*).
[46] *Maithoṅ*, Panj., 'to me.'
[47] *Mûl*, altogether, *mûl* (see above) contrary to custom is here used in an affirmative sentence.
[48] *Galloṅ*: *gal*. Panj. (= Hind. *bât*, in every sense) 'a word,' etc.
[49] *Mai*, Eng. 'May,' see note above on Farwarî.
[50] *Chhaḍḍnâ*, Panj. (= *choṛnâ* Hind.) 'to let go.'
[51] *Bâî* = *bâîs*, 'twenty-two.'
[52] *San*, Panj., 'were': another form is *sai*: sing. *sâ*, but more commonly *sî* for all genders.
[53] *Ṭhâṭhâ mârnâ*, Panj., 'to make a gurgling noise.'
[54] *Zimyâṇ*. plu. of *zimî* (also *jimîṇ*, *jimîṇ* and *jimî*) Panj., corruption of *zamîn*, 'lands.'
[55] *Asâḍaṛe* poet. for *asâḍe* or *saḍe*, Panj. 'our.'
[56] *Tinḍâṅ*, Panj. *ṭinḍ*, the small earthen pots attached to a Persian wheel for drawing water from a well.
[57] *Khâr hojâsan phûl*: *hojâsan* 'will become.' 3rd plur. from *hojâna*: (cf. above note on *san*.) sing. form *hojâsi*; a Panj. proverb is alluded to here. جہان خار تہان پہول *jahâṅ khâr tahâṅ phûl*, where there's a thorn there's a flower.
[58] *Ik sire* 'on one hand, on one side'—Panj.
[59] *Chambâ*, *jasminum grandiflorum*, Spanish jasmine: *motyâ*, *jasminum sambac*, Arabian jasmine..
[60] *kujh* (*kuchh*) 'something.'
[61] *Jammûn* (= *jâman*) *eugenia jambos*; *nibbûn* (*nimbû*) 'lime.'
[62] *Âsan* from *âunâ*, lit. 'they come,' used for the future will come.
[63] *Firozî* or *firozo*, 'the turquoise': here, however, used for beauty, splendor.
[64] *Hondâ si* (= *hôtâ thâ*) 'as it would have been.'
[65] *Har mûl*, lit. 'the whole principal' (of a debt): the pith of the story.
[66] *Sî âkhyâ* (= *kahâ thâ*) 'had said.'
[67] *Tâhîn*, Panj. 'therefore, so.'
[68] *Vî* = *bîs*, 'twenty.'
[69] *Baint* for *bait*, 'a verse, poem.'
[70] The poem opens with true oriental praise of the great man, and it is not till the 17th verse that a description of the canal commences.

The fear of him is strong in the District;
The strongest tremble at sight of him.
He did justice day and night like Naushîrwâṅ;
Nor tiger nor wild-beast, nor fox, dared peep out
Since the powerful Sâhib came.
The produce of the deserts and the wastes has been doubled.
This very land had remained dry from all time,
And most of the village lands were uncultivated.
He took much pains for the benefit of the people,
And brought the canal after the greatest efforts.
There is a village Sobraon towards the sunrise from the City,[71]
There is a canal cut there cleverly made.
The work began in the month of February
Commencing on the fourteenth,
In the year eighteen hundred and seventy-five.
The work was commenced with great joy.
Munshi Dayâ Râm was the manager;
Superintendent was he of the city, possessing good qualities.[72]
Tahsîldâr Mayâ Dâs you know,
Unequalled for his good qualities and mild temper.
Muhammad Sulimân the excellent Clerk of the Court,
And the fortunate Munshi 'Abd-ur-Rahmân the Sheriff.
Hâfiz Ilâhi Bakhsh his Deputy you know,
Like whom a man is rarely found in the world.
Rahmat 'Ali, the Doctor, learned and peaceable;
Rai Gopî Mall, the Chaudhrî, clever and sagacious.
Hundreds of thousands dug at the canals:
The tale of them we cannot know: they were beyond number.
Work came to the people and the people increased,
And in a few days the canals began to run.
Cuts, too, innumerable were made in the village-lands
And the water turned the fields into a spring garden.
They could be seen in the gardens round the city;
The Sâhib with great acuteness made the canal surround it.
From the City wall he made the canal run
On both sides of the Mall Road.[73]
He took it to the Cantonment where the Courts are held,
Where he deals justice as a good swimmer swims.[74]
I do not write the whole story, though I know it,
I merely give the points; more would be superfluous.
The canal was opened on the 7th May,
In two months and 22 days the water began to run.
He had thousands of congratulations and the country prospered:
Seeing the canal, Grey Sâhib rejoiced greatly in his heart.
All the dried up gardens became green;
The rich and poor saw the ripple of the water.
The barren and dry lands became pleasant;
Our fortune awoke at the running of the canal.
The villagers say, "Use no more pots for the wells,
"The canal water has come and the thorns have become flowers."
The water comes with great force,
Wave on wave is seen, hundreds of thousands of waves.
In the gardens is the splendour of fruit-bearing flowers,
Flowers of every colour and beauty of every hue.
On one hand is the tank of greatest beauty:
On the other the canal gives exquisite splendour.
On the roadside are fountained wells,
Cisterns, conduits and drains beyond measure.
Fruits of wondrous kinds;
Roses and jasmines beyond measure:
Plantains, English apples, nutmeg and almond
Jâmans, limes, cypresses and all fruits.

[71] The battlefield and village of Sabhrâwâṅ or Sobraon is about 20 miles east of Fîrozpûr City. The battlefield and monument have long since disappeared into the Satlaj, but the village is still there. Our English name is almost as successful as that of the neighbouring field of Ferozeshah which is really Pheru Shahr, the City of Pheru, the Sikh Saint!

[72] The next ten verses are in praise of the various native officials connected with canals.

[73] The rest of the story is mostly taken up with the praise of the Mall at Firozpur, which is certainly one of the greenest and prettiest roads I have seen in any station in India. It is about three miles long.

[74] *Lit.* 'as a young man swims so are truth and lies there.' The verse is very vague, but has apparently the sense I have given it.

Thousands go to see Lâhor,
Now they will come to see the gardens at
Firozpûr.
Firozpûr is so called as it is full of beauties;[75]
Now it is like a second Lâhor.
I have not told the whole story: it would be
too long.
I have told the world merely the pith of it.
Ghulâm Aḥmed[76] asked me to tell the story of
the canal,
So I have joined together some ten or twenty
verses about it.
I live in Firozpûr and my name is Fattehu'd-dîn,
I am no poet at all: only lowly and humble.

No. 15.—Folk-Tale.

Death and Burial of Poor Hen-sparrow.[1]

Once upon a time there lived a cock-sparrow and his wife, who were both growing old. But the cock-sparrow was a gay bird, old as he was, and cast his eyes upon a lively young hen, and determined to marry her. So they had a grand wedding, every one was very merry except the old wife, who went out and sat on a tree disconsolately just under a crow's nest. While she was there it began to rain, and the water came drip, drip, on to her feathers, but she was too sad to care. Now it so happened that the crow had used some scraps of dyed cloth in building its nest, and when they got wet, the colours ran and went drip, drip, on to the old sparrow till she was as gay as a peacock. When she flew home the new wife was dreadfully jealous of her old co-wife,[2] and asked her where she had managed to get that lovely dress.

"Easily enough," she replied, "I just went into the dyer's vat."[3]

"I will go too," thought the new wife, "I won't have that old thing better dressed than I am."

So she flew off to the dyer's, and went pop into the middle of the vat, but it was scalding hot, and she was half dead before she managed to scramble out. Meanwhile, the old cock, not finding the new wife at home, flew about distracted in search of her, and wept salt tears when he found her half drowned and half scalded with all her feathers awry by the dyer's vat.

"What has happened?" quoth he.

The poor draggled thing could only gasp out

"*Saukan rangan meṅ chaṛhî*[4]
Maiṅ bhî rangan meṅ paṛî."
"My co-wife got dyed,
But I fell into the vat."

So the sparrow took her up tenderly in his bill, and flew away home with her. Just as he was crossing a big river the old hen-sparrow looked out of the nest, and when she saw her old husband bringing his bride home in such a sorry plight, she burst out laughing, and called out

"*Ik saṛî, ik balî;*
Ik hinak mode chaṛhî."
"One is vexed, and one grieved,
And one laughing is carried on high."[5]

At this her husband was so enraged that he could not hold his tongue, but shouted out—"Hush, hush, you low old thing."[6]

Of course when he opened his mouth to speak the poor draggled bride fell out, went plump into the river, and was drowned.

Whereupon the cock-sparrow was so distracted with grief that he picked off all his feathers, till he was as bare as a ploughed field, and went and sat quite naked on a pîpal tree and wept.

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[75] The derivation is of course only fanciful, being a play on the name Firozpûr and the words *firoza*, 'beauty' (lit. turquoise) and *pur*, 'full.'

[76] Ghulâm Aḥmed is a bookseller of Firozpûr.

[1] Told by Ḥajjan, a Paṭhân girl at Muzaffargaṛh.—F. A. S.

[2] *Saukan*, co-wife—the cause of endless rhymes, songs, sayings, and proverbs in India mostly with a tendency to a wish on the part of one co-wife to be rid or freed from the other. *Hûr bhi saukan ko ḍâṅ se burî*—a witch is better than a fairy co-wife:—Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.* art. سوکن. No one can study the adages of India without being convinced that if the women hate one thing, except the mother-in-law, more than another it is the existence of polygamy.—R. C. T.

[3] *Chimbe kî rangan*, the dyer's stuff. *Chimbâ* = Panj. *chhîmbâ* = Hind. *chhîpî*, *chhaperâ*, a calico-printer (also washerman): *rangan*, Panj., the dye stuff when set to strain.—R. C. T.

[4] *Rang chaṛhnâ; rangan meṅ chaṛhnâ*, to become dyed or painted.—R. C. T.

[5] *Lit.* one goes bad, one burns, one laughing goes across on the shoulder.

Saṛnâ, to rot, go bad, is used figuratively for to be vexed, and *balnâ*, to burn, for to be in great grief. This rhyme alludes to a proverb founded on a common tale. The verses usually run thus:—

Ik saṛî, dûî balî;
Dûî jâî mûnde chaṛhî.

First she was vexed, next she grieved:
The other went across mounted on the shoulder.

And the story goes that a man who had two wives had to cross a river. Both wives wanted to go across first, but in the end he took the youngest on his shoulder and left the elder behind to struggle across as she best could. The younger wife mocked the elder with the above words. Hence the sting of the old sparrow's speech in the text.—R. C. T.

[6] *Phapnî, phapnî, phapnî!* Panj. a low cunning woman; Hind. *phapṛî*, a procuress; Panj. *phapṛe*, deceit.—R. C. T.

Then the pîpal said to him: "What has happened?"

"Don't ask me," said cock-sparrow. "It isn't decent to ask questions when a body is in mourning."

But the pîpal wouldn't be satisfied, so at last with sobs and tears the poor bereaved cock-sparrow said—

"*Ik chamkhat*[7] *hûî:*
Chiṛî rangan chaṛhî;
Chiṛâ bedan[8] *karî.*"
"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her."

Then the pîpal was overwhelmed with grief too, and said "I must mourn also." So it shed all its leaves on the spot. By and bye a buffalo came in the heat of the day to rest in the shade of the pîpal, and was astonished to find nothing but bare twigs. "What has happened to you?" said the buffalo, "you were as green as possible yesterday." "Don't ask me," whimpered the pîpal, "where are your manners? Don't you know it isn't decent to ask questions when people are mourning?"

But the buffalo insisted, and at last with sobs and sighs the pîpal said—

"*Ik chamkhat huî:*
Chiṛî rangan chaṛhî;
Chiṛâ bedan karî:
Pîpal pattrê jhaṛî."
"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her;
So the pîpal shed its leaves."

"Dear! dear! dear!" cried the buffalo. "How very sad! I must mourn *too.*" So she immediately cast her horns and wept and wailed. After a while she went to drink water in the river.[9]

"What is the matter?" cried the river. "And what have you done with your horns?"

"How rude you are?" wept the buffalo, "can't you see I am in deep mourning? Don't you know it isn't manners to ask questions?"

But the river insisted till the buffalo with many sighs said:—

"*Ik chamkhat hûî;*
Chiṛî rangan chaṛhî;
Chiṛâ bedan karî;
Pîpal pattrê jhaṛî;
Mahîn[10] *sing jhaṛî.*"
"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her,
So the pîpal shed its leaves,
And the buffalo her horns."

"Dreadful!" cried the river, and wept so much that its water became quite salt.

By and bye a cuckoo[11] came to bathe in the river. "What has happened?" said the cuckoo, "you are as salt as tears."

"Don't ask me," mourned the river, "it's too dreadful for words."

But when the cuckoo insisted, it said:—

"*Ik chamkhat hûî:*
Chiṛî rangan chaṛhî;
Chiṛâ bedan karî;
Pîpal pattrê jhaṛî;
Mahîn sing jhaṛî;
Nâîn bahî khârî."[12]
"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her,
So the pîpal shed its leaves,
And the buffalo her horns,
So the river became salt."

"Oh dear! oh dear!" cried the cuckoo, "How very shocking! I must mourn too." So he plucked out an eye and went and sat by a tradesman's shop and wept.

"What's the matter?" cried Bhagtu,[13] the tradesman.

"Don't ask me," snivelled the cuckoo, "it is such awful grief! such sorrow!"

But when the tradesman persisted the cuckoo said:—

"*Ik chamkhat hûî;*
Chiṛî rangan chaṛhî;
Chiṛâ bedan karî;

[7] *Chamkhat, chamakht, chamkhat* is a word whose origin I cannot trace. It is used with *karnâ* and *honâ* with a sense of to put on a false appearance by discolouring the skin or the face, or by dying the hair: to disguise, paint oneself: to rouge: to make up.—R. C. T.

[8] *Bedan*, love; *cf.* Sansk. √*vid*, to perceive, feel, find, possess, acquire, marry: Panj., *bedhṇâ*, to contract an amorous friendship: Hind. *bedṇâ* and *bedhnâ*, to ache, pain.—R. C. T.

[9] *Naîn* was the word used, which is very interesting. Sansk. *nad*, to roar, whence the Hind. and Panj. *nadî* and *nadyâ* a river, but Prak. *naî*, a river, which the modern dialectic word has preserved exactly.—R. C. T.

[10] *Mahîn, mahî*, Panj. a buffalo=Hind. *bhains.*—R. C. T.

[11] *Koyal, koil*, the black Indian cuckoo: *cuculus Indicus.*—R. C. T.

[12] *Lit.* the river flowed brackish.—R. C. T.

[13] *Bhagtu*, the familiar diminutive form of the Hindu name *Bhagat Râm.*—R. C. T.

Pîpal pattrê jharî;
Mahîn sing jharî;
Nâîn bahî khârî;
Koil hûî kânî."

"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her,
So the pîpal shed its leaves,
And the buffalo her horns,
So the river became salt,
And the cuckoo lost an eye."

"Bless me," cried Bhagtu, "but that is most distressing. I really must mourn too." So he wept and wailed till he lost his senses, so that when the king's maid-servant came to buy from him, he gave her pepper when she asked for turmeric, and onion when she asked for garlic, and wheat when she asked for pulse.

"Dear me, friend Bhagtu," cried the maid-servant, "what's the matter with you?"

"Don't!" cried the tradesman, "don't ask me! what can a man in such dreadful grief as I am know about onions and garlic and turmeric and pepper? It is too, too awful!"

But at last at the maid's entreaties he said:—

"*Ik chamkhat hûî;*
Chirî rangan charhî;
Chirâ bedan karî;
Pîpal pattrê jharî;
Mahîn sing jharî;
Naîn bahî khârî;
Koil hûî kânî;
Bhagtu dîwânî."

"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her,
So the pîpal shed its leaves,
And the buffalo her horns,
So the river became salt,
And the cuckoo lost an eye,
So Bhagtu went mad."

"Oh how sad!" cried the maid-servant, "I must mourn too." So she went to the palace saying dreadful things.[14] "What is the matter?" cried the Queen, "what distresses you?" "Oh!" cried the maid, "such dreadful news,"

"*Ik chamkhat hûî;*
Chirî rangan charhî;
Chirâ bedan karî:
Pîpal pattrê jharî:
Mahîn sing jharî:
Nâîn bahî khârî:
Koil hûî kânî;
Bhagtu dîwânî;
Bândî padnî."

"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her,
So the pîpal shed its leaves,
And the buffalo her horns,
So the river became salt,
And the cuckoo lost an eye,
So Bhagtu went mad,
And the maid took to swearing."

"Dear me," cried the Queen, "that is very sad, and I ought to mourn too." So she set to work and danced as hard as she could till she got out of breath. Just then in came her little son, saw her dancing, and asked—Why?

"*Ik chamkhat hûî;*
Chirî rangan charhî;
Chirâ bedan karî;
Pîpal pattrê jharî;
Mahîn sing jharî;
Naîn bahî khârî;
Koil hûî kânî;
Bhagtu dîwânî;
Bândî padnî;
Rânî nâchnî."

"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her,
So the pîpal shed its leaves,
And the buffalo her horns,
So the river became salt,
And the cuckoo lost an eye,
So Bhagtu went mad,
And the maid took to swearing,
So the Queen took to dancing,"

said the Queen, and went on dancing.

"I'll mourn too," cried the Prince, and immediately began to play the tambourine and dance. Hearing the noise the King came in, and asked what was the matter? "Oh!" said his son—

"*Ik chamkhat hûî;*
Chîrî rangan charhî;
Chirâ bedan karî;

[14] *Padnî*; *padnâ* (*pâd*), *lit.* to break wind, in common parlance used of a coward, to be cowardly, and of women, to use bad language, to say outrageous things in society. Perhaps the best renderings of the word here are those in the text.—R. C. T.

Pîpal pattrê jharî;
Mahîn sing jharî;
Naîn bahî khârî;
Koil hûî kânî;
Bhagtu dîwânî;
Bândî padnî;
Rânî nachnî;
Putr ḍholkî bajânî."
"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her,
So the pîpal shed its leaves,
And the buffalo her horns,
So the river became salt,
And the cuckoo lost an eye,
So Bhagtu went mad,
And the maid took to swearing,
So the Queen took to dancing
And the Prince took to drumming."

"Capital!" cried the King, seizing a zither and thrumming away as he danced too.

Then all four began to sing:

"*Ik chamkhat hûî;*
Chirî rangan charhî;
Chirâ bedan karî;
Pîpal pattrê jharî;
Mahîn sing jharî;
Naîn bahî khârî;
Koil hûî kânî;
Bhagtu dîwânî;
Bândî padnî;
Rânî nâchnî;
Putr ḍholkî bajânî;
Râjâ sargî[15] *bajânî."*
"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her,
So the pîpal shed its leaves,
And the buffalo her horns,
So the river became salt,
And the cuckoo lost an eye,
So Bhagtu went mad,
And the maid took to swearing,
So the Queen took to dancing,
And the Prince took to drumming,
And the King took to thrumming."

And that was the burial of poor hen-sparrow.

[15] *Sargi* = *sârangî*, an instrument like a fiddle.—R. C. T.

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(*Concluded from p. 146.*)

MUSALMÂN BEGGARS.

Bombay being the principal port of embarkation for the Red Sea, there is annually a large concourse of Musalmân pilgrims going to Makka, from different provinces, and on their return they are fed, clothed and helped on their way back to their homes[1]. Besides these pilgrims who make their stay for a time in Bombay, there is already a large number of Musalmân faqirs in Bombay inhabiting mosques, verandas of godowns and Muhammadan houses, or who squat on vacant ground employing themselves during the day as labourers, and in the evening sallying forth as beggars, some with lanterns in their hands adorned with flower-garlands, while others go waving burning incense and return with a full scrip. These beggars frequent the houses of all. Hindus give these preference to their own beggars. To give charity to a faqir is in their estimation meritorious. They do not look at the corpse of a Hindu, but at a Musalmân's they will try to have a glance, as he becomes, they say, a *pîr* after death, and that no evil spirit (*piśâcha,*) enters his body; while others become devils, *bhûtas*, and go to heaven or hell according to their deeds here on earth. But whatever the notions of the Hindus regarding Musalmân beggars may be, many of the latter are reputed to be drunkards, smokers of *ganja*, *chandol*, smugglers of opium, and it is generally believed that not a few are addicted to pilfering.[2]

Daṇḍivâlâs strike two wooden bats together, and curse and abuse if one does not present them with a copper.

Then there are the Urimârs, Schharimârs, and Gajmârs who carry a knife or a club with spikes on it. With these they wound themselves if one does not pay them.

Dôrivâlâs spread a line, and from the houses coming within the length of this line they demand money, and then go to other houses,

[1] *Bom. Quar. Rev.* vol. IV, p. 264.
[2] Ibid, p. 265.

repeating the process. In case of refusal the beggar forms the line into a noose, and threatens to hang himself. Then there is another who has no particular name assigned him, but who stands abusing the shopkeeper, and at last puts his hand in his mouth, and pulls out, as he says, his stomach, all bloody. This is a horrible sight to look at.

The Daṇḍukâvâlâ carries a club loaded with a number of small iron chains, and shaking the club he stands in front of shops.[3]

Garuḍis are Muhammadan jugglers, who perform feats with snakes, which are taught to dance to the sound of a shrill musical instrument. They then produce cobras out of bambu baskets; the reptiles hissing fiercely, raise their eyes and hooded crests, and rear on end as if to strike the charmer. The snakes dance to the music of the gourd pipe, not with pleasure, but with rage and fear, the jugglers twist these snakes round their necks, keeping the mouth of the snake under their chin. They have no elaborate apparatus, but are generally accompanied by an assistant. They are almost naked, and their whole stock in trade consists of a few bambu baskets. They exhibit some extraordinary tricks:—thus, a boy aged ten or so is strongly tied up with a twisted cord or string, hands, feet, and all. Then a sack of strong netting is slipped over the boy, and he is squeezed down on his haunches so that the cords can be tied fast over the captive's head. He is then lifted from the ground to show how securely the sack is fastened. The boy is put into a basket about eighteen inches high and three feet long with a cover, and there appears to be a difficulty in fitting the lid on the top. The basket then in turn is tied up with another strong cord. Presently the lid is agitated, the cord and net jerked out. This done, the basket is pierced on all sides with a sword or foil which goes right through, and the juggler then calls out to the boy, but no answer comes from him, he then tells the spectators that the boy is dead.[4] This scene excites the people, and the juggler profits by this opportunity to collect a few annas; as soon as this is done, he lifts up the lid, but the basket is empty! He calls out to the boy, when he answers from a distance, and comes running towards the juggler. Then the performer throws up into the air an earthen jar, which he receives on the back of the right hand, where it is kept dancing for a moment, and then on the extended arm. He dances with two double-bladed swords which he tosses in the air, catching them in the hand opposite to that from which they had been thrown, at the same time dancing to the rapid beating of the drum. A third and fourth, up to five or six, are kept in motion, the bells on his ankles jingling in time to the music. They swallow and spit out fire, exhibit an inexhaustible water vessel, and walk on pattens, held on by the feet making a vacuum with the soles. A mango seed is placed in the earth and covered with a basket, and by and by the old fellow, in an interval of snake-charming, exposes a bright green sprout, some eight or ten inches high, where he had apparently put in a seed. After a while it is uncovered, when it appears hung with tiny fruit. Then he puts down a small basket, chatters at it, and lo! there is an egg! he covers the egg with a basket, chatters at it and turns it over, out walks a pigeon. Next he places another egg under the basket, and another pretty pigeon comes out. There are various other sleights of hand performed by these people, such as thrusting spears and knives deep into their mouths, and pulling them out covered with blood. They also pull out of their mouths cotton thread several hundred yards long, quite dry, and, by a clever trick, apparently change a pinchful of dust into copper, silver, or gold coin, &c. &c.

The Tasmivâlâ binds a strap of leather round his neck as if strangling himself, and flutters his hands and feet like one in the agonies of death.[5]

The ape men show off their favourites, which are trained to go through the manual and platoon exercise in a reckless manner, winding up with a general quarrel.

Hijdâs or eunuchs come in groups of four or five, of all Hindu and Musalmân classes, they are either castrates or born so. In Native States fine-looking youths, for whom the wives of the Native princes take a liking, are castrated and made over to them as their keepers. Both the Hindu and Muhammadan eunuchs dress in robes and bodices, the Musalman eunuchs being generally in white,

[3] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I, p. 162, for these beggars.
[4] Russell's *Prince of Wales's Tour in India*, pp. 159, 160.
[5] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I, p. 162.

and the Hindu eunuchs in clothes of different colours. Musalman eunuchs do not pray nor observe fasts or feasts, but the Hindu eunuchs apply red powder to their brows, and pray to Hindu goddesses. Excepting from the eyebrows, the eunuchs remove all hair from the face and wear the hair of the head in a back knot like women. They generally speak Hindustani. Besides committing sodomy, the Musalman eunuchs dance and sing on occasions of births, of which they learn from midwives, or they go about the lanes, calling out 'Where is a son born?' If they should not be sent for, they contrive to find out the house and exact money. Should they be handsomely rewarded, well and good; if not, they raise a clamour and load the owner with curses. A good-looking person among them is selected to dance, and the rest play on a drum and pipe, and sing. Towards the conclusion of the dance the dancer presses out his abdomen by inserting a cloth pad under his dress to represent a pregnant woman. After a little while, as if in actual labour he screams and roars out lustily, and ultimately drops the pad as if bringing forth the infant. Then the pretended mother rocks it in a cradle or dandles it in her arms. After dancing and singing awhile they receive betel-nut, rice, and money, and depart.[6] These creatures frequent the Mârvâḍi and other shops, and stand clapping their hands, and using filthy language till the shop-keepers give them a pice. They do not feel ashamed to raise their waist cloth before shopkeepers if they do not pay them. When they die they are buried by their own people without any ceremony being performed either at their graves or afterwards. Hindus consider it a sin to look at them, but during the Holi holidays they are encouraged and their dances attended by low-class people.

Shidhis, both men and women, carry a cocoanut shell filled with small pebbles and covered over with a cloth, which they go on shaking, and at the same time singing songs. At other times they carry a long guitar on which they play, and beg. The men sometimes smear their bodies with a mixture of oil and soot, and frequent Mârwâdi shops.

The palanquin beggar is a Musalmân, who rides in a palanquin with a snake in his hand. Before him walk musicians. These together with the palanquin he hires for about three rupees a day.

Musalmân astrologers, squatting under trees on the Esplanade with books before them, pretend to foretell events. A pice satisfies them.

Chhatâpânis are damaged characters, "squatting on the ground in a corner of a lane or street where fairs are held, with three cards placed before them, endeavouring to induce the onlookers to stake their money, and use some amusing flattery. But excepting one or two low castes, and damaged characters, the spectators are generally too cautious to venture anything on the famous three card trick, which has cost many a bumpkin his whole store of available cash."

The Pehelvân, or athletic, is a Musalmân. He first throws a large knife into the air, and then follows it up by some half a dozen more one after another, and keeps them in the air by constant movement. He takes up a large stone ball, and keeps it rolling up and down on one of his arms for a little while, and then by a jerk sends it on to the other arm, and so on. He next flings it up in the air, and allows it to fall heavily on his breast and back. He then pulls a long knife from his side, and catching it with both his hands forces it down his throat and after allowing it to remain there for a few minutes, as he says, to suck his blood, he pulls it out covered with blood, and shows it to each of the spectators, and asks for a pice.

THE DATE OF ŚAMKARÂCHÂRYA.

BY K. B. PATHAK, B. A., BELGAUM HIGH SCHOOL.

Professor Weber places Śaṁkarâchârya in the 8th century, and says that Śaṁkara's date has not, unfortunately, been more accurately determined as yet. Other Oriental scholars place him in the 7th or the 9th century. This uncertainty on a point of so much importance can be easily accounted for by the fact that places like Śriṁgeri in the South, which contain

[6] Munshi Vali Latfulla.

immense literary treasures, have not as yet been visited by scholars in search of manuscripts.

I have lately come across a manuscript which gives the date of Śaṁkarâchârya. The manuscript belongs to Mr. Govinda Bhata Yerlekara of Belgaum. It is a small one, consisting of three leaves only, written in Bâlbodh characters. It begins thus:

श्री त्र्यंबकेश्वरायनमः नमामि शंकराचार्यगुरुपादसरो-
रुहं ॥ यस्य प्रसादान्मूढोपि सर्वज्ञोऽहं सदास्म्यलं ॥ १ ॥
श्री शंकराचार्यनवावतारं वेदान्तशारीरकभाष्यकारं ॥
चकोरचाकोरकचंद्रिकाणां श्रीशंकराचार्यगुरुं नमामि ॥ ९
आदौ शिवस्ततो विष्णुस्ततो ब्रह्मा ततः परं ॥ वसिष्ठाख्य-
स्तथा शक्तिस्ततः पाराशरः स्मृतः ॥ ३ ॥
ततो व्यासः शुकः पश्चाद् गौडपादाभिधस्तथा ॥ गोविंदार्य-
गुरु स्तस्मात् शंकराचार्यसंज्ञकः ॥ ४ ॥

The manuscript next says that Śaṁkara established his *matha* on the banks of the Tuṁgabhadrâ, appointed Prithvidhara to be the head of it, conferred upon him the title of Bhâratî, and,

आगत्य स्वेच्छया कांचीं पर्यटन्पृथिवीतले ॥ तत्र संस्थाप्य
कामाक्षीं जगाम परमं पदं ॥

Then follow the names of his successors.

We next come to a minute description of the mathas established in various parts of India. Then follows the guru paraṁparâ or the succession of teachers, in which the Âchârya is described as *Kushmâṁda-jâta*. The reason why he is so called is too well known to need any explanation here. This circumstance is not denied by Ânandagiri in his *Saṁkara vijaya*, who, as a warm admirer of Śaṁkara, cannot, of course, be expected to lay stress upon it:

तादृशीमपि संत्यज्य ययौ विश्वजिदद्भुतं ॥ अरण्ये तपसे
कृत्वा मनो निश्चयतां गतं ॥

But a Mâdhva or a follower of Mâdhva, in the *Maṇi maṁjari*, does not scruple to tell us:

तमेव समयं दैत्यो मणिमानप्यजायत ॥ मनोरथेन महता
ब्राह्मण्यां जारतः खलात् ॥

In the *guru-paraṁparâ* we are also told

श्री यादवप्रकाशस्य शिष्यो रामानुजो यतिः ॥ तेन वैष्णव-
सिद्धान्तः स्थापितो गुरुसंमते ॥ ९ ॥
अच्युतप्रेक्षनामस्तु शिष्यो मध्वाभिधो यतिः ॥ तेनैव भेद-
सिद्धान्तः स्थापितो गुर्वसंमते ॥ १० ॥ After the *guru-paraṁparâ*, which is attributed to Âtmânanda, we read

दुष्टाचारविनाशाय प्रादुर्भूतो महीतले ॥ स एव शंकराचार्यः
साक्षात्कैवल्यनायकः ॥ निधिनागेभवह्न्यब्दे । ३८८९[1]
विभवे शंकरोदयः अष्टवर्षे चतुर्वेदान् द्वादशे सर्वशास्त्रकृत् ।
षोडशे कृतवान् भाष्यं द्वात्रिंशे मुनिरभ्यगात् ॥ कल्यब्दे
चंद्रनेत्रांकवह्न्यब्दे ३९२१[2] गुहाप्रवेशः वैशाखे पूर्णमा-
यां तु शंकरः शिवतामगात् ॥ The manuscript then proceeds to give the date of Mâdhvâchârya and an account of the Mâdhva sect, in which Mâdhva is represented as the son of the demon Mâdhu.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

7. OPPROBRIOUS NAMES.—Chhajjâ Singh.—At p. 332, vol. X. *ante*, the name Chhajju is given as an opprobrious one from the Panjâb with the meaning of "winnowing basket." But the Sikh name Chajjâ Singh or Chhajjâ has a widely different signification, and teaches us the lesson of "never jumping to a conclusion." In Panjâbi *chhajjâ* is a long heavy beard, also a man with a long beard: (?) from the old Sansk. root *chhad*, to cover.[3] In Hindî *chhâjâil* means 'long-bearded.' Chhajjâ Singh has reference to this meaning, and though a nickname is hardly opprobrious, considering the honour in which a beard is held by Sikhs: Chhajju has reference to the custom of dragging children in a winnowing basket, and is decidedly opprobrious:—the names exist side by side in the Panjâb.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA.—By A. BARTH, Member of the Société Asiatique of Paris. Authorized Translation by Rev. J. Wood. Trübner and Co. 1882. pp. 309.

We read this work in French soon after its first appearance, and we are glad to see it in an English dress. It is a book of no small value. Whether the author has studied Sanskrit with any care we have no means of judging; but he has diligently collected information from all available sources in the languages of Europe. M. Barth

[1] This corresponds to Śaka 710.

[2] This corresponds to Śaka 742 or A.D. 820.

is evidently a person of well-balanced mind; acute; and also careful in weighing facts. He is by no means disposed to accept theories at second hand, however high may be the authority from which they emanate. He earnestly works out every question for himself, yet without being excessively fond of novel views. The work, from beginning to end, is full of information, and—especially when read in the writer's lucid French—is really one of the most charming books on Indian thought and life that have for a long time come in our way.

The work would deserve an elaborate review; but the present paper is intended simply as a notice—a kind of advertisement to English readers. If we had leisure we should be glad to discuss—though we should be still better pleased to see others discuss—the views in which M. Barth departs from the usual line of thought.

Some of his opinions will rather startle Orientalists. For example, he sees in the Veda "a literature pre-eminently sacerdotal, and, in no sense, popular." "Not even in the oldest hymns" can he discover "primitive, natural simplicity." He doubts, therefore, or rather denies, that we have a right to speak of a "Vedic people"—that is, a race whose general belief is represented in the Vedas. Professor Thiele of Leyden—a most respectable name—holds the same opinion; and it certainly deserves discussion. It seems that M. Barth has entered more fully into this subject in the *Révue Critique*—a periodical to which we have at present no access; but we understand him to hold not merely that the hymns of the Rig Veda are only a selection of ancient Aryan poems, but that they represent simply a portion even of the religious thought of Vedic days. At the time the hymns were written, popular religions may have existed side by side with the Vedic system—religions, out of which probably arose the Vishṇuite and Śivite faiths of later ages. Such is his belief; and we repeat that the question deserves earnest consideration.

Another point on which M. Barth makes us pause and ponder, relates to the deity Varuṇa. He does not admit that Varuṇa is in "a state of decay"—a king dethroned. Ever since we read the brilliant disquisition of Roth on the subject, we have thought otherwise; and M. Barth supplies no sufficient reason for a change of opinion.

Our author, instead of always finding profound thought in the Veda, declares that the poets often "strive to be unintelligible," and manifest "affectation and indolence." Let this view also be considered; it is not self-evidently wrong,—though the bewildering confusion we often meet has seemed to us to prove the imperfection of our knowledge of Vedic language, rather than an affectation of mystery on the part of the Ṛishis. We are far, indeed, from saying that, even if we had a more exact knowledge of Vedic Sanskrit, the thought of the poet would be always clear. Indian mind delights in mysterious speculations, and the old Ṛishis doubtless often went beyond their depth; but the question is—were they *intentionally* obscure?

M. Barth's acuteness shows itself in his earnest attempt to lead us through the mazes of the Upanishads and the Darśanas. Here again he always interests, without just always convincing us. Some of his criticisms of the philosophic speculations are severe—perhaps severely just. Thus, "Here the haughty theosophy collapses." "Conscientiously observed" (he is speaking especially of the Yoga)—"these observances can issue only in folly and idiocy."

We do not see that M. Barth has supplied much that is new in his discussion on Buddhism and Jainism; but his summaries of fact are drawn up with care. In regard to modern Hinduism, our author must have felt that he had too vast a subject to grapple with, considering the space at his command. We should be glad to see this portion of his book enlarged, and to some extent re-written. He differs from Weber as to the Krishṇa legend, and from Burnell in reference to the influence of Manicheeism and Christianity on the great religious movements in the South, between the 9th and 12th centuries;—and, in these cases, we deem him in the wrong. He is mistaken as to the number, and rank in society, of the Syrian Christians. It may probably be a new fact to him that, in the province of Travancore, every fifth man is a Christian. Farther, it is a pity that such a writer, in speaking of Christian Missions, should say "there are no conversions." In the South of India alone, the professed Protestants are now 350,000,—and their number has quadrupled during the last twenty years. Moreover the Roman Catholics would loudly protest against the declaration that "the operations of the Propaganda have long since come to a standstill."

But, although sometimes imperfectly informed as to present things, M. Barth is always thoroughly honest and anxious to be impartial.

One word as to the translation. It is fairly executed; but it does not run in very limpid English.

It is dedicated to the late Dr. John Muir—over whose death so many have recently had cause to mourn.—J. M. M.

INDO-CHINESE LANGUAGES.

BY PROF. EM. FORCHHAMMER.

I.

Monosyllabism has hitherto been almost the sole ground upon which the Burmese, Tai, Talaing, Tibetan, and Chinese languages have been pronounced consanguineous. The linguistic history of these numerous tongues is still unwritten, and the records of Western Indo-Chinese nations begins with preserving the memory of the advance, upon their borders, of foreign civilization and culture, of rulers and events inextricably interwoven with the dateless monarchs and episodes of Hindu legendary lore.

We cannot, therefore, begin our inquiry by settling upon a prime- al language—upon a parent from which the innumerable languages and dialects, comprised within the term Indo-Chinese, have sprung and entered upon an individual career of linguistic growth or decay. Nor is it admissible to deduce from such principles as govern the phonetic changes in other language-groups, those which obtain in monosyllabic tongues. Agglutination, integration, and accent, which have wrought such changes in Indo-European words, but little affect monosyllables, in the present stage of language struggling for grammatical and syntactical independence. It is, first, the tonal inflection of the vowel element, the pitch of voice, emphasis and quantity with which a vowel is pronounced which chiefly cause and direct the changes in the surrounding consonants; secondly, final consonants, the absence or presence of which affect the preceding vowel or consonant, or both; thirdly, symbolism—consonants and occasionally vowels undergo changes, directly and organically indicative of a variation in meaning; these changes are not, as in most other language-groups, the effect of agglutination, integration of elements, or change of accent. In the Indo-Chinese languages accent must be strictly separated from tonal inflexion, pitch of voice, emphasis, and quantity of the vowel element; it is simply *sentence-stress*, and imparts emphasis to the prominent elements in the collocation of monosyllabic roots. Lastly, the most peculiar feature is the production of parallel roots, with concordant or antithetic vowel-sounds; this process is also in part symbolic; it accounts for the existence of the innumerable nearly homonymous roots in these languages, carrying the same or but a slightly modified meaning, and of radices which have the same consonant and signification, but bifurcate, according to strict rules of euphony—the vowel element into antithetic vowel sounds.

2. Talaing, Burmese, and Shan—the chief literary languages of Burma—have adopted Indian alphabets, and arrange their letters in rows, containing, more or less complete, the vowels and consonants of the Indian *vargas*. The Indian alphabets, however, are inadequate to express graphically the numerous and important distinctions, which the Indo-Chinese languages admit in emphasis, tone and quantity of vowel-sounds. The result is a large number of homonymous words, especially in Shan, widely different in meaning, and distinguished in spoken language by well-defined modulations in the utterance of the vowel element. The Shan word *kan*, for instance, written with the two letters *k* and *n*, is capable of conveying 16 totally distinct meanings, according as the vowel is pronounced with the high, low, middle or rising tone, with teeth and lips either widely or but slightly opened, with full or restrained expiration of breath. On the other hand, the adoption of Indian *vargas* imposed upon Burmese and Talaing supernumerary letters for sounds, which do not exist in these languages. The distinction of tenues and mediæ and their aspirates cannot consistently be upheld in the Indo-Chinese languages; *k* and *kh* occur, but the medial *g* and *gh* are foreign consonants, occurring only in borrowed words. The Shan has omitted the mediæ and mediæ aspiratæ altogether; in Talaing and Karen the sounds represented by *g* and *gh* are different from the Arian *g* and *gh*; in the former *g* resembles the Hebrew â-yin, *gh* the Hebrew chēth.

A further discrepancy arose by representing the peculiar Indo-Chinese sibilants by palatals, and by writing true palatals with a double letter consisting of a guttural and *y* (*ya-gau'k* or *ya-pe'k le'k*).

Cerebrals are natural to the Talaing,—in all other Burmese languages they occur only in

words of foreign origin. The Shan (and also Khyen, Sgō, and Pgō Karen) have not admitted cerebrals into their alphabets.

Dentals and labials of a peculiar nature occur in Talaing, Khyen, and Karen; Talaing has invented two letters for labials in addition to the Indian *varga*; Khyen also requires an extra sign in the labial row.

Sibilants, though numerous in the languages of Further India, have graphically but one representative; it is pronounced in Talaing and Burmese very much like English *th* in *those*, but in Shan like *s* aspirated, and in the latter undistinguished in form or sound from the aspirated surd consonant placed in the palatal *varga*. It has already been intimated that the sounds, arranged as palatals in written language, are in their nature sibilants.

Writing in Talaing, Burmese, and Shan is not the handmaid of speech; orthoepy is but dimly reflected in orthography; "a stranger may acquire the spoken tongue by training of the mouth and ear, or the written by help of grammar and dictionary, and in either case the other tongue will be nearly as strange to him as if it belonged to an unknown race."

Nor do the methods of spelling in these three languages deserve, on historical grounds, the same consideration at the hand of philologists, as antiquated modes of spelling in other languages; in the former the tie between writing and utterance must at all times have been exceedingly loose and indefinite; ancient Talaing and Burmese inscriptions furnish important data for palæography, but philology is unable, from ancient or modern written documents, to unveil important phases of the life and growth of Indo-Chinese languages.

Researches, based upon the evidence of written idioms, into their nature and genetic connection, must prove abortive. A thorough investigation of the physiology of sounds and of their relation to one another, as exhibited in the *spoken* languages, must precede all other linguistic inquiries.

3. Before we enter upon the exposition of the Indo-Chinese phonetic system, it is incumbent to ascertain, what in these idioms is due to ethnic capacities and what are transmitted habits, arising from the contact with other languages.

Buddhism became established in China at the beginning of the Christian era; it rose by imperial favour to a high legitimate status; devoted Chinese priests studied, translated, and imitated Buddhistic legendary and controversial literature; and the Chinese people divided their homage between Con-fu-tze, Lao-tze, and Buddha. In China the Mahâyâna school prevailed: its vehicle was Sanskṛit.

In Further India the sacred language of Buddhism is Pâli; this idiom began its influence upon Talaing about 2,000 years ago; upon Burmese 900; and upon Shan probably not more than 300 years ago. The Sanskṛitic *tantra* School of Northern India left also some traces on the alphabet, literature, and language of the Burmans. The differences subsisting between Pâli and Sanskṛit are not sufficiently important to produce dissimilar effects in the phonetic habitus or morphological structure of those monosyllabic languages, which they have influenced in common. The latter, however, differ greatly as to the conditions under which they granted citizenship to the long-membered sojourners from India.

The Chinese possessed considerable and varied learning before the advent of Buddhism and the diffusion of its literature in their dominions. Many technical vocables were transferred from Sanskṛit, yet Chinese commentators were not at a loss to bring their meaning home to their readers in terms of their own tongue. A written literary language, the regulated medium of the thoughts of the wise, and uninfluenced by Aryan diction, was understood in all corners of China, irrespective of differences in their common dialects.

In Further India, Hindu colonists imparted the first impulse of culture and development to the life and languages of the natives; they had not yet gathered up and set in order their own legendary lore and poetry; their vulgar tongues had never been the medium for themes of imagination or philosophy. The constant presence and pressure of a learned, highly organised, but uncongenial language upon the undeveloped indigenous idioms, rather retarded and crippled their internal growth, too slow to keep space with the demands made upon its own resources, by the altered material conditions, ways of life, and new institutions, social and private. They had recourse to external growth; the technical vocabularies of crafts, arts, and sciences of Hindu origin are decidedly

Indo-Aryan. Sanskrit words were not, as a rule, incorporated into Chinese; they were merely transliterated and set against the native equivalent. *Mahâyâna pradîpa*, for instance, was divided into a succession of monosyllables, each provided with a Chinese phonetic sign, pronounced with the tone, emphasis, and quantity peculiar to it; thus in its Chinese dress the word assumes the form: *mo-ho-ye-na-po-lo-ti-i-po*, in Chinese *ta-ching-teng*—the lamp, the torch of the Great Vehicle (St. Julien, *Méth. pour déchiffer et transcr. les noms Sanskrit*, etc., p. 66).

4. The tonal inflections, though a very important feature in the Indo-Chinese languages, are the most volatile of vowel accidents, and therefore most liable to be influenced by contact with foreign tongues. The position which the tonal system assumed towards borrowed words deserves particular attention. The Chinese, we have seen, devised means, by transliterating Sanskrit words with Chinese graphic signs, and pronouncing them as such, which deprived foreign elements of all disturbing influence upon tonal inflection. Talaing, Burmese, and Shan, partly because fettered by Indian alphabets, were forced to grant important concessions to intruders. Shan assigned to all borrowed words, whether Aryan or Burmese, the deepest, dullest tone; to some unaccented syllables, suffixes and affixes, the short, jerking 5th tone. Between these two extreme points, native words have ample space to clamber the length of the tonal ladder or foot at either end. Thus the Shan limited the destructive influence of foreign atonal words, by apportioning to them a fixed position in the tone-scale. Talaing and Burmese made no similar provisions, and this neglect resulted in the decomposition of their tonal system.

5. But Aryan speech effected a change of far greater importance in the cultured Indo-Chinese languages. Its recondite influence will at once become apparent by comparing the written Burmese, Talaing, or Shan, with their colloquial forms of speech and with the illiterate tongues of the Khyens and Karens. In classifying Indo-Chinese roots upon principles of genetic connection, a singular phonetic phenomenon reveals itself. Nearly all roots, whether used attributively, predicatively, or appellatively—for Indo-Chinese languages have no formal distinction betwen verb, noun, or adjective—occur under two or more forms, possessing the same consonantal character, but various and different vowel elements,—their nature in the parallel roots being always conditioned by the vowel in the primary root; this peculiarity rests upon altogether different laws than "vowel harmony" in the Ural-Altaic languages. The related roots, for instance, for 'slimy,' 'mucilagineous,' fall under two heads; viz., a guttural and the vowel *a*, a guttural and the vowel *i*.[1]

$k + a$		$k + i$	
Shan	*ka*	Shan	*ki*
Chinese	*ka°*	Chinese,	*chi*
		Sgō Karen	*ghī*
		Burmese	*kyi*

paṇ, antiphonous parallel root *pin*, to draw, pull, turn

$p + a$ (or nasalized a).		p + i (or nasalized i).	
Hokkien	*bán*	Shangai	*p'i*
Shangai	*wan*, *p'an* *p'a*	Amoy (colloq.)	*pin*
Anam.	*ván*	Shang-chaw	*pín*
Amoy	*bán*, *pán*	Shangai	*p'i*¹ *p'i*³
Chang-chew	*pan*	Chang-poo	*pín*
Shan	*pan*, *phan*	Shan	*pin*, *phín*
Burmese	*pan* (in Ka-*pán*, to turn over)	Sgō Karen	*phi*⁵ *wi*⁵
Talaing	*ḅon*, *ḅóh*		
Khyen	*p'an*		

bá't, to conceal, hide.

b (p or m) + a.		b (p or m) + i.	
Hokkien	*bát*	Hokkien (colloq.)	*bí't*
Anam.	*máṭ*	Shangai	*mi't*
Amoy	*bat*	Amoy	*bí't*
colloq.	*bã*	Shan	*mi''p*
Shan	*má'p*		*mit*
Sgō Karen	*pa*³		
Talaing	*bá'h*		

[1] The examples given below are taken unaltered from Taberd's *Dic. Anamitico-Latinum*, Douglas' *Chinese-English Dictionary*, Medhurst's *Dict. of the Hok'-keen Dialect*, Stent's *Chinese-English Pocket Dictionary*. The numerals following Karen and Shan words refer to the tonal inflections as given in Wade's *Karen Vocabulary* and Rev. Dr. Cushing's *Shan Dictionary*. An acute over a vowel in single Burmese, Khyen and Talaing roots, indicates that the root is to be pronounced with the high tone; in couplets it distinguishes the syllable which bears the sentence-accent; a circumflex is placed over a deep toned long vowel, in couplets over a deep toned accented syllable; a dash indicates a long vowel, pronounced with the middle tone. The relation of sounds to the signs employed to represent them will be illustrated in a subsequent article.

If the root begins with the vowel *a* and ends with a labial or *h* or a nasal, or if the initial consonant is the soft sonant *m*, and the final a labial or nasal, the antiphonous vowel is *u*. The preference of *u* to *i* is here due to the influence of the adjacent labials or *h*; however, *i* is frequently retained.

ap (a kind of box)

a + *p* (or *h*)		*u* (*ü*) + *p*		*i* + *p* (or t)	
Hokkien	*áh*	Sgō Karen	*ü*^{5}	Shan	*i'p*^{20}
Shangai	*ah*^{2}	Shan	*up*^{4}*c*	Burm.	*i't*
Amoy	*ap*, *ah*	Burmese	*u'p*		
Shan	*ap*^{4} *c*				
	ap^{20}				

am, *ang*, dark, secret.

a + *m*		*u* + *m*		*i* + *m*	
Hokkien	*ám*	Shan	*um*^{10}	Shan	*im*^{1} *c*
Amoy	*àm*		*um*.4*c*		
Shangai	*an*^{4}	Sgō Karen	*ô*^{5}		
Anam.	*ám*				
Shan	*am*^{1} *c*				
	am^{4} *c*				

In Sgō Karen we have *ô*^{5} instead of *u*; this is owing to the loss of the final nasal, which left the evidence of its former existence upon the surviving portion of the root by strengthening *u* to the full deep-toned *ô*^{5}.

bán, to plaster.

b (*m*) + *a*		*b* (*m*, *bh*) + *u*		*b* (*m*) + *i*	
Hokkien	*bán*	Shan	*mum*^{4}*c*	Shan	*mim*^{2}*c*
Amoy	*bán*	Sgō Karen	*bhü* (in)		
Anam.	*măn*		*bä bhü*		
Shan	*mam*^{20}				
Burmese	*mam*	Burmese	*m*$_{w}$*ûm*		

The following is a scheme of the principal antithetic vowel sounds in parallel roots :—

a	require	*i* or *u*	*iu*	require	*au*
á	„	*ĩ* or *û*	*io*	„	*áu*
u	„	*a*	*ui*	„	*ai*
û	„	*á*	*ué*	„	*ai*
e, *é*	„	*á*, *ĩ*, *ô*, *i*	*ü*	„	*a* or *i*, rarely *o*
ai	„	*ĩ*	*ö*	„	*á*, i, *ô*
ô	„	*á*, *ĩ*, or *e*	*öu*	„	*i*
au	„	*iu*			

This peculiar feature, which will be further illustrated in the chapter on "phonetic couplets," assumes strong traits in the individual members of the Indo-Chinese group, especially in the uncultured tongues. The law above set forth is in full force in Shan, Khyen, and Karen. In Rev. Mr. Cushing's *Shan Dictionary*, a very careful and laborious compilation, the parallel roots, as they exist in the spoken and written language, are added to each radical form. The reverend author is the first writer on the Burmese languages who has exhibited in detail and to some extent perceived the importance of vowel antithesis in otherwise homonymous roots; he says (*Shan Dictionary*, pp. 12, 15): "Phonetic couplets (in Shan) are syllables having no meaning in themselves, which are joined to a word for the sake of the additional sound which they produce. . . . . When they are employed, it is generally through the influence of anger, a desire for fun, or some feeling which seeks to express itself in a many-worded form. . . . . It may be that these phonetic couplets *are the empty signs of dead words*, but I incline to think that they have *grown out of the tonal character* of the language to supply a demand for a slightly more emphatic form of expression than any afforded by simple words."

We have seen that the antithetic parallel root to Shan *ka* is *ki*, but also that both *ka* and *ki*, or their etymological derivatives, are historical roots; *ki*, the secondary form in Shan, has survived as primary form in Chinese *chi*, Sgō Karen *ghi* Burmese *kyi*; Shan *kham*, gold, has for its antithetic form *khim*; but the Chinese words for gold (*chim*, *kin*, *gyin*) are all related to *khim*; and *kham* occurs as the parallel form. Shan has preserved the majority of forms, which the law of vowel-antithesis is capable of producing; the consequent surfeit pressed many into services of secondary importance. Shan may truly be said to contain the index to the related roots in kindred languages, in which the law of divarication of the vowel elements operated less energetically, or in which it has been crippled through the influence of foreign idioms.

The three parallel Shan forms, *ap*, *up*, *ip*, direct the etymologist to search for the related vocables in the Burmese and Chinese languages under the vowel *a*, or *u*, or *i*; Sgō Karen and Burmese have no representative of the *ap* form, but they are found as *ü* or *up*; Burmese has also preserved the *i*-root (*i't*) which is lost in Karen; the Chinese relatives survive as *áh*, *ah*, and *ap*, the collateral *u*- and *i*- branches having died out.

The theory of these parallel roots in Shan

having "grown out of the tonal character of the (Shan) language to supply a demand for a slightly more emphatic form of expression than is afforded by simple words" is untenable; they are, what Rev. Mr. Cushing advances as the other alternative "signs of words now dead." Though in Shan they serve at present the ends of euphony and rhythmical cadence, yet in kindred languages they continue as independent and living roots; they are the common inheritance, apportioned in different measures, to all Indo-Chinese tongues, of a common parent language, which must have been prevailingly onomatopœic, in which existed a more or less distant likeness between articulate signs and the acts and qualities designated.

6. It is not intended to afford props to the vagaries of the 'bow-wow,' 'ding-dong,' or similar theories; but the testimony of still living and widely spread languages in Further India exact the acknowledgment of a decidedly imitative principle, affecting their entire apparatus of speech. Monosyllabism is common to all; yet the most ancient feature of the members of this language-group appears to have been a tendency towards joining roots, directly significant of quality or action to a synthetic complex of an imitative, symbolic nature. The accessory circumstances of actions and conditions, the moments of time and place, intensity of action, its repetition, interruption, mode of continuance, length of duration, are depicted in utterance by a repetition of the root, and sameness or divarication of its vowel elements. A predicative root was seldom used singly; being, conditions, and relations were apprehended in the totality of their apparent qualities, and were expressed either in a directly onomatopœic or distantly descriptive synthesis. Of about 120 words and examples given under letter "*n̄ga*" in Wade's *Sgō Karen Vocabulary*, not less than 80 are purely onomatopœic:—

ngi ngi | *nga nga*, imitative of sound as a dog biting fleas;

ngo ngi | *ngo nge*, imitative of sound made through the nose;

ngwë ö | *ngwë ö*, imitative of the yelling of a cat; etc., etc., etc.

Words which resemble the sound made by the thing signified form a very considerable portion of all languages of Further India. Again, about 70 per cent. of the entire Karen vocabulary, which is not strictly onomatopœic, bears an imitative complexion:

tă kí | *tă kú*, anything astringent;

kĭ ñó | *kĭ ñá*, with contortions of the body;

kû thî | *kû thî*, now and then a word;

wa lé | *wa kê*, a sliver of bamboo;

ke kĭ | *ke kû*, having short bends; bent here and there, at short intervals;

kë thô | *kë thô*, act of coming into being successively;

zo mî | *zo mô*, rising to prominence;

zō ghá | *zo ghë*, pinch up and hold fast with the thumb and finger.

Shan:—

tut tut | *tap tap*, to be considerably warm, hotter than usual.

tup kwá | *tup mā*, to go to and fro;

tup tî | *tup tap*, bending one way, then another;

mung mung | *mang mang*, used to express brilliancy;

and numberless other examples also in Burmese, Khyen, Phaloung and Talaing. The arrangement of the roots in these phonetic syntheses is dichotomous, each member consisting of one, two, and even three monosyllables, being either a repetition of the same root, or—if a complex action or quality is involved—of several radices. The constituents of the first member condition those of the second in number, accent, vowel, and to some extent even tone. The phonetic laws which divaricate the vowel element in couplets are identical with those in single roots and their parallels. If in a phonetic couplet *ka* is the first monosyllable in the first member, the second member must begin with a root containing the vowel *a*, *u* or *i*, though the root itself be not related with *ka*, and possessed of a different vowel before forming part of the couplet.

Phonetic decay cannot easily affect imitative couplets; the mutual dependence of their members tends also towards preserving them; a phonetic change in one must affect the entire synthesis; if *ka* changes to *ke*, its counterpart in the second member can no longer remain *ki* or *ku*, but must take the antithetic vowel required by *e*.

It is evident that a large portion of imitative couplets owe their origin and continuance in speech to external circumstances; to diversity

of scenery, seasons, and temperature; the aspect of animal and vegetable life; to the peculiarity of mental and physical activity, customs, and habits of a people. The removal of a tribe from a mountainous region to a level sea shore would gradually bring into disuse the numerous couplets, imitative of the sound of water now falling in cataracts, now gathering in pools, cool and dim, amidst impeding boulders, now meandering many-limbed between them, gently flowing or ruffled, whistling, bubbling, murmuring, with tribes of loquacious birds humming, buzzing insects lighting on ferns, and creepers along the banks; in short of all the varied noises and voices which invest a mountain vastness.

(*payö*) *ă zgö* | *ă zgá*, the lateral crags or ribs of a mountain range;

zwë thō | *zwë lō* | having elevations and depressions;

lō plī	*lō plā*	indicating the idea of trees or other objects pendant from rocks, or overhanging breaks in a hilly country;
to plī	*to plā*	
mú plī	*mú pla*	

pgō kă thū | *pgō kă thā*, a species of mountain creeper.

Such and similar couplets would gradually be effaced from the memory of people no longer mountaineers, or would disintegrate, and their constituents join with other roots to form new couplets.

7. In Skythian and some Dravidian languages, especially in Telugu, "the law of harmonic sequence of vowels" is purely euphonic; in the former the vowel of the root, unchangeable in itself, determines the nature of the vowel element in the agglutinated suffixes. In Telugu "it is the vowels of the appended particles, which are changed through the attraction of the vowels of the word to which they are suffixed; but in a large number of cases the suffixed particles retain their own vowels, and draw the vowels of the verb or noun to which they are suffixed, as also the vowels of any particles that may be added to them, into harmony with themselves." In the Indo-Chinese languages, the principle of vowel harmony and vowel-antithesis has been brought into play, to depict symbolically the accessory qualities of actions, motions, and phenomenal conditions. The creative language-sense, unconsciously and instinctively characterised, by means of the vowel-element in the root, harmonies and especially differences (for nations in a low stage of culture perceive more readily the latter than the former) in a manner, which its most conscious and subtlest operations could not have devised more suitably.

8. The predominatingly imitative nature of many Indo-Chinese idioms in their oldest and their present forms, suggests that originally the formation of language in this group must have been a synthetic process. Roots are chiefly used predicatively. Every action, motion, or condition is conceived by the mind in a twofold aspect—first, in its inherent nature; secondly, in its relation to time and place, giving the distinction between *this* and *that*, the *nearer* and the *remoter* object of attention with reference to the *ego*. The subjective changes produced by impressions from the external world, led to an intimate interpenetration of a concrete idea with language-form, effecting a structure, in which existed, first, a constant relation between the nature and number of articulate sounds and the nature of the idea and number of its accessories; secondly, a mutual dependency and corresponding co-ordination of articulate sounds, exhibiting a succession and external union, which symbolized that of the idea represented, and also the inner sequence and dependence of its constituents. It is a reflex, in language, of the synthetic process of the internal perception of impressions and their idealization by the mind. Language symbolized external phenomena in the totality of their complex nature by a corresponding synthesis; and the instinctive and unconscious endeavour of the language-sense, allowed to each cognition, the aggregate of which forms the composite idea, one expiration of breath and efforts of the organs of speech, constituting a syllable, thus holding the synthesis in monosyllabic separation.

9. Not before the mind of a nation developed and rose to the contemplation of the language it spoke, and exercised its retrospective and analytical power upon it, would single roots be selected and separated from a concrete synthesis, to be made the bearer of an abstract idea, and invested with the definiteness and vigour of separate individuality. In the Karen *symbolic synthesis* (a more appropriate appellation than "phonetic couplet") *sgi sgi* | *sga sga*,

imitative of the creaking and cracking sound, produced by the tense friction of two hard bodies, is expressed by the repeated and alternate occurrence of sharp *creaking* (*i-i*) and duller *cracking* (*a-a*) sounds. In the consonantal element is contained the inherent quality of the action or motion, in the vowels the accessories of time and place—the *here* and *there*, the *now* and *then*; the functions of roots verbal and roots pronominal are here exercised by forms purely predicative. As the language developed and new means of distinction became necessary, pronominal roots came into use to more clearly define temporal and local relations; this appears to have been effected by *tă*, *kă* and *pă* and couplets like *tă sgí* | *tă sgá*, having the same, or nearly the same, meaning as *sgi sgi* | *sga sga*, were formed. The separation of the roots *sgí*, and *sga*, conveying the abstract idea of suffering by the ill-will of others, is of a later date. A few more examples are:

tŭ tŭ (Karen) imitative of a dull, heavy sound, produced by vehement striking; subsequently the single root *tŭ* came to mean, to submit to hardship, to endure; if the sound is separated at regular intervals, the pronominal particle *kă* enters the synthesis: *kă tŭ* | *kă tŭ*.

ōm ōm | *īm īm* (Shan) adv. in a low murmuring manner; whence *ōm*, to speak in an indistinct tone, and *īm*, to speak with a weak voice, as an old man.

ming ming | *mang mang* (Shan) with flashes, as a distant light, and *mung mung* | *mang mang*, shining with brilliancy—whence *mang* and *vang*, to shine.

phe phī | *phe phī* (Shan), to spread out in a disorderly manner; *phe* (antithetic root *phī*) to divide into parts.

phoŭk phoŭk | *phak phak* (Shan), abundantly, as sweat or tears.

thăn, *thăn*—*thó thó* (Burmese), applied to hearing distant sounds; whence *thán* for the abstract conception of sound.

I am persuaded that these couplets preceded the isolation of single roots as exponents of an abstract idea; to assume that *sgi* to endure, to suffer from the molestation of others, existed before *sgi sgi* | *sga sga*, or to suppose the idea of suffering to have been degraded to the symbolic representation of a creaking sound, caused by friction with another hard substance, is to allow either an uncommonly high degree of abstraction or idealization to uncultured nations, or a perverted proceeding in the process of the formation of language, for which there is no analogy in the experiences of linguistic history.

It appears to me also erroneous to view *sga*, *im*, *mang*, *phī*, *phak* in the second member of the synthesis as etymological derivatives, as separate and distinct roots from *sgi*, *ōm*, *ming*, *mung*, *phe*, *phoŭk* in the first member; the former are genetically identical with the latter; *a* in *sga* is not a phonetic change brought about in the course of the linguistic life of the root *sgi*—but an original vowel-antithesis in the symbolic synthesis *sgi sgi* | *sga sga*.

10. This peculiar feature deserves careful attention in comparative studies of the Indo-Chinese languages. As an instance of how genetic connection of roots in these idioms may be traced and established, let us collate the words for pony, horse:

Burmese *myiⁿ*; Phaloung } (*Kă*) *priⁿ*;
Arakanese *mraⁿ*; Kachyen } (*Kă*) *praⁿ*;
Shan *ma* (antithetic root: *mi*);
Hokkien *bá*, *má*;
Shanghai *ma*;
Anam. *ma*.

Guided by similarity of sound, we might infer relationship between these terms; but the laws of phonetic changes, which are considered as valid in other language-families, have but little bearing upon the nature of changes, and their causes, in Burmese and Chinese words. We must first direct attention to the *final element* of the several roots. The number of initial consonants and of vowels stand in a definite relation to the number of accidents in the vowel-element and of the final consonants:

1. If the root possesses one of the six final consonants *k*, *ng*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m*, and at the same time a fully developed tonal system as in the southern Chinese languages and Shan, the number of initial consonants is comparatively small, from seventeen to twenty, made up chiefly of tenues and tenues aspiratæ; double initial consonants very rarely occur, and generally only in borrowed words.

2. If the roots exhibit the six final consonants, above alluded to, but a crippled tone-scale, the number of vowels and initial consonants increases in exact proportion as the means, to

distinguish roots by tonal inflexion, diminish; as in Khyen and Burmese.

3. Phaloung and Talaing have developed, besides the usual finals, also *k, h, r, rh, l, lh*; the initials are very numerous; the tonal system has been discarded—because the language possessed in its consonants and simple a-tonal vowels sufficient means of differentiation of roots.

4. Where final consonants have been partly or wholly disposed of (as in the Mandarin and S*gō* Karen), vowel-accidents (tone, pitch of voice, emphasis) and initial consonants increase correspondingly.

In Burmese, Arakanese (a dialect of Burmese), Phaloung and Kachyen the words for "pony" show a final nasal; it is not, however, an organic *n* or *ng*, produced by an actual contact of the organs of speech, but a mere nazalised vowel, which can be easily ascertained by a phono-physiological examination of the parts concerned in its pronunciation. But we shall be brought to the same conclusion by induction from the phonetic law that in the Indo-Chinese languages a final sound, to the enunciation of which a renewed effort of the voice or a separate contact of the organs of utterance are necessary, is never lost without affecting and changing the remainder of the root. In the Burmese-Phaloung group, we find a double initial consonant, and to infer from the way in which these words are written with native characters, or the usual systems of transliteration—also a final nasal, a separate phonetic entity from the preceding vowel. In the Shan-Chinese representatives *ma, mi, ba*, a simple initial consonant and the same vowels occur. Now, a double initial consonant in *mra*ⁿ, *myi*ⁿ, with a supposed final nasal, cannot be reduced by phonetic tear and wear to such forms as *ma* and *mi*; wherever a final nasal is lost, a preceding *a* is changed to the deep-toned *ô* or *û* or *ö*

Hokkien *bang* 夢, to dream
Shan *phán*
Anam.: *mō*
Karen *mô, in mi mô tā*
Phaloung *pô*

Hokkien *bāng* 望 to hope, expect.
Shangai *wāng*
Anam.: *wōng*
Amoy *bāng* Karen *mû*
Shan *mōng* Burm. *myô, hmyô*

Hokkien *bān* a curtain, to cover
Anam. *máng*
Amoy *bān*
Shan *pan-pin*
Khyen *päng*
Karen *bhö*
Burmese *mô*
Shangai *mû*

In these examples a well-defined nasal follows the vowel, and where it disappeared, the preceding vowel changed from *a* to *ô*, *ö* or *û*. We can therefore with safety draw the inferences, that Shan-Chinese *ma, mi, ba*, have either no affinity at all with the Burmese-Phaloung equivalents, or, if their kinship be supported by other evidences, the final in *mra*ⁿ, *myi*ⁿ is not a nasal consonant, but merely an accident of the preceding vowel, in the utterance of which the vibration, caused by the passing column of air in the vocal cords of the larynx, is communicated to the nose and the roof of the mouth, and the current of breath, bearing the vowel-sound, is slightly modified by the resonance-capacity of the organs through which it passes. In Burmese, Khyen, P*go* Karen, Talaing and Kachyen, nazalised vowels are of common occurrence; nasalization forms a volatile concomitant to the vowel-element, leaving at its disappearance no inheritance to the survivors, which, in return, are not affected by the bereavement. The nature of the final element in the several roots for "pony" in the Burmese-Phaloung and Shan-Chinese groups offer no feature opposed to the assumption of their genetic connection.

We now proceed to consider the initial consonants in the examples given, viz. *mr, my* (Burmese *y* corresponds nearly always to Arakanese *r*) *pr, b* and *m*. As already intimated, the number of initial consonants stand in a definite relation to the number of final consonants and the tone-scale of the root-vowel. Shan-Chinese requires fewer consonants than Burmese, Talaing, Khyen and Phaloung, by reason of its six finals and fully developed tone-system. Double initials in the latter occur in the former as simple initials, mediæ and mediæ aspiratæ as tenues and tenues aspiratæ without any compensation for the loss or change. Besides, several other initials in Burmese, Talaing, Phaloung and Khyen coalesce into one in

Shan; *hang, rang, yong, ram* are all etymologically represented by the one Shan-root, *hang*; *klang, krôm, kám, kān, kán, ran, gan* by the Shan *kang* and *kan*; *shéang, khin, khan, khän, khräng, khäng, kang, chäng* by the Shan *khing* (antithetic parallel root *khang*). In the latter, differentiation is affected by differences in the vowel of the root (tone, emphasis, etc.); in the former, by differences in the consonants—the vowel element being a-tonal. It is not, therefore, a violation of sound etymology to accept the Shan-Chinese initials *m* and *b* as legitimate representatives of *mr, my,* and *pr*; the latter must, however, be viewed as the older forms, which became simplified in Shan-Chinese.

The vowel element in the roots under consideration offers some difficulty. We observe, that in all cases where it is not *a*, it is *i*; a sudden transition, so uniformly appearing in widely different families, from *a* to *i*, or *i* to *a*, is impossible, if it were attempted to explain this peculiarity by a purely phonetic change, gradually brought about during the linguistic history of the root. No forms with intermediate, transitional vowels are discoverable. We find, however, a ready solution of this phenomenon, by admitting this polarization of vowels being due to vowel-antithesis, the nominal root *ma* and *mi*, *mra*^{n} and *myi*^{n}, having risen to individual life and independence from a symbolizing synthesis consisting of predicative roots. We need not, however, base this conclusion upon theories only—the synthesis in question still exists in Shan, which, together with the forms in the kindred tongues, must have been derived from a synthesis in a primitive Indo-Chinese language. In the process of forming abstract ideas from concrete ideas, nominal roots from verbal ones, and in accordance with a predisposition for certain vowels, either the root containing the *a* vowel, or the root with *i*, or both, as in Shan, were separated and invested with individual life. Thus we can establish not only the relationship between *mra*^{n}, *pra*^{n}; *myi*^{n}, *pri*^{n} and *ma, mi*, but also between (see § 5) *ka* and *ki*; *pan* and *pin*; *bát* and *bít*; *mát* and *mít*; *ap, up* and *ip*; *am, um* and *im*, and all other roots which divaricate the vowel element according to the scheme laid down in § 5. *mra*^{n}, *myi*^{n} and *pra*^{n} may, however, be composite roots; we have probably an original *ma-ra*^{n}, *ma-yi*^{n} and *pa-ra*^{n} before us, in which *ma* and *pa* are either pronominal roots, and *ra*^{n}, *yi*^{n} the terms for "pony," or *ma, pa* are identical with the Chinese *ma* and *ba* and *ran, yin* obsolete classifiers or numeral auxiliaries.[2]

11. The relation which subsists in Chinese between the "old sounds" and "new sounds," and between the words used in the colloquial and the literary language may also be connected with the law of vowel-antithesis:

Old sound.	*New sound.*
bang	*ping*
dok	*tu*
an, am	*in, yim*
pat	*pit* and *pí*
mo	*ma*
bak	*pik,* and *pe,* where the final *k* has been thrown off.
hiang	*hung, kung.*

A few more illustrations will not be out of place:

Hokkien *àng*, a jar
Amoy *àng*
Burmese *ing*
Shan *ang*^{3o} (parallel root *ing* ^{2c})
Hokkien *ba, pa*, a scar
Shangai *pá*
Amoy *phā, pa*
Shan *pa'*^{t} (parallel root *pi'*^{t})
Talaing *pắ* (in *pă nè*^{k} a scar)
Burm. *mā* (in *ă mā yút*)
Hokkien *bắ* (in *bắ hong*) leprosy, small-pox
Shanghai *ma*
Anam. *ma*
Amoy *bắ*
Karen *má* (the measles)
Shan *má* (parallel root *mí*)
Burm. *myi*^{n} (in *myi*^{n} *phū*)
Hokk. *bắ* (in *bắ bê*), a fox
Amoy *bắ*, a wild cat (*lâi bắ*, a sort of fox)
Shan *má* / *mi* } a dog (*mā lin*, a fox)
Karen *mī* a cat (*htwuí mî*, a fox)
Hokkien *bai*, to bury, to hide away, to cover up
Shangai *mai*
Anam. *mai*
Amoy *bai*
Shan *mai* ^{1o} (parallel root *mī mai*^{1})
Karen *bhí* and *bhi*^{3}

[2] For *kă* in Phaloung and Kakhien (*kă*) *pri*^{n}, (*kă*) *pra*^{n} see footnote [3] page 186.

12. In tracing the history of Indo-Chinese roots it is expedient to admit of two causes affecting the root, namely, vowel-antithesis, or divarication of the vowel-element in the original symbolizing synthesis, and purely phonetic changes, to which all roots are susceptible, after having begun an individual career. Thus Phaloung *ṛin* is contained in the Shan predicative couplet *kan-kin*, and genetically connected with its second member *kin*; but the change of *k* to *ṛ* is phonetic, Shan *k* in this couplet being a palatal sound, (in the languages of Further India we must distinguish between really guttural gutturals and palatal gutturals,) which is very frequently changed to the peculiar Phaloung *ṛ*, owing to an incomplete contact of the tongue and palate in attempting to pronounce *k*.

13. A language, which in its first stage of development consists mainly of syntheses of an imitative nature, symbolizing unanalyzed conceptions of qualities and activities, composite in their nature, must soon have become embarrassed by its limited scope, when new thoughts and increased knowledge required the formation of new words. Though there existed a vast language-material, as various and different as the external phenomena which it depicted, yet the vowel-element, with all its possible accidents, was entirely engrossed in expressing temporal and local relations. *No particular portion of the synthesis expressed the whole conception or bore any meaning as a separate entity.* The necessity of creating new terms naturally led men to reflect upon the existing material and its relation to the conceptions produced by impressions from without. The analytic process of language began. The mind learned to distinguish the essential, innate qualities of beings, actions and conditions, from their secondary local and temporal characteristics. Hitherto the functions of verbal and pronominal roots were exercised simultaneously in a predicative synthesis, each constituent contributing, by inner changes, to the expression of accessory attributes, *without a formal development of pronominal roots.*

The apprehension of the objective, individual properties, suggested the means of making a portion, a syllable, of the synthesis their exclusive bearer, and raise it to the definiteness of a separate existence; while a small number of radices were set apart as exponents of the more general and subjective relations of time and place, and then joined to the predicative root as bearers of qualities common alike to external phenomena.

14. The most primitive pronominal roots in the Indo-Chinese languages are the demonstrative particles *kă*, *tă* and *pă*. *Kă* expresses progressive motion from a point (the *ego*, or *thou* or *he*) towards another; next, the act of "becoming" ("*das Werden*"), and the approximation to the act or state of being, expressed by the root; or it signifies an action as occurring but once, or, when repeated, as occurring repeatedly or alternately with another action, at stated intervals.

Kī kā | *kī kā*, (Karen) describing motion, attended with various twistings and bendings of the body; hence *kī*, to twist, to screw; *kī* a generic name for worms, and *kă kī*, to become intertwisted by the described motion.

Klú klú | *klá klá*, (Karen) with that motion which tends to push or work one thing into another; hence, *klú*, to press, to push; and *klá*, to attach one thing to another, having a flat or smooth surface; *kă klú* | *kă klá*, to cringe, crouch (*i. e.* working one's self into favour with another, by humouring his fancies).

Rō rō | *rī rī*, imitative of screaming, crying, in the excitement of play or fear; *kă rī*, one sharp, shrill cry; *kă rī* | *kă rī*, to cry out now and then; *kă rō* | *kă rī*, screams and cries, here and there, arising from a multitude in a state of panic.

Lú lú | *lá lá* (Burmese, see Karen *klū klū* | *klā klā*, above) to move backwards and forwards *kă lú* | *kă lá* or *kă lú* | *kă lă* ‖ to rock a child in the arms, by way of fondling.

Kă yú | *kă yá* (Burmese, from *yu ya* or *yu yu* | *ya ya*) with tender care and solicitude towards another.

Kă rō | *kă rī* (Burmese, to do in a loose and careless manner); working, to appearance, here and there, without accomplishing or finishing anything.[3]

[3] In the examples given another feature appears, which the etymologist must be careful to notice; a considerable portion of roots in Karen, Burmese, Talaing and Phaloung begin with double consonants; *klu*, *kla*; *tra*, *trō*, *tri* *pra*, *pri*, etc. etc. are composite roots, consisting of *lu*, *la*, *ra*, *rō*, *ri* with the demonstrative particle *kă tă* or *pă* prefixed. Double initials occur chiefly in Karen; it has rejected all final consonants, and had recourse in consequence to a fuller development of initials; *kă*, *tă* and *pă* (also *chă* and *să*) being unaccented, short syllables, gradually lost their independence, and coalesced finally with the other consonant, to form a new root; the

Kă came gradually to denote the future tense in Karen (as: *śá kă* | *khă lă* | *khă lă*); the ablative (from, out of) in Burmese, Khyen, Amoy, Hokkien (as *kă*); place and motion, from or to, in Shan and Siamese (*kă nán*, there, *kă núk*, outside of, *kă pún* yonder); in Phaloung and Talaing also the ablative (*kă°* in *nú kă° tá ngōĕ kō*, from that day onwards).

15. *Tă* denotes continuance in a condition; as in Karen *pgă tă gă* | *sí sí tă sí sí*, that person continues a long time in an almost dying state. *Mŭ* | *htū htū tă htū htū*, almost noon. *Tá* isolates single actions or conditions out of several or different ones; it has then become the particle of impersonification and individualization, assuming the function of a definite or indefinite article, converting predicatives into nominal roots.

Kă (Karen, antithetic roots *ko* or *kă*), to screen; *chi tă kă* | *chi tă kō*, to tie up something for a screen; *tă kă* a screen; *tă* in its extended form *tā* (Karen) is prefixed to verbs to form substantives, or verbal nouns; it is also prefixed or affixed instead of a noun indefinite; it came to mean *something*, and finally a thing, subject, matter; *a* 'one' is likewise *tă*; compare Burmese *tă sún* | *tă khú*; in *tă phán* | *tă lă*; and *tă* as a numeral auxiliary *lū tă yoúk*, a man, one man; *khwé tă koung*, a dog, one dog.

16. *Pă* indicates the doing or causing of an action expressed by the verb; it also intensifies action. In Karen it is interchangeable with *kă* (*că*, *śa*) and *tă*.

Karen: *pă kă* | *pă kă*, to sheer away, as in steering a boat. *Kē pă kí* | *kē pă ká*, to twist or contort with an oblique or side motion.

Burmese: *pa rú'k* | *pă rá'k*, to be agitated, in a flurry; *pă rŭ'k* | *pă rá*, in the way of joking, with too much freedom or familiarity.

Talaing: *pă tóú* | *pă tók'*, to cause to increase; *pă lám* | *pă lá't*, to destroy, to spoil.

To what extent these particles are used, especially in the illiterate tongues of Further India, is exemplified in Rev. Mr. Wade's *Karen Dictionary* (quarto 1842) beginning with the letter and the particle *kă*, illustrating its uses, in connection with verbs over 324 pages.

17. By allotting the expression of the accessories of time and place to a few particles, applicable alike to all roots, the vowel-element in the latter became disconnected from these functions, and would now supply material for the formation of terms for new thoughts and knowledge. From the moment syllables began to be separated from syntheses by the conscious exercise of the retrospective and analytical power of the mind—the further development of the language depended in great part on the extent to which pronominal particles succeeded, by attachment to separated roots, in overcoming their innate tendency to restore their former connection in a symbolising synthesis, or in a complex, *phonetically* resembling the former. In the latter case, they joined to "phonetic couplets" which owed their origin not directly to symbolism, but to the tendency of the idiom, inherited from a previous phase of its existence, towards that peculiar mode of utterance, which characterised symbolic synthesis. We have seen that *kă rō* | *kă rī* | is derived from *rō rō* | *rī rī*; a similar association of sound has been effected in *kă rō* | *kă rō*, or *kă rī kă rī* | *kă rō kă rō*. If two different actions or conditions are to be expressed in a couplet, the two predicative roots are joined upon the same principle.

Tū tū, imitative of a heavy dull sound, produced by the vehement contact with another body; *kă tū* | *kă tū*, the same sound occurring repeatedly and at regular intervals; *tō* (originally the antithetic form of *tū*) to strike, to beat in such a manner as to raise marks or ridges; *kă tū* | *kă tō*, to strike repeatedly so as to produce the said sounds, and to raise upon each stroke a mark on the body beaten.

Thus innumerable new couplets were formed, as in Burmese: *kă tung* | *kă ting*; *kă táung* | *kă yáung*; *kă tái'k* | *kă yai'k*; *pa lúm* | *pa twē*; *tă zun* | *ta khú*; in Chinese: *tsen mo shwo* | *tsen mo hing*; *chiáⁿ-soaⁿ* | *chiáⁿ-hái*; *chiáⁿ tsòe* | *tò tsòe*; *chiúⁿ thán* | *chiúⁿ bin*.

Roots in phonetic couplets were separated from each other only by one syllable, always short and unaccented; their insertion was not sufficient to annul the innate bent of the predicative root towards regaining companionship with its former associates or others similarly inclined.

demonstrative particles were then again prefixed to it; thus *kă klú*, if analyzed, appears as *kă kă lú*; Burmese in this and many other instances has not allowed the root and particle to coalesce; hence Burmese *lū lū* | *lā lā*, is genetically identical with Karen *klú klú klá klá*; and *kă lú* with *kă klú*.

18. Roots of predication or assertion—so far from being entities, sent astray in naked helplessness and loneliness, with no influence beyond the boundaries of their own restricted self, to clothe as best they could their long-continued nudity with the tatters of pronominal roots, which gradually effected agglutination and finally synthesis—had in Indo-Chinese languages *their first being within the folds of synthesis*, the truest reflex of nature and its first embodiment in utterance. The automatic recollection of this its original phase, continued in the numerous offspring of the primitive language; and every monosyllable still bears in its phonetic character the stamp of its former association. In some of the so-called monosyllabic languages, the features alluded to in the preceding paragraphs have in part disappeared, either in the idiom of polite, high-flown conversation, or in the prose style of commentaries and translations. But it is a curious circumstance that the phonetic laws of symbolic syntheses or phonetic couplets revive in full force in poetical effusions. We have already in § 6 alluded to the external character of couplets, and seen that their most salient feature consisted in the *prosodial* equipoise, maintained between the two members of a couplet; "the constituents of the first member condition those of the second in the number of syllables, quantity and quality of vowels, accent and even tone." The laws of prosody of popular poetry in Burmese, Talaing Khyen, Karen, Shan and Phaloung are identical with those obtaining in the primitive descriptive synthesis. In the following examples, couplets are put in brackets: Burmese: see *Mahāgitamedanī kgam, vu't tō theingyee* p. 18:

(*thī hma* | *hō hma*) *ngē lē*
(*gyān sē* | *gyān se*) *yue htú*
(*hmō hno*) (*zai't htā pyi* | *zai't htá pyi*)
(*hmō hnō*) *zai't htā pyi*

p. 59 (*lān lān*) *ze* (*khaing pan* | *thein than*) *we ngue huing tă* (*phyán phyan* | *šán šan*)
le huing tă (*myan myan*)
(*lum lum*) *lo hmaing*
(*phyé lē* | *phyé pā*) *huaing*
(*bwe zaing* | *khwe yaing*) *twe*

or in prose (*Mahosadha vatthu*, p. 6):

(*mi pun gyí* | *lé pun to*) *thi, htă lá't yuĕ*; (*tă hlyap hlyap* | *tă htein htein*), (*ă shein* | *ă vā*) *hning touk pa kun i.*

Khyen poetry: (*ă hăng* | *ă yō*), (*mă nei* | *thă tei*) *kă*
(*eik dün* | *ou'k dün*), (*aⁿ gang* | *aⁿ gang*) *ngă*
(*zán zit* | *yé hnit, zán zit* | *yă hü*) *kă*
wai zit bū hei, gang ngă
lu toi (*dung në* | *zun në*) *nō ă*
Khui nö, an zim (*wei hmö* | *zik hmö*) *bhui im.*

Karen prose: *mē* (*pă zí* | *pă ká*) *mă tă tă* (*mī mī* | *me ge*); *pă kă le tā tă* (*pu pu* | *me ge*); (*mă ö, tă, mā ō*) *dă ă tă* (*kă rā ka re* | *kă rā kă re*) (*yī yī*) *tă kă zū lō le.*

Poetry, the modes of expressing thought and feeling, which are suitable to the imagination when excited or elevated, cannot in the languages of Further India lay claim to a particular constructive or creative effort of the mind; imaginative composition lies, as far as the language is concerned, in this instance completely within the sphere of automatic recollection of the original phase of the idiom employed.

19. There remains to be mentioned another peculiarity of Indo-Chinese languages: initial consonants undergo changes directly and organically indicative of a variation in meaning. This process is therefore also symbolic, and is in full force in Burmese and Khyen, but has more or less lost its vitality in the other members of the family, though traces of its former operation are found in all.

Intransitive verbs are changed to transitive; passive or neuter, to active or causative verbs by strengthening the initial consonant.

Intransitive, passive.

Burmese.	Khyen.
kyē	*klei* to be bruised.
kyó	*mun*, to be broken.
kyan	*kyuan*, to remain.
ñi	*záuk*, to burn.
po	*pü* to be full.
pyek	*pyak*, to be destroyed.
myóp	*mlut*, to be buried.
lan	*mlot*, to be turned back.
myng	*mlüng*, to be high.
kwā	*kák*, to be detached.

Transitive, or causative.

Burmese.	Khyen.
khyē	*khlei*, to pulverize.
khyó	*hmun*, to break, to snap.
khyan	*khyuan*, to leave, to set aside.
hñi	*tzaúk*, to ignite.
pho	*phü*, to fill up.

phyek	*phyak*, to destroy.
hmyop	*hmlút*, to bury, submerge.
hlan	*hmlot*, to turn over.
hmyng	*hmlung*, to elevate.
khwā	*khák*, to sever, detach.

Shan: *pan*, to twist, twirl; *phan*, to press or knead with the hands or the body.

In Amoy and Hokkien similar relations are expressed by changing the tenues to the tenues aspiratæ.

In the preceding paragraphs we have considered some of the most important features of Indo-Chinese languages, with the view to determine further on, the influence of foreign, especially Aryan languages, upon the literary idioms of Further India.—(*To be continued.*)

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 141.)

XVI.

Having rewarded the various companions who had served him so well in his early days, Chinghiz Khân proceeded to reorganize what may be described as his household troops. The details of this organization which follow are recorded in the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* alone, and are too frequently obscure. According to this authority Chinghiz Khân, having distributed the various rewards as already described, said —"Formerly I had only 80 men for the night-watch and 70 men in the body-guard, Sanban. Now inasmuch as heaven has willed that I should rule all peoples, let there be chosen 10,000 men for my body-guard, Sanban, and as they will be attached to my person, let them be selected from the children of titled and free persons, and let active, tall, strong men be chosen. The son of the tisiadnik, millenarian or commander of 1,000 men shall bring with him one relative and 10 companions, the son of the sotnik, centurion or commander of 100 men must bring a relative and five companions, while the sons of a desiatnik, decurion, or commander of 10 men and other free-born people a relative and three companions each. The horses for the 10 companions of the son of the millenarian must be supplied by the men under his command as well as the harness, and they must be equipped according to the recent decree. Except in regard to things given by a man's father or such things as he has earned himself, the horses for the companions of the son of the centurion, decurion, &c. will be furnished according to the former decree.[1] Any millenarian, centurion or decurion who shall oppose this shall be punished. If any one who has been selected fails to take his place in the night-guard, he must be banished to a distant place and another must be selected to take his place. No one must oppose any person who wishes to enter the guards." The millenarians and centurions in accordance with the wish of Chinghiz made a conscription, and raised the number of the night-guards to 800. Chinghiz ordered them to make it 1,000, and appointed Yekeneurin as first millenarian. The 400 picked archers were entrusted to Jelmi, Yesuntai, and Bugidai. The Sanban archers when on duty were divided into four sections or watches; the captain of the first was Yesuntai, of the second Bugidai, of the third Khorkhuda, and of the fourth Lablakha,—Yesuntai being put at the head of all four sections.

Up to this time, Ogelecherbi, Boorchi's nearest relative, had commanded the body-guard, Sanban. He was now given command of the first division of it, which was raised to 1,000 strong. The second division of 1,000 was made over to Bukhe, the near relative of Mukhalibi, the third to Alchidai's nearest relative, Ilugaibi, the fourth to Dodaicherbi, the fifth to Dokholkhu, the sixth to Chanai, the nearest relative of Churchedai, the seventh tc Akhutai, the nearest relative of Alchi. The eighth section of select braves was made over to Arkhaikhasar. In peaceful times these were Sanbans, but in war time they were the first braves.

These eight divisions of 1,000 strong each, with the 2,000 archers, formed the full body of guards. Chinghiz declared they should in future form the centre of the army, *i.e.* that section immediately commanded by the Khân. He said further, the guard will be divided into four turns, of which Bukha shall command one, Alchidai a second, Dodaicherbi a third,

[1] I do not know what this refers to.

and Dokholkhu a fourth. He then appointed the order of the turns which were to be relieved every third night. The chief whose turn it was and who did not duly make his appearance was to receive 30 lashes; for a repetition of the offence 70 lashes, while if he shirked his duty a third time he was to receive 37 lashes and be banished to a distant country. The commanders of the guard in relieving each other were to remind one another of this, the one who failed to do so was to be punished. The commanders of the life-guards could not punish offenders without first getting permission directly from Chinghiz Khân himself. "In case any of them commit a crime," he says, "I am to be immediately informed, when he who ought to be beheaded shall have his head cut off, and he who ought to be lashed[2] shall be lashed. If any one punishes with lash or fist those under his command, he shall receive the same punishment himself."

Chinghiz went on to declare that each member of his life-guard, Sanban, was to be superior to every millenarian and his dependents to rank above centurions and decurions, and a millenarian who should venture to quarrel and fight with a Sanban of the life-guard should be punished. Addressing himself to the chiefs of the turns, he said, "A *Sanban* consisting of archers and cooks entering on their duty shall employ themselves in the daytime with their proper duty as guards, and at sunset shall march out and hand over, the archers, their bow and arrows, and the cooks, their pots, to the night-guards. The following morning when warm water is brought in, all shall enter again and busy themselves with their duties. At sunset the night-guards must arrest the persons they find walking to and fro or round about the tent, and must examine them on the following day. When the night-guard is relieved each fresh watch must give the countersign and then approach. The night-guard must march round the tent at night and stand at the entrance. If any one enters, at night his head is to be broken and he is to be cut down. If any one comes on urgent business he must first speak to the night-guard and then enter with it. It is not lawful for any one to walk or sit before or among the night-guards. No one again is to ask about the number, &c., of the guard. Any one who does this is to have his saddled horse and his dress taken from him." It came about that one of his faithful friends Eljigidai having walked into the midst of the night-guards was in fact arrested.

Addressing himself to the old body-guards, &c. Chinghiz said—"You the body-guard of the night-guard have watched about my tent for the peace of my body and soul on rainy and snowy nights as well as on clear nights, and in times of tumult and strife with the enemy. In no important matter have you been lazy or careless. Through this it is that I have attained such a high position. I will now call this good and faithful night-guard the old night-guard. The 70 Sanbans who have been commanded by Ogelecherbi I will call the great Sanban, the braves under Arkhaikhasar I will call the old braves; the archers of Yesuntai and others I will style the great archers. My body-guards are the selected men from 95,000. I order my descendants to look on these body-guards as on a monument of myself; to see carefully to their welfare; to avoid giving them dissatisfaction; to consider them as fortunate spirits." He said further: "The inner cherbis and herdsmen or shepherds[3] must be under the superintendence of the night body-guards. They must also look after the kibitkas, standards, provisions, ready-made food and utensils. If they need anything, they must apply to the night-guards. Without their approval neither food nor clothes must be given out, and when they are given out, they must be the first to receive theirs. The body-guards must strictly watch those who enter and those who leave the tent. The doorkeepers must constantly stand at the doors. Inside the doors two must always watch the wine stores. The watchmen of the camp must be selected from the night body-guards. In the great hunts when a circle of men is made, and a space enclosed, they must also join, but half of them must remain with the *kibitkas* of the hunters."

Chinghiz further went on to say—"When I do not join in a campaign the night body-guard must remain with me. I will not permit them to go, for their duty is to constantly guard me.

[2] Bastinadoed?

[3] *i. e.* the *cherbis* and shepherds belonging to Chinghiz Khân's household.

In the hunt they will follow me, and they must superintend the putting up of the kibitkas and other things.

"One of the body-guards with Shigikhutukh will see to putting away and distributing dresses, armour, bows and arrows, and military arms. Another must look after nets and ropes. The body-guards with Cherbi must give out the felts. While the camp is being laid out the Sanban archers together with the archers of Yesuntai must be on the right side of the Tent, the braves of Arkhai in front of it, and the Sanban of Bukhi and the others on the left. The night body-guards who look after the Tent and kibitkas must be near the Tent on both sides. All the Sanban of the life-guards and the domestics under the command of Dodaicherbi must be constantly near the tent."[4]

Such is the account preserved for us in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* of the organization of Chinghiz Khân's immediate dependents and of his guards. It shows what a life of adventure and difficulty that of the nomades of Central Asia is. How surprise and unexpected attack have to be guarded against at every turn, and what an array of precautions was deemed necessary by the great chief who had supplanted so many others, and who must have been surrounded by many jealous and envious peers. At the Kuriltai, at which this organization was perfected, there was also apparently issued the code of laws which afterwards became so famous.

The *Jihan-kushai* says that "in accordance with the wishes of Chinghiz Khân his laws and ordinances were written down in books, and the collection was known by the title Yasa-nameh-buzurg."[5] Vassaf tells us that the word *yasa* in the language of Khuarezm[6] meant an order of the king.[7] M. Quatrèmere urges on the contrary that the word is of Mongol origin.

The question of its Mongol or Turkish etymology was made the subject of a discussion by Von Hammer and Schmidt. The former quotes three Turkish dictionaries in which it occurs. In the *Ferhengi Shuuri* published at Constantinople we read "Yasa in the language of the Khuarezmians means a royal order, and was the name of Chinghiz Khân's collection of laws." In the Turkish dictionary *Lehjetut-Lughat* published at the same place, Yasak is explained as a universal expression for a prohibition, while in the Jagatai dictionary published at Calcutta yasa is also glossed as meaning a command or order.[8] Schmidt, on the other hand, says the word is Mongol, and that it ought to be written *yassak*, which means order, regulation or reform. In the modern pronunciation he says it is written *drassak*, *y* and *d* being interchangeable letters at the beginning of Mongol words. It is derived, he says, from the verb *yassakho* or *drassakho*, to set in order, put right, whence also *yassal* or *drassal*, a remedy for a disease, and Yassakchi or Drassakchi, the title of several princes who have been legislators; also the verb *yassaklakho* or *drassaklakho*, to carry out the law or to punish.[9] It seems to me that in this case Schmidt has proved his point. Not only has he shewn that the word has a number of related forms in Mongol, but the term is still in use both among the Mongols and Kalmuks, and it would seem that like some other terms it passed into Turkish from Mongol. The term eventually acquired a much wider meaning, and included that of a penalty and also of a tax. As is well known, the tax exacted by the early Cossaks from the various Siberian tribes whom they conquered was termed *yasak*. *Yasak* is the form of the word as given by the Armenian historian Vartan, who says that by this word the Tartars designated the institutions of Chinghiz Khân.[10] Vassaf tells us the Mongols had another name besides *yasa* for their code. He speaks of the Great Law Book which they[11] call *Tunjin*. He adds that the meaning of the word *tunjin* is "to be on one's guard."[12] Schmidt declares there is no such word in Mongol.[13] Another name by which the code of Chinghiz Khân was known according to Ibn Arabshah, was *Tora ChinghizKhânia*. This word *torah* was also used by various authors in an extended sense for any law or ordinance.[14] Schmidt would write it *Törö*, and explains it as meaning government, administration, but this is clearly

[4] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 124-130.
[5] *i. e.* Great Law; Quatrèmere, *Rashidu'd-dîn*, p. clxi, note.
[6] *i. e.* Turkish.
[7] Id.
[8] Von Hammer, *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, p. 631.
[9] Id. p. 630.
[10] *Journ. Asiat.* 5th Ser. XVI. p. 307.
[11] *i. e* the Mongols.
[12] Von Hammer, *op. cit.* p. 183 and notes 2 and 3.
[13] Id. p. 630.
[14] Quatrèmere, *op. cit.* clxv. &c.

wrong, and as Von Hammer urges, "the word is no doubt the Hebrew and Arabic *Tora*, originally meaning the Law of Moses, which has been applied by the Musalman historians to the Mongal code. Timur's code was called *Tusukat.* Schmidt says *tüssüge* and *tüssül* mean, in Mongol, survey taxation.[15] In the *Shajrat ul atrak* we are told, that the orders and regulations of Chinghiz were written in the Uighur character in the records called *Shub Ashob,* and they were also called the great code of Regulations.[16]

Let us now turn to the code itself. It had a very wide application. Makrizi tells us that it was known even in Egypt where many Mongols lived, some who had been bought as slaves, others carried off there as prisoners, while in some cases bodies of them had deserted and joined the service of the Mamluk Sultans. These strangers took their law and customs with them into Syria and Egypt, and officials were appointed to administer justice among them. Among them Makrizi mentions the two amirs Arkatai and Itmesh, who were constantly consulted in regard to the *Yasa.*[17] Makrizi tells us further that when Chinghiz promulgated his code he had it engraved on iron plates, while *Arabshah* says that when it had been written down in Mongol characters it was divided into several sections which were wrapped in silk, and ornamented with precious stones, and they were then put away among the archives. Makrizi tells he was informed by Abu Hashim ibn Bushan that he had seen a copy of the *Yasa* in the Madrasseh Mostansariet at Baghdad.[18]

The *Yasa* was the final court by which difficulties of all kinds arising in the Mongol polity were tried, and it was treated in the various Hordes as of supreme authority. It is very strange considering its reputation and renown that we should be so wanting in definite information as to its contents. The great historiographer Rashidu'd-dîn does not tell us what it contained. Makrizi in his account of Egypt has preserved some of its enactments, and his notice is supposed to be the most valuable one extant. Mirkhavend has also preserved a number of its clauses, but his narrative contains a medley of Mongol Laws and of their customs, and is clearly not immediately derived from the *Yasa.* His notice is the basis of the account of the *Yasa* contained in Petis de la Croix's history of Chinghiz Khân and in the notice of it in De Guignes' history, while it has also been illustrated at greater length from the same source mainly by M. Langles in an article on Mirkhavend's account of Chinghiz Khân, published in the 5th volume of the *Notices et Extraits des MSS. du Roi.* In both these accounts as well as in that given by D'Ohsson the account of Mirkhavend is supplemented by extracts from Rubruquis, etc. and which are in several cases rather descriptions of manners than laws, and have no claim to belong to the *Yasa.* It was Von Hammer who in his case as in so many others introduced a methodical treatment of the subject. He has gone through the various authors who have left us materials for Mongol history, and collected the notices of enactments and laws which they assign to the *Yasa,* thus laying under contribution Juveni, Bar Hebraeus, Binaketi, Rashidu'd-dîn, Vassaf, Makrizi, Mirkhavend, Khuandemir Abulghazi, the *Mokademi* or introduction to the *Sherif Nameh,* etc., etc. The notices these authors have preserved of the *Yasa,* Von Hammer has classified and arranged. It will be understood that what follows, which is based largely on Von Hammer's analysis, is to some extent conjectural as we have no actual transcript of the *Yasa* to go to. Nor must we suppose that in many cases Chinghiz Khân was the author and originator of the regulations. In many cases he no doubt merely embodied and set in orderly fashion the matured experience and the long-established customs of his people, and gave express authority to the old common law of the steppes.

Before I turn to Von Hammer's analysis, which I shall supplement from other quarters, I will quote a passage from an author apparently overlooked on this occasion by him, namely, Haji Khalfa, an extract from whose *Jihan Nama* is given by Langles, who reports that by the *Yasa* it was forbidden on pain of death for any one to assume the position of Khakan or Grand Khân until he had

[15] Von Hammer, *Gesch. der Gold. Horde,* p. 630.
[16] Miles, *op. cit.,* p. 91.
[17] Quatrèmere, *op. cit.,* clxviii and clxix note.
[18] Id., clxvi and clxvii; Von Hammer, *Golden Horde,* p. 184, note 2.

been first elected to the post in a general kuriltai or assembly of the princes, generals, etc. who should elect to the post the wisest and most prudent member of the family. If a ruler was deposed he was to be confined with all his relatives and people in a fortress where they were to be supplied with all they needed, but no one was to have any communication with them. The empire was to be deemed hereditary,[19] and when the Khakan died the heads of the seven principal tribes were to repair in white robes as a sign of mourning to the house of the chief minister. After the customary prayer the new Khakan was to be summoned and placed on a piece of black felt in the midst of the house, and was to be then told to raise his head and adore the sun, the eternal being, of which he himself was the shadow. That he should reign in accordance with the divine will, so that he might be yet more exalted in the next world than in this, while if he behaved ill he might be reduced to the possession of the piece of felt he then sat upon. After the installation the assistants were to put away their mourning and to put on red robes. Each one was to have an aigrette in his cap, and the chief magistrate was to put the crown on his head and on that of his wife, who was to have honours paid to her as he himself had. After this the various grandees, etc. etc., were to approach and prostrate themselves three times, and kiss his feet, and to give him presents, consisting of nine objects of each kind.[20] Von Hammer divides the contents of the Yasa under four heads:—I. Laws involving the penalty of death. II. Laws relating to war and the mode of carrying it on. III. Laws relating to the family and household management. IV. Laws inculcating certain virtues. V. Laws about various forbidden things.

I. The penalty of death was inflicted for—1, adultery (in which a man caught *flagrante delicto* might be at once put to death); 2, sodomy; 3, robbery; 4, manslaughter, in which the penalty of blood could be commuted for a money payment, which according to the *Shajrat ul atrak* and Mirkhavend was 40 golden balishes in the case of a Mongol who was killed, while a Chinese was only valued at the same price as a donkey; 5, false witness; 6, sorcery; 7, harbouring or giving food or drink to a runaway-slave or not returning him to his master when met with; 8, failing to pick up and restore to a companion in arms in battle any weapon or other thing he might have lost; 9, losing or squandering for the third time the capital entrusted to any one; 10, interfering in a struggle between two champions or wrestlers to help either of them; 11, desertion or mutiny; 12 and 13, micturating into live ashes or into water; 14, killing animals in the Mussalman fashion by cutting their throats instead of in the prescribed way by laying them on their backs, tying their legs together, slitting open their bellies, and then tearing out or squeezing their hearts till they died. Pallas tells us this custom still prevails with the Kalmuks who attribute its introduction to Chinghiz Khân. Those guilty of offences punished by death were conducted veiled before the Khâns and in cases of State criminals their whole families were extirpated.

II. The regulations relating to war and the means for carrying it on fell into several heads as—the mode of carrying onwar;[21] discipline—and tactics; training by means of hunting; the facilitating of the rapid conveyance of intelligence by means of the State post, etc. War was to be prosecuted without any consideration or regard for the property or life of the enemy. As Abulghazi tells us the army was divided into bodies of 10,000 men,[22] each commanded by a *tuman aghassi*.[23] These divisions were again divided into regiments of 1,000 men, each commanded by bezarchs or *Minc-bashis*,[24] these into companies of 100 commanded by Sadès or *Yuz-bashis*,[25] these into sections of 50 commanded by penjès or *iltik bashis*,[26] and these into sections of 10 men commanded by Dèhès or *On bashis*, *i. e.* decurions. It was forbidden to attach any of these subordinate sections to any other than its own division. Any officer thus migrating to another section or one receiving him was to be put to death, while each officer with his men was only to receive from his immediate superior the commands of their tumanbashi. The greatest atten-

[19] *i.e.* in the Eastern sense where a man's brothers succeed in turn to one another, and it is not till they are all exhausted that his sons claim the throne.

[20] Langles, op. cit., pp. 206 and 207.

[21] *i. e.* strategy.

[22] *i. e.* tumans.

[23] He was also styled a temnik.

[24] *i. e.* millenarians.

[25] Centurions.

[26] Leaders of fifty men.

tion was to be paid to exercising the troops in all kinds of warlike operations, archery, the management of horses, etc. The strictest discipline was to be exacted and the most implicit obedience. A son disobeying or shewing disrespect to his father, a younger brother to an older one, a wife towards her husband, a man to his father-in-law was to be punished. The soldiers were to be trained to undergo severe hardships, so that they might be like hungry wolves and not effeminate like fat dogs, nor was a man to enter the army till he was 20. No one was to begin to pillage till the commander issued his orders, after which a simple soldier had the same privilege as an officer, and kept any booty he took on paying the dues to the Khân's officials.

The commander was to be most solicitous about the needs of his men and to see they provided themselves not merely with arms such as bows, arrows and hatchets, swords, helmets and armour, but also all the things necessary for the work of the camp, as sieves, awls, files, and even needles and thread. These were to be given out of the magazines before a war or before the winter hunt, and to be returned again afterwards. While a man was absent on a campaign his wife was to till his fields, to look after his business and to send him the proceeds. The formula for summoning a country to submit or a town to surrender was to be short and to the purpose.—"If you do not submit, who knows what will happen? God alone knows." The citizens of a town which did not submit but had to be stormed were to be mercilessly slaughtered. Peace was not to be made with any people till it had completely submitted. When a nation was conquered a tithe of its agricultural produce, cattle and even of its inhabitants, was to be taken as a tax. If a commander had to be punished, however great he might be, the order was to be taken by a single messenger. If he had orders to take his head back with him, all the power of the general could not save him. Mirkhavend contrasts this with the case of other rulers who often found themselves opposed by slaves they had bought, and who although they might not own ten horses needed conciliating before they would obey. When death was not the punishment for an offence it was generally the bastinado, from which even princes were not to be exempt. The number of blows inflicted was generally one in which the figure seven occurred as 7, 17, 27, 37, and so on to 700. Von Hammer says the number of strokes varied from 3 to 77. This cudgelling was generally inflicted for petty thefts, but it might be compounded for by paying nine times the value of the thing stolen. Every man had to do some work for the State. If he did not go to the wars he had to devote a certain number of days annually to public works and one day a week to the immediate service of the Khân. Post stations and relays of horses were to be planted on the various routes for the convenience of envoys, couriers, and those employed on various State commissions and duties, and special enactments were made as to the number of horses to be supplied, etc. etc. Those travelling on public duties were not only to be provided with horses, but also to have their food and other requirements supplied. Hunting was to be deemed a school for war, and it was therefore ordered that in the winter there should be great hunts organized in which the army should take part properly arrayed with its right and left wing and a centre. A vast breadth of country, sometimes an extent of twenty miles, was to be enclosed by the hunters who should draw nearer and nearer one another until they formed a circuit with their arms and knees touching to prevent the game escaping. Those permitting animals to escape were to be punished, as were those who allowed the ranks or circle to be broken. When the circle was thus formed, the Khân was first to enter himself with the princes of the blood, and his intimates. When they had hunted for a while they retired to a hill, whence they watched, first the officers, and lastly the soldiers. Eventually, that there might be a chance of some game in succeeding seasons, at a certain stage, some old men were to go through the performance of soliciting the lives of the remaining animals, which were accordingly spared and allowed to go free.

III. The domestic and household regulations of the *Yasa*, so far as we can recover them, were as follows: a man had to purchase his wife, nor was he permitted to marry any one to whom he was related in the first or second degree, but he might marry two sisters. Polygamy was permitted and the free use of female slaves. The children of the latter were deemed legitimate, but were to take precedence after those born

of a man's wives. Two families were allowed to unite although they had no living children. It was sufficient that one had had a son and the other a daughter, although both were dead; the contract of marriage was drawn up and the ceremony gone through in their names, when, although dead, they were deemed to be married, and the two families allied together by marriage. This custom, says De la Croix, is still in use among the Tartars at this day, but superstition has added more circumstances to it. They throw the contract of marriage into the fire, after having drawn some figures on it to represent the persons pretended to be so married, and some forms of beasts, and are persuaded that all this is carried by the smoke to their children who thereupon marry in the other world. The youngest son was deemed his father's substitute or proxy, the herdsman of his flocks, the maintainer of the family in case his brothers should perish in war. The author of the *Jihan Kushai* says the youngest of the princes was called Ulugh Noyan, *i. e.* the great prince. The former is a Turkish, and the latter a Mongol, word, which makes it appear that there has been some mistake in the title.

Women were treated by the Mongols with great consideration. "It is a rule of the Mongol *Yasa*," says Vassaf, "that in the wildest disorders, the women are to be treated with the greatest attention and consideration, and no harm is to be done them." If the ruler was pleased with any woman, her husband was to surrender her, and she was to pass into his harem. The mother of the prince was to have the position of regent. The successor to the throne was to be the son of the princess of noblest descent; the wet-nurse of the prince was not to be visited by her husband, while she was giving suck to the child. Mongols married their daughters to those of lower rank than themselves.

IV. The four cardinal virtues enjoined by the Mongol law were—tolerance, hospitality, simplicity in manners and speech, and lastly, says Von Hammer, a devotion to filth! All religions without any preference were tolerated, and the ministers of all creeds, as well as doctors, the poor, the learned, and those of renowned piety or dervishes, those who summoned people to prayer, *i. e.* the criers, and those who washed the dead were to be exempted from the payment of all taxes.

Hospitality was strictly enjoined. Any one passing when a meal was being eaten was to be asked to join. The host was to taste the meal before his guest, even if a prince. This was doubtless to remove the suspicion that the food was poisoned. The guest must always have the back bone as the tit bit. No one was permitted to sit down unless invited to do so, nor was any one to eat more than his neighbour. The greatest simplicity and plainness were to be used in conversation. Every one, even the Khân, was to be addressed merely by his name. Chinghiz Khân forbade the use of pompous titles, inflated sentences and flourishes, and a secretary who, in spite of the rule, indulged in such inflated forms when addressing the ruler of Syria, paid for his rhetoric with his life. Von Hammer has very strangely described uncleanliness as one of the Mongol virtues. Here Schmidt certainly has the best of him. No doubt some of the rules he enjoined did not tend to promote cleanliness, but certainly a mere love of dirt was not their *raison d'etre.* The real reason for these rules was the fear of offending the elements by polluting them, especially water and fire. Thus the Mongols were ordered not to wash their clothes, but to wear them until they dropt off or wore out. It was forbidden to put hand or foot in water. Von Hammer, notwithstanding his untenable postulate, very properly compares some of the prohibitions and injunctions of the Mongol code with other similar regulations. As the Pythagorean was forbidden to micturate towards the sun *converso ad solem vultu non mingendum,*[27] so were the Mongols forbidden on pain of death to do the same into water or live ashes;[28] as the Pythagoreans were forbidden to rake a fire, *ignem gladio non fodiendum,*[29] and to step across or over balance or steel yard, *staterem non transiliendum,*[30] so were the Mongols forbidden to step over a fire, a table or a platter. As the former were forbidden to eat the heart, *cor non edendum,* so were the latter originally forbidden to eat an animal's blood and entrails, although this prohibition was afterwards removed.[31]

[27] Diogenes Laertius, *Pythagoras* XVII.
[28] *i. e.* fire.
[29] Id.
[30] Id.
[31] Von Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 191, notes 3-7.

It was forbidden to wash cooking or domestic utensils in water. Pallas tells us this prohibition still prevails among the Kalmuks, who always clean these articles with a piece of felt or dried grass.[32] Carpini tells us the Mongols would not touch fire with a knife or take their food with the same instrument out of a kettle, or strike with a hatchet near a fire. To break these rules was to bring misfortune or to cause it to thunder, and the meaning of the prohibition was no doubt, as in other cases, a dread of offending the elements.

It is probable that the well-known purifications enjoined upon strangers before admission to the Khân's presence by passing them between two fires and the prohibition to tread on the piece of wood forming the threshold of the tent or *yurt*, and upon which the curtain dropped when it was closed, were also contained in the *Yasa*. The strict exercise of justice was enjoined everywhere, as was the free interchange of commodities and trade. No one was to touch the goods of a dead man. When a man died without heirs, his widow and his property were not to go to the Khân, but to the servant of the deceased, while each person had to set apart from his flocks annually horses, sheep, milk and wool for the ruler. Annually at the new year all the young maidens and boys were to be brought before the Khakan, so that he might select wives for his harem and soldiers for his army. The Terkhans were alone privileged persons. They were to be free from all imposts, and always to have free access to the ruler. The will of the Khân was to be supreme everywhere.[33]

The foregoing account of the *Yasa* is mainly based on Von Hammer's account, with which I have incorporated such notices as I could find elsewhere which may be reasonably attributed to the great Code. Those who wish to study the laws which at present govern the Eastern Mongols would do well to refer to Hyacinthe's work on Mongolia, in the German translation of which by Borg (pp. 320-426) will be found a very elaborate account of the current laws and institutions of Mongolia. A more interesting collection of laws was published by Pallas in his well known work entitled *Sammlungen Historischer Nachrichten*, etc., vol. I. p. 195, etc. Here will be found a very interesting series of enactments drawn up at the beginning of the 17th century, and assented to by the various principal chiefs of the Mongols and Kalmuks, twenty-six in number, as well as the special enactments published by the famous Kalmuk chief Galdan, by a special commission of six leading Buddhist monks, etc. In addition to these Pallas, *op. cit.* pp. 193-4, refers to a very old law book, *Zaachin Bichik*. Of this he had not been able to get a copy, nor were its enactments in force, but he had heard of several of them which were curious, and of which he quotes some, but there is no reason to suppose that any of them have been derived from the great *Yasa*, or are indeed to be attributed to so early a date as that of Chinghiz Khân.

[32] Saml. *Hist. Nach.* I, p. 131.

[33] Von Hammer, *op. cit.* pp. 186-192; Miles, *Shajrat ul Atrak*, pp. 90-96; Bar Hebræus, *Chron. Syr.* pp. 450 and 451; Abulghazi, ed. Des Maison, p. 144; Vartan, *Journ. Asiat.* 5th ser. tome XVI, p. 307; *Notices et Extraits des MSS. du Roi*, tome V, p. 205 etc.; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 404-416; De la Croix, *Hist. of Genghiz Khan*, pp. 79-88.

FISH-CURING AT THE MÂLDIVES.

BY H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S.

The fish caught in the seas encircling the Atols of the Mâldive archipelago are classed by the natives broadly into two chief kinds:—

(i.) *Faru mas.* This term includes what the Simhalese call *gal mâlu*, and bears the same literal meaning, viz., 'rock fish;' such are:—

Mâldive.	Simhalese.
Rhai mas,	*Tambuwâ,*
Farutoli mas,	*Sîlâwâ,*
Hibaru mas,	*Kopperâ.*

But among the Mâldivians *faru mas* would seem to comprehend also the larger kinds, such as 'seir-fish' (M. *digu mas*, S. *tôrâ*)—Cybium (Scomber, *Linn.*) guttatum—and 'sharks' (M. *miyaru*, S. *môrâ*). These fish are of a soft, oily nature, unadapted for curing, only edible when fresh, and never salted for the foreign market.

(ii.) The real "Mâldive fish" (M. *Kaḷubili mas*,[1] vulgarly *komboli mas*, S. *umbala kaḍa*) of the Ceylon and Indian markets are chiefly

[1] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII. p. 321, "Notes and Queries," where Mr. D. Ferguson on the authority of "the learned Mudaliyâr L. de Zoysa" would set old Pyrard right, by deriving "*cobily mash*" from the Simhalese *Kaebili* (pl. of *Kaebella*) 'pieces', and *mas* 'fish.' *Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*

bonito (S. *balayá*)—Scomber Pelamis, *Linn.*—though two or three more species are similarly cured, *e.g.* M. *godá* (? S. *ẹtawallá*); M. *kanneli* (S. *kelawallá*); M. *rágodi* (S. *rágoḍuwá*). The flesh of these fish is tough, dark and not very palatable, and—especially *kelawallá* and *balayá*—spoken of by the Siṁhalese as *giniyam*, 'heating.' At one season of the year a large number of these *balayô* or bonitos are caught off the south-west coast of this island, and from the fishery the village of *Balapiṭiya* ('the hamlet of the *balayá*'), on the sea board, twenty-three miles north of Point de Galle, has derived its name.[2]

The details of the *kalubili mas* curing industry—the staple export of the Mâldive Islands—are extremely simple.

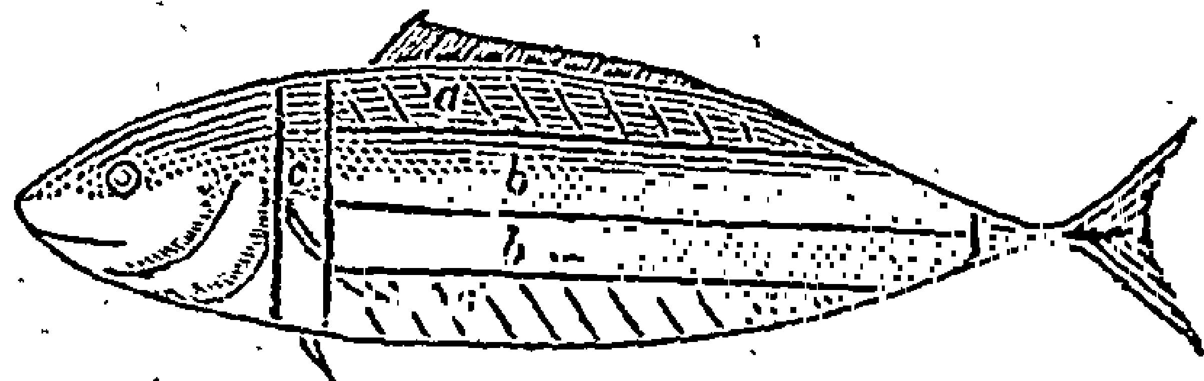
After the fish are brought on shore a portion is sold whilst fresh, and the remainder treated as follows. The entrails (M. *gohoru*, S. *boku*) and the lower part of the belly (M. *baḍu*, S. *baḍa wata*) are extracted, the head and tail cut off and thrown away, the fish split up, and the spine bone removed. The two slices are then divided in one of two ways:—

i. If into two pieces (*i.e.* four pieces in all) they are known generally as *himiti mas*—each individual piece as *gaḍu*—and all four together as *mahê* or *emmas* ('one fish').



This plan of cutting the bonito is said to have originated in an island named Himiti (? Nilandu Atol.)

ii. If the two slices are divided into four strips with a transverse cut across the front of the fish thus:—



the pieces have separate names and are valued differently—

a. a. the pieces along the back and belly, called *gaḍu mas*;

b. b. those along the middle of the side, called *meḍu mas*;

c. c. that between the head and the ends of *a. a.* and *b. b.*, called *kirá mas.*

Gaḍu mas, so called because they are supposed to be the *best* pieces;[3] *meḍu* (S. *mẹda*) *mas* because they are from the *centre*; *kirá mas*, because these pieces are *weighed* (M. *kirang*, S. kiranavâ 'to weigh'), and not counted in selling.

The march of civilization has introduced modern weights (cwts. qrs. and lbs.) into the Mâldives, but until recently the different pieces of Mâldive fish had a relative value to one another. Thus:—4 pieces *meḍu mas* = 2 *gaḍu mas* (of the same fish); 8 *gaḍu mas* = 7 pieces *himiti mas*;—*kirá mas*, as above said, being valued against their weight of *gaḍu mas*, &c.

When the fish have been divided into the usual number of pieces, these are washed with salt water; then thrown into a caldron or chatty of boiling salt water, and allowed to remain for a few minutes only, to prevent the flesh becoming too soft. It is said to be important that the water should be boiling from the first. On being taken out they are placed on the wattle loft or shelf (M. *mehi*, S. *mẹssa*) above the fire. There they are left three or four days till well blackened and dried, after which, if necessary, they are exposed to the sun to be finished.

Thus dried they are, as is well known, of the appearance and consistency of blocks of wood.

Fish-curing is carried on at the Mâldives all the year round, but chiefly in the dry season from January to July. The same process obtains throughout the group, and it is curious to note that it has remained unchanged since Pyrard's day (A.D. 1602—1607).[4] "The fish," says he, "which is caught in this manner, is called in their language by the general term

[2] "These seas are frequented by *Bonitoes* or good fishes, which are wholesome food, though the flesh is dry. They are of the same figure and bigness as *Carps*, but somewhat thicker. They swim in shoals close together, and always follow the ships. These also devour a great quantity of flying fish, which you find many times undigested in their bellies."—*A Collection of Voyages of the Dutch East-India Company*—translated into English, p. 132, London, 1703.

[3] *Gaḍu*, *koḷu*, affixes employed when speaking of anything connected with the Sultan, *e. g.*, *hai-koḷu*, the State umbrella.

[4] F. Pyrard de Laval spent five years of captivity in the group. His account is thoroughly accurate, and the fullest extant. The extracts are from the edition of 1679, 4to.

'*combolly masse*' because they are all *black*. They cook them in salt water, and then dry them by the fire on *clayes* so thoroughly that when dry they keep for a very long time. It is in this commodity they carry on so extensive a traffic, not only among themselves but they even supply the rest of India, where this article is in great request" (p. 138). And again (p. 141): "The fish which are found on the banks or lagoons of the Atols are called in the Mâldive language '*pharemasse*' [M. *faru mas*] that is to say, 'rock fish,' because '*phare*' is a 'bank' or 'shelf of rock,' '*masse*' is 'fish.' The other kind which is caught in the high (open) sea is called, as I have already said, '*combolly masse*,' that is to say 'black fish.' It is in this that they have so large a trade, and with which they supply all the coasts of the Continent. It is cooked in salt water and dried, for it is not otherwise salted; although sometimes they salt some of it, yet it remains always in the brine until wanted.[4] But it is not this that they export or send away. As there is no salt made at the Mâldives, that of which they make use comes from the coast of Malabar, and it would not suffice for so large a quantity of fish as is daily caught for the supply of the inhabitants as well as for trade. For, in truth, I believe there is no place throughout India, nor elsewhere, where the fishery is richer and more plentiful."

Two and a half centuries earlier the Arab traveller Ibn Batûta (A. D. 1344) also wrote of this fishery:—"The food of the natives consists of a fish like the *lyroûn*, which they call *koulb al-mâs*. Its flesh is red; it has no grease, but its smell resembles that of mutton. When caught at the fishery, each fish is cut up into four pieces, and then slightly cooked. It is then placed in baskets of coco leaves and suspended in the smoke. It is eaten when perfectly dry. From this country it is exported to India, China, and Yaman. It is called *koulb al mâs*." (A. Gray, translating '*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*,' Tome 4e; Paris, 1879).

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SIṀHALESE GRAMMAR.[1]

BY DR. E. MÜLLER.

The Siṁhalese language, whatever degree of reliance we may place in the historical traditions of the people who spoke it, was certainly severed from Indian soil more than two centuries before the reign of the Emperor Aśoka, that is to say, at the latest 450 B. C. Whatever direct relations therefore we find between the language of Ceylon and the vernaculars of India, will be highly interesting as throwing some light on the real rustic speech of India, as opposed to the language of the learned at so remote a period.

The Siṁhalese, according to their own narrative (*Mahâv.* p. 43 ff.), emigrated from a small kingdom called L â l a, situated in, or adjacent to, Magadha. The correctness of this we need not doubt, not because I am of opinion that more faith ought to be placed in the legends of the Siṁhalese than of other Hindus, but because I can see no reason whatever why they should choose a small and insignificant kingdom as the native country of their ancestors.[2]

We may therefore attempt to state how far this tradition is borne out or confuted respec-

[4] *i. e.* "the fish blood" and "salt fish" occasionally imported into Ceylon, called by the Mâldivians *rhi hakuru* (lit. 'fish sugar'). This consists of the broth in which the bonito has been boiled, to which odd scraps are added from time to time, the whole after two or three days being again boiled down to a gelatinous syrup containing more solid lumps.

[1] The plan of this I found among Dr. Goldschmidt's papers, but as it could not be published in that form, I thought it better to wait till I could complete it from the new materials I was then about to find. I have added all the references from the different inscriptions, of which only a comparatively small number was known to Dr. Goldschmidt at the time he wrote this, and have also considerably enlarged the number of examples from the Elu poetry. In the introduction, which treats of the position of the Siṁhalese language, I was obliged to make some alterations, as the knowledge of Indian vernaculars has been considerably increased by several new publications of Pâli, Prâkrit, and Jaina texts made after Dr. Goldschmidt's death.

[2] Lassen (*Ind. Alterth.* vol. II, p. 105) identifies Lâla with Lâṭa (Greek Larike—Gujarât). The whole context of the *Mahâv.* however shews that this cannot be meant. King Niśśanka Malla, a prince of Kâliṅga, who has left many inscriptions in different parts of Ceylon, was born in a city called Siṁhapura, which he maintains to be the same as Siṁhapura, where Wijaya was born. If so, Lâla was part of the latter kingdom, Kâlinga, a not unlikely place to suppose the Aryan conquerors of Ceylon to have started from. This seems also to be the opinion of Burnouf (*Recherches sur la Geographie Ancienne de Ceylon*, p. 61) as he identifies Lâla with Râḍhâ—"la partie basse du Bengale actuel, qui s'etend sur la rive droite de la rivière Hougli, et comprend les districts de Tamlouk et de Midnapour." This country then must have been thoroughly Aryan at so remote a time as the 5th century B.C. at the latest, for not only is the Siṁhalese language Sanskrit, but the vast majority of the higher castes of the Siṁhalese have unmistakeably the Aryan type of faces, and, as for the lower castes, they do not look like Dravidians, but resemble the Veddas.

tively by the facts derived from a comparison of the languages of Magadha and Ceylon. Various dialects have been assigned to Magadha. Pâli we may no longer take into consideration as its different origin has been proved. (Westergaard and Kuhn take Pâli to be the language of Ujjeni, but Oldenberg (*Vinayapiṭaka*, Introd. p. 54) thinks that its original home was in the kingdoms of Ândhra and Kâliṅga.) There remain three dialects which bear the name of Magadha, viz. the dialects in which some of Aśoka's edicts are written, the dramatic Mâgadhî, and the language of the sacred books of the Jaina sect.

The investigation of the dramatic Mâgadhî has presented no slight difficulties, on account of the apparent preservation of an ancient phonetic condition long left behind by contemporary dialects and even by the dialects spoken in the time of Aśoka. I allude here to the substitution of *sṭ* for *ṭṭ* and *shṭh* (Hemachandra, IV, 289) and of *st* for *sth* and *rth* (Hemachandra, IV, 290). If we had only *sṭ* for *shṭh*, and *st* for *sth*, the conclusion would be most natural that these combinations were the immediate successors of the corresponding ones found in Sanskṛit, but that *sṭ* also stands for *ṭṭ*, and *st* for *rth* alters the case. I believe the Skt. *shṭh* had first changed, as in all Prâkṛits, into *ṭṭh*, and subsequently lost the aspiration, *rth* into *tth* and *tt*. It was to avoid the difficult pronunciation of a double consonant that, in Mâgadhî, the first of them was changed into a sibilant, and thus *titta* = *tîrtha* becomes *tista*, conf. *nirastiya* 'disinterested' (inscr. of Shâhbâzgarhi, in Cunningham, *Reports*, vol. I. p. 78). *Atta*, *artha* = *asta*, *paṭṭa* = *pasṭa*, *suṭṭu*, *sushṭhu* = *susṭu*; *śuṭṭide*, *susthita* = *śustide*, &c. It is not easy to account for *sk* = *ksh* in *preksh* and *âchaksh*, Hem. IV, 297, but as this change is limited to these two verbs and the precedent of a sibilant being put before a hard consonant was given in the case of dentals, it may very well also be regarded as secondary. *śch* = *chh* (Hem. IV, 295) is the third remarkable change, but this cannot be old. The possibility remains to account for all these changes by an antipathy to aspiration, which would have become hardened and put before the consonant; but then there is *ṭṭ* which has no aspiration treated in the same way.

Quite different from this artificial language is the Mâgadhî of the Jaina sect, or, as it is now generally called, the Jaina Prâkṛit. The only point in which both agree is the termination *e* of the nom. sing. in the first declension (Hem. IV, 287), and this termination is also to be found in Aśoka's inscriptions (not only in the nom. sing. but wherever the corresponding Sanskṛit form terminates in *as*, for instance *lâjine* = *râjñaḥ*, *lâjâṇe* = *râjânaḥ* and in Siṁhalese), whereas the Pâli preserves the ancient *o* of the Sanskṛit. The principal peculiarities of the Jaina Prâkṛit are the change of a single consonant in the middle of a word into *y* (Hem. I, 177) which is the last stage before the dropping of the consonant as found in other Prâkṛits, the change of initial *y* to *j* and of *yy* to *jj*, the change of aspirates to *h*. (See my *Beitrage zur Grammatik des Jaina-prâkṛit*, p. 12.)

The name of Ardhamâgadhî, by which the Prâkṛit grammarians call this language, does not help us in finding out its position amongst the Prâkṛits, for it was applied to different dialects at different periods, as may be seen from Hem. IV, 287, Comment. We can however fix its position between the Pâli and Mâgadhî of the inscriptions on one side and the Mahârâshṭrî on the other.

I now proceed to give a small comparative table of Mâgadhî and Siṁhalese words and grammatical forms, and then to point out some such difference as must have existed between the two languages before the departure of the Siṁhalese from India.

Mâgadhî.			
Aśoka.	*Dramatic.*	*Jaina.*	*Siṁhalese.*
nom. *e*	do.	do.	do.
loc. *si*	do.	*ṁsi*	*hi*
tuphe (Kern Aśoka 102)	do.	*tubbha*, *tubbhe* (Hem. III, 90)	*topi*
puluva (Cunn. I, 69)	*pulva*	*pure kamma* (Hem. I, 57)	*pera*, *pura*
	purawa (Hem. IV, 323) in Śaurasenî		
	kaḷia (Hem. IV, 302)	*pagijjhiya* (Hem. IV, 216)	*ḳariya*
	kadua (Hem. IV, 272)	*kaṭṭu* (Hem. II, 164)	*koṭu*

Aśoka.	*Dramatic.*	*Jaina.*	*Siṁhalese.*
kaṭe	*kata* Mâg. (Hem. IV, 290)	*kaḍa* (Hem I, 206)	*kaḷa*
wīsati	*vîsa*, (Hem. IV, 423) Apabhr.	*vîsaî*	*wisiti*
	kapp kappijjai = *khaṇḍyate* in Apabhr. (Hem. IV, 357)		*kapanawá*
kalemi	do. (Hem. IV, 287)	*karenti* (*Kalp.* p. 95)	*keremi*
		dosiná (*Bhag.* 415)	dô.
		uvâhana (*Bhag.* 185.)	*wahan.*
	paḍ (*Mṛichchh.* 30)	*waḍ* (*Niray.* 5)	*waeṭenawá*
duvâḍasa		*duválasa* (*Kalp.*)	*doḷusa*
dakhámi			*dakinawá*
		daṭṭhuṁ	*duṭu*
aṭhâya	*asta*	*aṭṭha*	*aṭaya*
	chishṭha chiśtá (Śaur *chiṭṭha*)	*chiṭṭhittae*	*sitinawá*
vaḍhi (*vaḍhâyisanti* Cunn. I, 70)			*waeḍi*
pavatayevum	*pavatteha* Śaur. (Hem. IV, 264)	*pavattaï* (*Kalp.* 130).	*pawatinawá*
âdisa, tâdisa	*eliśa* (*îḍiśa*, Hem. IV, 299)		*elesa*
	maḍa (*mṛita*)	*maḍa* in *maḍâî* (*Kalp.* 92, *Bhag.* 195); *maḍayam* (Hem. I. 206)	*maḷa*
	khâhiśi, khâduṁ, (*Mṛichchh.* 123, *khâiśśam.* 129)	*khâi*, (Varar. VIII, 27, Hem. IV, 228)	*kanawá*
	gaḍa (*Mṛichchh.* 10)	*gaya*	*giya*
agi		*agaṇi*, Daś.	*gini*
	tista (but *tâha* Hem. I, 104)	*tittha*	*toṭa*
	gona (*Mṛichchh.* 99, 100, etc.)		*gona*
	âbila (*Mṛichchh.* 163)	*ambila*	*aembul*

The dramatic Mâgadhî already shews a tendency to change aspirated into unaspirated consonants, on the other hand there seems to be a beginning in Siṁhalese of changing *r* into *l*, which is the rule in all the Mâgadhî dialects.

The Siṁhalese have two *l's* (*l* and *ḷ*) but the cerebral *ḷ* does not appear in the most ancient inscriptions, and I have reason to believe it was called into being on Ceylon soil. Cerebrals (*ṭ, ḍ, r, ṇ*) are changed into the cerebral *ḷ*; there are few exceptions to this rule, but notably several where we find *r* in Sanskṛit. These I believe are due to a Mâgadhi origin; this change must have begun when the Siṁhalese left India, and afterwards have been given up again by them. I give here *gali, gala* = *giri; chatalisa* later *satalisa* (always written with *l* in inscriptions) and *mala*, a younger brother = *kumâra*, *maḷu* (Situlp. *Report*, XXV, p. 7) but *malaṇuwan* S. M. A. 27; *Hihila* S. B. M. A. 1 *ilmasa* = *śiśira.*

In the face of these facts I believe we have the less reason to doubt the correctness of the Siṁhalese historical tradition, and we may safely assume Siṁhalese to have its nearest relation in the dialect of Magadha. The principal peculiarities of the Siṁhalese language are the shortening of the long vowels, the elision and insertion of nasals, the change of the aspirates and of the palatals (*j* to *d*, *ch* to *s*) and the method of expressing double or assimilated consonants by simple ones. For the shortening of long vowels we find instances in Aśoka's inscriptions, viz. *asvasevu* at Dhauli, Jaug. Cunningham I, 92; *palibhasayiram* in the Edict of Delhi No. III; *kit* = *kîrti*, Cunn. I, 180; *sarira* = *śarîra*, Cunn. 98, and in the Jaina Prâk., for instance *gahira* = *gaṁbhîra*, *gahiya* = *gṛihîta*, *âyariya* = *âchârya*, *taïya* = *tṛitîya*, etc. Concerning the nasals we must distinguish two periods. The period of the oldest inscriptions destroyed the nasals in a nexus or the nasalized vowels, just in the same way as it destroyed the long vowels, so that we only find short vowels and simple consonants, for instance *ataḷi* = *antara*, Hab. 3; *chatalisa* = *chatvâriṁśat*, Hab. 4; *saga* = *saṅgha*, Hab. 6. *abatala* = *ambasthala*, Hab. 7; *wisiti* = *viṁśati*, Hab. 9; *chada* = *narchda* Hab. 10; *pacha* = *pañcha*, Tiss. 8; *abatara* = *abhyantara*, Tiss. 6.

Most of these nasals were never reinstalled in their places, so that the greater part of the examples mentioned have still got the same shape at the present day (*pas* = *pañcha*; *hatalis* = *chatalisa*; *wisi* = *viṁśati*; *aetula* = *ataḷi*); but later on, the inclination of the language totally changed and was very much in favour of a nexus; in that way, not only were nasals inserted before single consonants to form a group, but consonants also after nasals to support them (see below). Of the first process we find analogies in Pâli, Prâkṛit and Gipsy, but the second seems to be a peculiarity of the Siṁhalese. So also is the change of the aspirates, especially of *dh* to *j*, for the change of *chh* to *s* we find an analogy in Prâkṛit *pus* = *proñchh*, Hâla, Hem. IV, 105, Siṁhalese *pihinawá*, in Gipsy,—(Mikl. *Beiträge zur kenntniss der Zigeuner mundarten*, I, II, 17,) and commonly in Marâṭhi (Beames, I, 218). Of the change of *ch* to *s* I can only adduce one example, viz. *pansáswá-sa* (85th year) in the inscription of king Aira Mahâmeghavâhana at Khandagiri, Cunn. I. 98.[3]

Another peculiarity of the Siṁhalese is the further change of *ksh*, *ch* and *chh* to *h* after it has passed through *s*. *Ksh* is also changed to *h* in Jaina Prâkr. *dáhiṇa* = *dakshiṇa*, *seha* = *śaiksha*, *sampehei* = *samprekshate*, *pehuna*, *suhuna*; but the corresponding Pâli forms, *sekha*, *apekhá*, *pekhuṇa*, *sukhuma*—shew us that this has not passed through *s*. In Siṁhalese the transition is from *ksh* to *chh*, *s*, and finally to *h*, or to *k* direct, as *kh* does not exist; in Jaina Prâkṛit it passes to *kh* and *h*, or to *chh*, which is not subject to any more transformation (see E. M. *J. P.* p. 9, 40).

Siṁhalese *sanda* = *kshaṇa* corresponds to Jaina Prâkṛit *chhaṇa*; Siṅh. *dakuṇu* to J. P. *dáhina*, &c. Sometimes we find both forms of the same word in Siṁhalese, as for instance *pas* = *paksha*, Amb. A. 14, but *pak*, Amb. A. 4, *wak*, Amb. A. 45, 58.

For the change of *j* to *d* we find an analogy in Pâli, Mâgadhî, and Jaina Prâk. (see below), and the change of *ch* to *d* passing through *j*, as can be proved by the form *ja* for *cha* (at present *ad*), which occurs frequently in ancient inscriptions, for instance at Kaikâwa: *Waḍhachetahaṭa ja bikasagahaṭa ja dina* (*Rep.* II, p. 3).

Here may be added some instances of concordance between Siṁhalese and the Indian Vernaculars (including Gipsy) different from Sanskrit:—

Siṁhalese.	*Indian Vernaculars.*
1 *aḍiya* = *aṅhri*, a foot, footstep, *eḍi* feet. Bat. Comm. to Gutt 60.	H. G. *eḍi*, P. *eḍa* M. id, B. *eḍi*, 'heel' (Beames I, 134).
2 *kakiyanawá*	H. *kasakaná* (Beames II, 31).
3 *kapanawá*	H. *kápaneṁ*.
4 *geriyá*	H. *guru*, Gipsy *guruv*, *gurí*, Mar. *gurûṁ* cow, bullock or buffalo.
5 *goḍa* (Jainapr. *gaḍḍa*, *Bhag.* 216) Hem. I, 35.	H. *gáḍá*, Beames I, 336; Mahâr. *gaḍḍa*, Hem.
6 *jitá* (J. P. *dhúyá*, Hem. II, 126)...	B. *jhí* or *jhia* (Beames I, 192).
7 *ṭika*, *ṭikiri*	H. *ṭuka*, a piece, etc. (Beames II, 120).
8 *daḍa* = *tiryak*	H. *ṭeḍhá*, M. *ṭeḍá* 'crooked,' Beames I, 350.
9 *baḍa* (S. M. B. 18)...	*peṭa*, etc. from *piṇḍa*, (comp. *Mṛichchh.* 112).
10 *watura*	*bádala* (Beames I, 145).
11 *veḷa*	Pâli *divaḍḍha*, *diyaḍḍha*, Prâkṛit, *divaḍḍha* (Beames I, 237).
12 *hánawá* 'to plough,' *hasa* 'agriculture' = *śasya*, Pâli, *sassa* Amb. A, 36. *saskara*, *haskara* cultivator.	Be. Or. *chása* (Beames I, 210).
13 *kalambanawá* to stir, to agitate, *kalatanawá* to agitate, to stir about water, Gutt. 407, 432, 442.	Prâkṛit, *kallavida*, Muir. II, 29, comp. Skt. *kalila*, *kalusha* (*akuḷa*).
14 *málu* 'fish'	Hindi *machchhlí*, Muir II, 20.
15 *widuliya*	Prâkṛit *vijjulí*, Var. IV, 26, *vijjulá*, Hem. II, 173. *vijjuliá* (*Urvaśi* 27, 13;) Mar. *bijalí*; Guz. *vijalî*

[3] Dr. Oldenberg in his introduction to the *Mahávagga*, p. 54, says that the dialect of this inscription is very closely connected with Pâli, but this form as well as the other *pandarasa* = *pañchadasa* with change of *ch* to *d* rather agree with the Siṁhalese. [" Aira" is a mislection for *vera*—an adjective: the king's name occurs at the ends of the first and last lines.—ED.]

Simhalese.	Indian Vernaculars.
16 *wara*	Prâkṛit *vara*.
17 *koṭalu*	Pashto *kûṭai*, a young donkey (Trumpp. 56).
18 *taram, tarama*—size, bulk, quantity, measure. .	*taraï*, Hem. IV, 86, Mahâr. *tara* 'it is possible.'
19 *saela*, publicity, *saelakaranawâ*, to make public	Sindhî *salaṇu* 'to divulge.' Trumpp. S. Gr. 263.
20 *goṇá*, 'bullock'	Mâg. *goṇa* (*Mṛichchh.* 99, 100, and passim). Hem. II, 174.
21 *baehaera* Mald. *bera* 'out'	Mâg. *bâhila*, (*Mṛichchh.* 43, and Edict V, Cunn. p. 72,) Pâli and Prâkṛit *bâhira* (Hem. II, 140. Ks. 32,) and common in modern vernaculars.

We now proceed to examine the development of the Simhalese language from the earliest times (first centuries of the Christian era) down to the present day. I need hardly remark that this paper does not pretend to exhaust the subject, as this would require much more time than I can spare at present, and also a larger amount of material to work from than I have got at my disposal now. I will however try to shew the features which the language has adopted in the different stages it has gone through, and to give a history at least of those words which can be traced back to an early period. My examples down to the 4th century A.D. are all taken from a few inscriptions, as no other literary remains exist for this period. Between the 4th and 9th centuries we have not even inscriptions, and so this period must be left out of consideration altogether. After the 9th century the inscriptions are more numerous, and in the 13th century was composed the first grammatical book in Simhalese, viz. the *Sidat-Sangarâwa*, which was followed by several poetical compositions, as the *Kâvyaśekara*, *Guttila*, &c. The language of these, however, has been influenced to a great extent by the paṇḍits, and cannot be considered as a real vernacular dialect like that of the inscriptions. I give below[4] a list of all the in-

[4] List of Books:—

Ab.—*Abhidhânappadîpikâ*, Col. 1865.

Beames I, II, III.—*Comparative Grammar of the modern Aryan Languages of India*, by John Beames, Vols. I., II., III.

Bhag.—Weber, *Fragment der Bhagavatî.*

E. M. J. P.—E. Müller's *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprâkrit*, Berlin, 1876.

Gray—*The Maldive Islands* by Gray, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. X, page 173.

Gutt.—*Guttila.*

Hâla.—Weber, *das Saptaśatakam des Hâla*, Leipzig, 1870.

Hem. = Hemachandra's *Grammatik der Prâkritsprachen*, ed. by Richard Pischel, Halle, 1880.

Jât. I. II.—*The Jâtaka*, ed. by V. Faüsboll, Vols. I. II.

K. S.—*Kalpasûtra* of Bhadrabâhu, ed. by Hermann Jacobi.

Kâvy.—*Kâvyasekhara.*

Kern *Aśoka* = H. Kern, *Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Aśoka.*

K. J.—*Kusa Jâtaka.*

Mah. I.—*Mahâwanso*, by Turnour, Colombo, 1837.

Mah. II.—*Mahâwanso* II. part ed. by H. Sumangala and Batuwantudâwa, Col. 1877.

Mikl.—Miklosich *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, Wien, 1872.

Nâm.—*Nâmâwalia*, Colombo, 1858.

Niray.—*Nirayâvaliyâsuttam*, ed. by Dr. S. Warren, Amsterdam, 1879.

S. L.—*Sella Lihini Sandese*, ed. by W. C. Macready, Colombo, 1865.

S. S.—*Sidath Sangarâwa.*

List of Inscriptions.

A.—Inscriptions before 400, A. D.

1.—Alutgalwihâra: E. Müller's *Rep.* XI, p. 5, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 12.

2.—Inscription at Badagiri Hambantota (Badag.).

3.—Binpokuna, E. Müller's *Rep.* II, 1880, p. 3, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 269.

4.—Eriyâwa tank, E. Müller's *Rep.* II, 1880, p. 3, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 270.

5.—Gajabâhu's inscr. at the Ruanwaeli Dagoba, Anurâdhapura (Gaj.) now in Colombo, E. Müller's *Rep.* XI, p. 5, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 11.

6.—Habarane (Hab.) *Jour. Cey. As. Soc.* 1879, p. 5, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 319.

7.—Hingurgala.

8.—Kaikâwa, E. Müller's *Rep.* II, 1880, p. 3, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 269.

9.—Kirinde (Kir.) E. Müller's *Rep.* XXV, p. 6, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 226.

10.—Kottarakimbiyâwa, E. Müller's *Rep.* II, 1880, p. 3, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 269.

11.—Mahâ Ratmala (Mah. R.)

12.—Meghavanna Abhaya's inscr. at Mihintale.

13.—Nâgamahâwihâra at Tissamahârâma, E. Müller's *Rep.* XXV, p. 6, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 226.

14.—Nettukanda (Nett.) P. Goldschmidt's *Rep.* No. XI, p. 4, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 319.

15.—Periyakaḍu wihâre, E. Müller's *Rep.* II, 1880, p. 3, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 269.

16.—Inscript. at Sandagiriwihâra Tissamahârâma (Sand.)

17.—Situlpawihâra, E. Müller's *Rep.* XXV, p. 7, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 226.

18.—Thalagala.

19.—Tissamahârâma (Tiss.) *Jour. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 14, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 320.

20.—Tonigala (Ton.) E. Müller's *Rep.* XI, p. 4, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 10.

B.—Inscriptions from the 9th to the 13th Century.

1.—Abhayawaewa (Abha.)

2.—Ambasthala, Mihintale, (Amb.) *Jour. C. A. S.* 1880, p. 5 ff.

3.—Aetaewîragollaewa, P. Goldschmidt's *Rep.* XI. p. 9, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 324; *Jour. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 34 ff. = (Aet.)

4.—Attanayâla, E. Müller's *Rep.* XXV, p. 4, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 322.

5.—Nissanka Malla's inscription at Dambulla (D. I.) (translated by Armour, *Ceylon Almanac*, 1834).

6.—Ellawaewa Pansala (E. P.) P. Goldschmidt's *Rep.* XI, p. 9, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 324; *Jour. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 34 ff.

scriptions mentioned in the text, referring to the places where they have been published, and also of the other books of reference which I have principally used.

The original Siṁhalese alphabet consists only of the three short vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and also *e* and *o*, the original quantity of which I cannot ascertain. Consonants: *k*, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *t*, *d*, *n*, *p*, *b*, *m*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *w*, *s*, and *h*. We see the Siṁhalese had given up *ṛ*, *ḷ*, *ai*, *au* (like all the vernaculars), the aspirates, *ṅ* and *ñ*, *ś* and *sh* and *anusvâra*. Besides they knew neither double nor compound consonants and no *virâma*, as all words end in vowels.

(A) VOWEL SYSTEM.

The simplicity of the Siṁhalese vowel system continued for some time, then lengthening of the vowels took place from two reasons: (1) contraction, (2) accent. In the 4th century we find *bâya* brother for *baṭiya*. I have met with very few long vowels before that time, though they appear occasionally, either from a desire of the inscriber to improve the language imitating Pâli and Sanskrit or by irregular longation, Tatsamas as *vâpi*, *yâku* for *yâgu*, and others, of course are found with their proper quantities, and we also find occasionally *Gâmiṇi* or *Devânapiya*, and the like. Later contractions are, to give a few instances—*lûnu* for *luhunu* = *laśuna*, *gônâ* = *gokarṇa* (called the elk in Ceylon), *sâra* = *chatvaṛ*, *su* (*panaes*) 54 P. P. 4, *winisa* = *winiśchaya* P. P. 23, *pâya* = *prasâda*, L. V. K, *râla* honorific form *radala*, master, lord, husband, *i. e. raja* and affix *la*, *gânawâ* for *gahanawâ*, to smear, to daub, plaster, Sanskrit *ghṛish*, Sindhî *gahanu* to rub, Trumpp. 2, 64.

Mî in *mîmaessâ* = *madhu-makshikâ* 'a bee,' *mî* = *madhûka*, Amb. A, 50; and *mîpaeni* = *madhupâniyam*; *mîyâ* D. I. 10 = *mûshika*, 'a rat;' *wêyâ*, 'a white ant' D. I. 10, probably from Pâli *upachikâ* (Skt. *upajîka* ?) through *uwahiya* *wahiya*; *wî* paddy = *vrîhi*; *môla* 'pestle' = *mushala*; *pôya* 'day of the new and full moon,' for *pohoya* = *uposatha*; *bô* for *bodhi*, *boya*, the Bodhi tree; *gâenî*, *gâenu* for *gaehaenu*, a woman = *gṛihiṇî*; *mûda* for *hamuda*, *muhuda*, *samudra*; *dâgaba* for *dhâtugarbha*[5]; *anuru* = *anurûpa*, Amb. A, 42; *âkaemiya* = *âdikarmika*, Amb. A, 20, B, 3; *âwû* = *âbhûta*, ib. A, 15, 50, 53; *paha waesi* = *prâsâdawâsi*, Amb. B, 26; *pâ* = *pâtra*, Amb. B, 20, 28; *ledaru* = *lekhadhâraka*, Amb. B, 43; *lekam* = *lekhakarma*, Amb. A. 25; *dâ* = *jâta*, Mayil. A, 15; *dâ* = *dhâtu*, Wandar. 9, R. D. 20; *sat* = *sattva* P. P. 8; *dû* = *duhitâ*, Gp. B, 3; *mâmbo*, P. P. 32; *nimi* = *nirmita*, P. P. 29; *niwanawâ* = *nirwâ*, *niwi*, P. P. 4; *niwami*, P. P. 3; *niwû*, P. P. P. A. 19; *dâ* = *jâtaka*, *Kâvy*. XIII, 33; *dâ* = *dâma*, K. J. 308; *pamâ* = *pramâda*, P. P. 19; *pâmok* = *prâtimoksha*, P. P. 19.

The force of accent we observe in *bohô* (*ma*) much = *bahu*; *asûwa*, 80 Gp. C, 2, 104, 7, *anûwa* 90; in verbal nouns like *gaelîma* (from *galanawâ*) √ *gal.*, etc., older *senim*, *siṭim* 10th century, still older *paḷisatarikama* for *pratisaṁskâritakarma*. The lengthening of the final vowel in animates as *â* in *minisâ*, I believe, to be due to a former termination in *ak*, affix *ka*, now used to indicate indefinition in inanimates. In modern Indian vernaculars, too, we find *â* as a masculine termination, comp. Beames, *Comp. Gram.*, vol. II, p. 160. A further important addition to the vowel system was made by the two characters peculiar to Siṁhalese *ae* and its lengthened form *âe*. They are not found in the 4th century, but are firmly established in the

7.—Niśśanka Malla's inscription on the four pillars near Rankot Dâgoba, Polonnaruwa (F. P.) Rhys Davids, *Jour. R. A. S.* 1874, p. 164.

8.—Niśśanka Malla's inscription called Galpota at Polonnaruwa, (Gp.) a few lines published in P. Goldschmidt's *Rep.* XI, p. 12, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 327; translated by Armour in *Ceylon Almanac*, 1834.

9.—Inginimiṭiya, E. Müller's *Rep.* II. 1880 p. 5, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 271. (Ing.)

10.—Kassapa V. inscription at Mihintale (K., M.) E. Müller's *Rep.* XXV, p. 4, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 223.

11.—Inscription at Kongollaewa (Kong.)

12.—Inscription of General Lag Vijaya Singukit from Abhayawaewa now in Colombo (L. V. K.) P. Goldschmidt's *Rep.* XI, p. 13, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 328.

13.—Mahâkalattaewa, P. Goldschmidt's *Rep.* XI, p. 8, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 323; *Jour. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 22. (Mahâk.)

14.—Mayilagastoṭa, E. Müller's *Rep.* II, 1880, p. 4, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, pp. 270, 271 (Mavil).

15.—Inscription at Minneri (Min.), see Goldschmidt's *Rep.* XI, p. 11, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 326.

16.—Parâkramabâhu's inscription at the Galwihâra Polonnaruwa (P. P.) (seven lines published in P. Goldschmidt's *Rep.* XI, p. 11,) and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 326.

17.—Niśśanka Malla's inscription at Polonnaruwa (P. P. P.) Rhys Davids, *Jour. R. A. S.* 1874, p. 160.

18.—Niśśanka Malla's inscription at the Ruanwaeli Dâgoba (R. D.) Anurâdhapura; Rhys Davids, *Jour. R. A. Soc.* 1874, p. 360.

19.—Sâhasa Malla's inscription at Polonnaruwa (S. M.) Rhys Davids, *Jour. R. A. S.* 1874, p. 356.

20.—Siri Saṅgabo's inscription at Mihintale (S. B. M.) E. Müller's *Rep.* II, 1880, p. 6, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 272.

21.—Wadurag's inscription at Polonnaruwa (W. P.) E. Müller's *Rep.* II, 1880, p. 5, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 272.

22.—Niśśanka Malla's inscription at Wandarûpawihâra (Wandr.) E. Müller's *Rep.* XXV, p. 5, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 224.

23.—Inscription at Wewelkeṭiya (Wewelk.)

[5] In Parâkramabâhu's inscription at Polannaruwa we find occasionally *dahagaep*, but this is probably an artificial disruption of the long vowel.

9th—about the interval I am unable to judge, yet though not written they may have been pronounced long previously.

Mr. Beames (*Comp. Gram.*, vol. I, p. 141 ff.) has the following interesting note:—"The Bengali language as actually spoken by all classes, from the highest to the lowest, differs in many respects from the language as written in books, especially is this noticeable in the treatment of the vowel *á* which, in colloquial usage, is frequently, (in fact almost universally,) corrupted into *e*." Now, this is exactly the sound of the Simhalese *ae*, and as the Simhalese probably came from a part of Bengal, they might have brought this sound with them. There is another reason to suppose that these sounds are older than the invention of the characters proper to them. The Simhalese *wadáranawá* is a corrupted tatsama from Pâli *avadháreti*; the verbal noun at present is *waedœruma*, older *waejœruma*. Now, in an inscription of the second or third century A.D. at Baḍagiriya we find *wajeriyi* 'he declares'—*i.e.* *e* used to express the sound *œ*, which is a modification of *á*.

Ae commonly appears as modified from *a* through the influence of *i*. Instances are—

Kaela, jungle = *káshṭa* or *kalila* or *khila*; *kaelum* = *kánti*, *K. J.* 67; *paewaetae*, Gp. C. 20, *payaelœ* Gp. C, 21; *yaeṭa*, P. P. 19, 23, but *yaṭa* Amb. A, 34, 39; *kaepi* = *kampita*, quake, *S. S.* 57; *kaesa* = *kachchha S. S.* 53; *yaela* = *yála* P. P. 50; *gaeṭena* = *ghashṭana*, *Kávy.* XIII, 51; *yaedigama* = *yáchita°*, *Mah.* II, 210; *gaehaeṭu* = *gharshaṇa S. S.* 57; *gaep* = *galbha*, *Gutt.* 200; *laegum* P. P. 38, from *laginawá*; *saeḍa* = *chaṇḍa*, Gp. A, 8, *Nám.* 242; *gaerahum* = *garhya S. S.* 35; *aeṭa* = *asthi*; *aetá* = *hastin* as in *aetwehera*, Inscr. of Mahindo III at Mihintale; *aengilla* = *anguli* Gp. B, 15; *aeti*, older *ati* = *asti*; *aedahili*, *Gutt.* 478, *aedahillae*, *haedahili*, *Kávy.* II, 39, from *adahanawá*; *naeti*, *nati* = *násti*; *aembul*; = Skt. *ámla*, Pâli *ambila* or *ambilla*, as in *Ambillapadara*, *Mah.* II. 49; *aewidinawá*, *paewidinawá*, √*vraj*; *aepa* = *adhipati*, Amb. A, 2, Gp. A. 6; *æs* = *akshi* P. P. A. 31; *kaekiri* = *karkaṭiká*, Pâli *kakkári*, *Ját.* II, 105 (Beames' *Comp. Gr.*, vol. I, p. 130); *kaebili* a piece, bit = *kavala* a mouthful, Amb. B, 48, comp. *sakkaebili S. S.* 35, *kaebali*, *Nám.* 38; *kaemaeti*, *kaemati* D. I. 16, S. M. B. 31; I, etc., wish = *káma* + *asti*; *aelenawá* = *álí*, *aeli* = *áleyaka*, Amb. B, 13; *kaemiyá* = Pâli *kammiko*; *aep* = *amhe* Ing. B. 14; *daehaewili*, P. P. 39, *Nám.* 70, modern *dœwilla* from √*dah*; *gaeta* = *grantha*, *gael* = *gantrí*. (comp. Beames' *Comp. Gr.* vol. I, p. 336); Mahak. C. Ab. 373, Gutt. 114; *gaella* Amb. B, 48; *gaelíma* from *galanawá*, √*gal*.; *daeka* from *dakinawá*, √*dris*, P. P. passim; *daeli*, *daella* = *jvála*; *naegenawá*, caus. *naginawá* to rise √*langh*; *naemati*, *naemaeti* = *námanasti* 'called'; *daeya* = *dravya* Amb. A, 25; *naekaeti*, Amb. B, 40, S. S. 57, Ab. 347; *naehae* contracted *nœ* = *nahi*; *naepiya*, Amb. B, 32 = *snápita*; *naeḷiya* = *náli* Amb. B, 1, 13, *naesú* from *nasanawá*, Amb. A, 23; *raekindwa* = *rakkhandyaka*, Amb. B, 17; *raekiya* = *rakkhaka*, Amb. B, 18; *daegae* = *dáge*, Amb. B, 52; *maeṇiyan* = *mátá*, *Mah.* B, Gp. B, 16; *paen*, water, *mi* + *paení*, bee honey = *pánîyam*; *paehenawá*, to ripen, √*pach*; *baemma*, from *bandinawá*, *Nám.* 245; *baehaeri*, Amb. A, 22, P. P. 42; (Mald *bera* out), Pâli *báhira* and common in Prâkṛit and vernaculars; Gipsy *avri*, Mikl. VII, 14, *raeswú* P. P. 35, but *ruswá*, *risi*, desire, P. P. 49, Amb. A, 6, cf. *risiwum*, *Nám.* 71; *baeriya* = *bhárika*; *maeṭi* = *mṛittiká*; *maeḍiyá* = *maṇḍúka*; *maeṇik* = *máṇikya*, R. D. A. 18; *maedahat S. S.* 20, mod. *mendahat*; Gp. C. 5; *maeda* = *madhya*; *maeṇa* = *maṇi S. S.* 14; *maenaewi* = *mana ápa* and *asti*. S. M. B. 25, L. V. K. C.; *maessá* = *makshiká*; *anaengi*, Ruanw. 23 = *anargha*; *paessa* = *paśchima*, Wandar. 15; *maekuwá*, √*mraksh*, S. M. B. 28; *raekae*, Abhay. A. 15, *raeya* = *rátri*, S. M. A. 15; mod. *rae*; *wae* = *bhúta Mah.* A.; *waeriya* Mah. C. Mâyil. B, 7, Ing. C. 6; [*kam*] *maeli*, lazy, indolent, from √*mlai* either through a participle identical with Pâli *miláne*, or more probably formed from a Simhalese verb now lost; *waesi* = *wásí* P. P. P. A. 13, S. M. A. 30; *waeli* = *wáluká*, R. D. 22; *wœpára* = *vyápára*, S. B. M. B 3; *panaes* = *pancháśat*, P. P. 4, but *panás* Wewelk. 18; *raejna* = *raedna* old *rajini* for *rájñí*; *raela* (Mald. *ráula*) = *laharí*, comp. Beames *Comp. Gr.*, vol. I, p. 131; *raes* = *ráśi*; *saeka* = *śanká*, Gp. B. 14; *saepat* = *sampatti*, Gp. C, 17, 24, *Nám.* 203; *dae* = *dátra*, sickle; *waeṭiya*, a wick = *varti*, *vartiká*, Amb. B, 35, A, 49; *waeḍi*, increase = *waeḍa*, *waeḍenawá*, √*vṛidh*, *vṛiddhi* etc.; *haemma*, P. P. 25, (?); *waela* = *valli* (comp. Beames' *Comp. Gr.*, vol. I, p. 136); *paeraehaer*, *Mahák.* later *perahara*, S. M. A. 31, and *paeraehaen*, Amb. B, 29, *Magulaewa* Amb. B, 54; *uḍaesi* = *udwaesi* = *uddhawawisara*, Amb. A, 34, *manuwœsara*, Amb. A, 39, D. I. 27, Ran. D. 2; *saési* = *śástri*, *S. S.* 42; *saet* = *śástra*, D. I. 4; *saendaéwa* = *sandhyá*; *saeḷa* (*Seḷu S.* S. 21) = *sáriká*, *haeṭa* = *shashṭi* *haettaéwa* = *saptati*; *haeḷiya* = Pâli *cháti*; *kaeta* = *kshatriya*, Amb. A, I; *kaeti aya*, 'royal taxes,' Dambul Inscr. 9, more modern *ket*, Gp. A, 16; *kaela*, a multitude; *paeṭi* = *paeṭṭa* side perhaps identical with Eranian *pakhta* (see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I, p. 552, Trumpp. *Pashto Gr.* 3); *paen* = *praskandha koṭa*, *K. J.* 63, cf. *paenú*, Gp. A. 10; *taet* = *tantí*, *Nám.* 74, *Kávy.* IX, 72; *daep* = *darpa*, *S. S.* 57; *saemaenga* = *samangí*, Amb. A, 16, 22, 54; *kaeraṇa* = *káraṇa*, Mah. B; *paehaera* E.

P.; *aeka* = *anka*, Amb. A, 51, *Nám.* 230; *aetul* = *antara*; *dachit*, = *dantakáshtá*, Amb. A, 10, comp. *dashaeti*, *Abhid.* 442, *daewatukó*, *Kávy.* IX, 57 and mod. Simh. *daewilu*; *taen* = *sthána*; *gaem* = *gráma*; *haenda* (*handaná* 104, 14) = *áchhádana* Amb. A, 10, P. P. 31, K. J. 51; *aedura* = *áchárya* Amb. B, 39, 44; *kaenda* old *kanda*, Amb. A, 12 = Skt. *kánda*; *haemaendae* = *ámárjana* Amb. B, 52, cf. *aemada*, *Kávy.* X, 101, *Nám.* 233; *haeriyae*, Amb. A, 25, 58; *kaeraewu*, Amb. A, 48, *kaeraewiyae* Amb. A, 33, 37, *kaerae* Amb. A, 46, *kaeraeyehi* Amb. A, 44, *kaepiyae* Amb. A, 50 (*ae* is the termination of the infinitive in the inscr. at Ambasthala, comp. *J. C. A. S.*, 1880, p. 7); *baendae* Amb. A, 44; *baelae* Amb. A, 38; *baesae* Amb. A, 11; *gaemin.*, Amb. B, 28; *gaemburu* Amb. A, 52; *daeduru* = *jarjarita*, *Kávy.* X, 118; *waetum* or *waetup* 'wages,' Pâli *wutti*; *paena* = *praśna*, *Nám.* 60; *dǽ* (*saman*) R. D. I. 29; *Nám.* 127 = *játi*; *daen* = *idánim*, L. V. K. C., S. M. A., 12; *nǽmin* = *námná*, Mah. B; *nǽwa* = *náwá*, S. M. A. 20.

The influence of *e* or *a* cerebral is observable in *waetenawá*, of *a* (or *e*) in *saetapenawá* (*satapá* Parâkramabâhu's Inscr. at Pollon. 31). In *yaeta* (12th century, now *yata*) already *Kávy.* IX, 27 = *adhastát*, Pâli *hetthá*, Sindhî *hethá*, the modification of *a* (or *e*) seems due to a preceding *y*. In other cases again a nasal seems to have effected the change, as *panaes*, fifty (12th century), old *panasa*, now *panaha*, *panas*; *aenga* = *anga*, tats.; *saekaya* = *śanka*, tats.; *saedol* = *chándála*, poetical; *saepala*, *saepa*, corrupted tats.; *baema*, eyebrow (comp. Beames' *Comp. Gr.*, vol. II, p. 55,) Pâli *bhamu*, for *bhuma*, Prâk. *bhumá*, Zend *brvat.* cf. J. P. *bhamuha* and *bhamaya*, Hem. II, 167, Vararuchi IV, 33. There are still other instances which I do not know how to explain, as *raewula*, 'beard' (*śmaśru*, perhaps through *masura*, *mahuru*, *maru*, *raemu*, *raewu*+*la*); *aesala* = *áshádha*; *saebdaya* = *śabda*, tats.; *daela* = *jála*; *waerada*, older *waráj*, tats. = *aparádha*. At the end of a word we find *ae* changing with *ă* a dull sound (like *u* in 'but') as *mae*, *ma* (older *mi*) corroborative particle, *kotae*, *kota*, orig. *kotu*, and so often.

Aê is either a modification of *á*, or sprung from contraction. Of the first process we find instances in numerous tatsamas as *waedǽruma* (verbal noun of *wadaranawá*); *sǽstra* = *śástra*; *baegiri*, Amb. A, 52, *bǽya* = *bhága*; *pǽla* Amb. B, 30, Wandarûpa 14 = *páli*, measure, old tats.; *saêsanaya* = *śásana*; *saêntiya* = *śánti*. Contraction from *ae*, and other vowels in *waêya*, 'adze,' probably for *wahiya* = *vâśi*; *baêná* = *bhágineya*; *raê* night for *raeya* (Inscr. 13th cent.) = *rátri*. Genuine Simhalese instances are *baê*, Amb. A, 5, from *báya* (comp. *bhatiná*, Inscr. of Dhauli), *batiya*, a brother, Badagiriya. *Aê* for *ey* we find in *laênan* for *leya* = *lekhaka*; *saêya* (now *sáya*) for *seya*; *cheya* = *chaitya*; *daê* for *deya* = *dravya*, Ruan. D. 17; *aê* for *ay* in *maêniyan* for *maya* 'mother'; *saêma*, 'all' for *saêruma* = *sarva*, comp. Hindî *sárá*, Beames, *Comp. Gr.*, vol. II., p. 25; Mah. B.; *aê* for *ya* in the tatsama *taêgi*, *taêgga* = *tyága*.

Ae for *i* in *paelanda* P. P. P. A. 8, *Kávy.* X, 180 = Pâli *pilandhana*; for *a* in *paedakunu* = *pradakshina* Rank. 3; *baênae* S. M. A. 28. *Ae* for *u* in *waeni* = *guna*, for instance *mewaeni*, S. M. B. 15, *J. C. A. S.*, 1880, p. 1 ff. In the inscription of Ambasthala which affects an older dialect we find still *sey* = *chaitya*, *leya*, *le* (*daru*) = *lekha*(*dháraka*), while the contemporaneous inscription of Mahâkalattaewa (*J. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 22) has *saê* and *laênan*, but also *mahale*. *Aleyaka* we find in the inscription of Siri Sanga Bo at Mihintale. So we find *deya* = *dravya*, Rank. D. 9, S. M. B. 27, but *daê* Rank. D. 17.

Shortening of long vowels (cf. *aswaseyu* in the inscr. of Dhauli and Jaugada, Cunningham I, 92, *palibhasayisan*, edict of Delhi, No. III) is very frequent. I give only the following instances from the inscriptions :—

Kari = *karísha*, conf. *kariso*, Hem. I, 101; Amb. A, 52; *awasa* = *áwása*, Amb. A, 15, *Nám.* 259; *awasan* = *avasána*, Amb. A, 57; *unu*, = *úna* Amb. A, 28, *S. S.* 1; *karuna* = *kárana*, Amb. A, 25, *karuwa* = *káraka* Amb. A, 47; *kala* = *kála*, Amb. B, 56; *kasa*, Amb. B, 53, and *kaha*, Amb. A, 42, = *kasháya* S. S. 32; *gam* = *gráma*, Amb. A, 50, Mah. B.; *tan* = *sthána*, Amb. A, 19; *tanaturu* P. P. P. 58; loc. *taenae*, Amb. A, 28; *tal* = *tála*, Amb. A, 50, *Nám.* 136; *dar* = *dáru*, Amb. B, 23, 24; *dasa* = *dása* Amb. A, 41, 45, Gipsy *das*, Mikl. VII, 42; *dum* = *dhúma*, Amb. A, 37, Ab. 304; *nawak* = *snápaka* Amb. B, 13; *pamanu* = *pamána* Amb. A, 46, Mahâ Ratmala L.V.K.B.; *pahayamin* = *prabháyamána*, Amb. A, 3; *perawaru* = *púrvavára*, Amb. A, 28; *mal* = *málá*, Amb. B, 3; *mas* = *mása*, Amb. A, 4, 56; *mas* = *mámsa* 'flesh,' Gipsy *mas*, Mikl. VIII, 12; *mahawar* = *mahápára*, Amb. B, 54, *Report* XXV, p. 4; *raj* = *ráji* L.V.K.A, Amb. A, 1, Gipsy *raj*, Mikl. VIII, 54, *maharajun*, Gp. A, 5; *kit* = *kírti*, *Nám.* 61, cf. *kiti* in Aśoka's edicts, Cunning. I, 80; *abarana* = *ábharana*, Amb. A, 13; *arak* = *áraksha* Amb. A, 32, 33, Ruan. D, 30; *kapura* = *karpúra*, Rank. D,

24; *kaluwael* = *kâliyam*, Ab. 302, *Nâm.* 132, R. D. 25; *dan* = *dâna*, Ell. P. A. 18, Gp. B, 23; *daru* = *dâraka*; *diw* = *dvîpa*, Aetavîragollaewa; *duru* = *dûra*, L. V. K. C. Gipsy *dur*, Mikl. VII, 48; *durulâ* = *dûrî-kṛitvâ*, Niśś. M. Inscr. at Polonn. A, 13; *nam* = *nâma*, Mah. B; *pura*=*pûrva*, Mah. A; *pahaṇa* = *pâshâṇa*, Abhay. A, 12; *biju*, = *bîja* R. D. 17; *madhuka* = *madhûka*, Kong. D. 4, (*mî* at Amb. A, 50); *sasun* = *śâsana*, P. P.P. 15; *diwi* = *jîvita*, Gp. B, 6, P. P. 4; *padhan* = *pradhâna*; P. P. 47; *puramin*, Gp. A, 7; *pasili* (?) ascetic, P. P. 38; *baw* = *bhâva*, P. P. 43; *warada*, P. P. 50, Ch. II. 15, (corrupt tats. to Siṁh. *boruwa*); *param* = *pâramî*, P. P. 1; *purâ* = *pûrstvâ* P. P. 1; *siwuru* = *chîvara*, Amb. B, 16, P. P. 36; *samas* = *samâsa*, *S. S.* 5, P. P. 23; *katara* = *kantâra*, Gp. A, 9, *Nâm.* 98; *akman* = *âkramanam*, Gutt. 28; *asa* = *âśâ*, *S.S.* 14; *asna* = *âsana*, *K. J.* 70, Gutt. 75; *śasna* = *śâsana*; *ahara* = *âhâra*, P. P. 26; *ahas* = *âkâśa*, Gp. A, 7; *isuru* = *îśvara*, Gp. A, 6; *kaṇa* = *kâṇa*, Gp. B, 4; *gima*, P. P. P. A. 19; *taru* = *târa*, S. M. A. 13, older *turae*, Mahak; *dana* = *jânu*; *dimut* = *dîptimat*, *K. J.* 51, *dilet*, *K. J.* 44; *diwakuru* = *dîpankara*, *S. S.* 51; *nahara* = Pâli *nahâru*, Skt. *snâyu*; *nil* = *nîla* in *nilmiṇi*, Gp. B, 14, and *nilaba*, *Kâvy.* X, 220; *waradaela* = *wâgurâjâla*, Pâli *vâkarâ*; *wahan* = Pâli *upâhana* J. P. *uvâhana*, *Bhag.* 185, Mald. *faewang*.

The two diphthongs of the Sanskrit *ai*, *au*, have always passed into *e* and *o*, not as in Prâkṛit, occasionally into *aï aü*.

Ṛ is changed first into *a*: *tatiya* = *tṛitîya* (1st to 4th cent. A.D.) Śaur. and Mâg. also *taïya*; *aṅga*, horn = *śṛiṅga*, (comp. Beames' *Comp. Gr.*, vol. I, p. 161); *taṇa* 'grass' (Beames, u. s. vol. I, p. 160): *badinawâ* 'to fry,' √ *bhṛijj*; *kaḷa* = *kṛita*. Amb. A, 14, 51; *walasâ*, bear = *vana* and *ṛichchha*; *gannâ* passim and *ganwâ*, P. P., 21; *gatuwan* = *gṛihîta-vân*, Amb. B, 57; *gat* = *gṛihîta*, Mayil. A, 17; *waṭ* = *waṭṭa*, Skt. *vṛitta*, Amb. A, 40; *maḷa* = *mṛita*; *ḍala* = *dṛiḍha*; *pawat* = *pravṛitti*, S. M. A. 24, *Nâm.* 60, S. L. 95, cf. J. P. *niyatta*; *viyatta* = *nivṛitta*, *vivṛitta*.

Second into *i*, perhaps, in *pini* 'dew' if it is not too bold to derive this from *pṛiśni* speckled, Mald. *fini*, cf. *paswaenu* = *paṇhipaṇṇi*, *Ab.* 584: *gitel* = *ghṛita*, *piṭa* 'back,' Mald. *buri*, Pâli *piṭṭha*, *piṭṭhi*. J. P. *piṭṭhi*. Prâkr. *puṭṭhi*, etc., H. B. *pîṭha* Or. *piṭhi*, P. *piṭṭha*, *puṭṭha*, Guj. *pîṭha*, Mar. *pâṭha*, Sind. *puṭhi*, (Beames' *Comp. Gr.*, vol. I. pp. 162, 163); *mahidi*=*maharddhi*, *Gutt.* 81; *mihiṅga* = *mṛidaṅga*; *kitayuga* = *kṛitayuga*, K. J. 65.

Third into *î*: *mî* = *mṛityu*, *Nâm.* 207.

Fourth into *u*, *duṭu*, R. D. 28; *atuḷa* = *âstṛita*; *atulae* = *âstṛitvâ*, Ruan. D. 22; *puhu* = *pṛithak*, *Kâvy.* 52, cf. J. P. *puhutta* = *pṛithaktva*; *usab* = *vṛishaba*, Amb. A, 1, but this is probably a tatsama, from Pâli *usabho*; *ruk* = *vṛiksha*, Amb. A, 50 Gipsy *ruk*, Mikl. VIII, 59; *ruku*, dwarfish, Gp, B, 4, (*rik* = *ruk*, *S. S.* 14.)

Fifth, into *e*: *geya* = *gṛiha*, Gp. C, 1, J. P. *geha*; *genen*, Gp. A, 2; *genwâ*, Gp. B, 2; *genae* √*gṛih*, Amb. A, 25 cf. J. P. *genhaï*, *Bhag.* 255, Hem. IV, 208.

Sixth into *o*, *koḷu* = *kṛitvâ* dr. Mâg. and Śaur. *kaḍua*, *koṭ* Mah. B, Amb. A, 22; *dolha* = *dṛiḍha* (Dolugal), *poḷoyon* = *pṛithivî*, E. P., J. P. *puḍhavî*.

Seventh into *ae*: *maeṭi* for *maṭi* = *mṛittikâ*, Amb. B, 8, J. P. *maṭṭikâ*; *waeḍae* from *waḍanawâ*, *J. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 41; *gaehaeṇi* later *gaêṇi*, D. I. 13, for *gahiṇi* = *gṛihiṇî*, but comp. Gray, 18; *gaerahiṇi*, *Kâvy.* XC. 19; *waeḍa*, P.P.P.A. 15, (*vaḍha* in the inscription of Dhauli and Jaugada, Cunningham, I, 77) *waeḍi* = *vṛiddhi*, Amb. A, 22; *S. S.* I, 15, Galpota, A, 5.

Eighth: *rusi* = *ṛishi*, *Kâvy.* III, 33.

Ninth: *Ṛ* is lost in *naya*, 'debt' from *ṛiṇa* P. P. 11, (*neya*, Gp. C. 24 ?).

I need hardly remark that in the present language, *ṛ* as well as *ai*, *au* are found in the numerous tatsamas with which it abounds. But there are also new diphthongs peculiar to Siṁhalese, at least pronounced though not written. *Ayi* is pronounced *ai*, for instance *hondayi*, *i. e.*, *sundara* + *asti* "it is good," is pronounced *hondai*. *Awu* becomes *au*, for instance *awurudda*, "a year"=*saṁvatsara*, pronounced *aurudda*; *walawuwa*, "a headman's house," pronounced *walauwa*; *awuwa* = *âtapa* pronounced *aua*; *ewu* and *ew* are pronounced *eu*, not like the German *eu*, almost the English *oi*, but like *eü*, both quite distinct but very short as *Dewunuwara*, *Dewundara*; *siw*, *siwu*, is pronounced *siu* in the same way as *dew*.

I now proceed to the rest of the vowels:—*a* is pronounced very short and dull as the concluding vowel of a word, where in former times it sometimes changed with *ae*, or was altogether dropped, as *waewa*, "tank,"—where the *a* is pronounced very much like *u* in 'but.'

A for *i*: *dawasa*, older *diwasa*, day, Amb. A, 55, B, 1; *naraturu* = *nirantara*, *Nâm.* 27, *Kâvy.* XIII. 31; *wasal* = *wiśâla*, *S. S.* 4; *dada* = *dvija*, *Nâm.* 147, 165, 178; *Salamewan* = *Śilâmeghavarṇa*, inscription at Ellawaewa Pansala, Amb. A, 1, *wana* = *winaya*, Amb. A, 12; *wamaṇa* = *vimâna*, inscription at Hinguregala; *balalâ*, cat = *viḍâla*; *naka* = *nikâya*, Amb. A, 20, B, 1, P. P. 13; *nawatinawâ* = *nivṛit tala*; "sesamum" = *tila*; *bada* S. M. B. 18 (?), "belly" might be derived from *bhâṇḍa*, pot. but for the forms in other vernaculars, drama-

tic Mâg. *poṭa* (Stenzler *Mṛicch.* 112, comp. note) Hindu *peṭa*, Beames, II. 128; Bang. id. II. 40 etc.; I believe *peṭa* to be derived from *piṇḍa* which originally denoted any globular thing; Prâkṛi. *peṇḍa*, Gipsy *per*, Mikl. VIII. 37; *poṭa* could easily be changed from this; if in *peṭa* the second syllable had followed the first and adopted a surd; in *baḍa* the reverse was the case. Perhaps it is not exactly the form *piṇḍa* to which we have to recur for the explanation of *peṭa*, etc.; *piṇḍa* is nothing else but a nasalized Prâkṛit form of *pishṭa*, *pish*; in some dialects this may have been changed into *piṭṭa* with the same meaning attached to it. In Siṁhalese we have a word for 'quadruped,'—*daḍa* in *daḍayama*, hunting, and *daḷamas*; *daḍa* : *teṭa*; *baḍa* : *peta*.

A for *u*; *parana* = *purâṇa*, J. P. *porâna*; *badâdâ* = *buddhadivasa*, S. M. B. 12; *talatara* = *tulâdhâra*, Alutgalwihâra.

A for *e* in *pasak* = *pratyeka*, Amb. A, 15, 21, 54, B, 4; *daṭa* = *jyeshṭa*, *Kâvy.* 115, *K. J.* 68, the termination *ak* of the indefinite, cf. J. P. *aṇṇapanna aṇṇattiṁ*, Hindi *agunîsa*, B. II, 136; *nahana* = *sneha*, *S. S.* 57.

A for *o* in *kana* = *koṇa*, Abhayawaewa A, 11. As regards *â*, I have nothing to add to the general remarks made above on the origin of long vowels in Siṁhalese (Siṁhalese dative comp. Mar. *âṭhi* in Beames II, 272).

A dropped in the beginning in *bisow*, etc. cf. *bhisita* in Aśoka's inscr. Cunningham I, 68; *bhivijaya*, inscr. of Khandagiri, Cunningham I, 98, *vaḷa* = *avaṭa* cf. *vaḍa*, Hâla, 297, *bidam*, Amb. A, 13; *diṭana* = *adhishṭhâna*, *Kâvy.* 87; *nat* = *ananta*, *S. S.* 9, *K. J.* 84; *nurâ* = *anurâga* *Nâm.* 68, *Kâvy.* X, 119; *neka* = *aneka*, *K. J.* 86; *yaṭa* or *yaeṭa* = *adhastât*, J. P. *heṭṭhima*; *maeti* = *âmâtya*, *K. J.* 116; *hôpalu* = *asokaphala*, *Nâm.* 121; *piyana* = *apidhâna*, Amb. B, 11, 12.

I for *a*: *pihanawâ*, to cook (*pisana* Amb. B, 22) comp. Prâkṛit *pikkan*, (Var) Gipsy *pekâva*. The other vernaculars retain *a*, except Guj. which has *pikavuṁ*, and *pakavuṁ* and Mar. *pikaneṁ*; *diya* = *udaka*, *daka*; *kaekiri* = *kârkaṭikâ* (see above) Hindi *kâṁkiḍo*, Beames, I, 130; *kiyanawâ* = *kathay*; *piyagiya* = *padagata*, Amb. B, 55, Mah. C. comp. *Rep.* XXV. p. 5; but *pediwa*, Ing. B. 24, Kong. A. 16, K. M. A. 17, cf. *peden*, *Kâvy.* III. 4; *riyan*; = Pâli *ratanam*, Skt. *ratni*, Amb. A, 52; *piduru* 'straw' probably = *palâla* from an older form; *ridî* = *rajata*; *hirage* "a prison" = Pâli *châraka*; *siyaya*, 100 = *śata*; *kisilla*, arm-pit = *kachchha*; *bilî* = *bali*, Mald. *biru*. By assimilation we have—

First: *miris* = *maricha*, pepper; *bihira* = *badhira* 'deaf,' Mald. *hiru*; *wisiti*, *wisi* = *viṁśati*; *ikul*[0] = *atikrânta*[0] Amb. A, 19, 58; *ikmae* = *atikrântum*, Amb. B, 58, later *hikmae*, P. P. 25, 50; *sirit* = *charitra*, Mah. B, Amb. A, 6, 19; *piril* = *parittâ*, Amb. A, 11, P. P. 27, *Nâm.* 252; *piḷi* = *paṭikâ*, Amb. B, 8, 21; *piḷi* = *sphaṭika*, K. J., 45; *wiya* = *vyaya*, Amb. A, 23, *S. S.* 20; *dî* = *dattvâ*, Mahak. B.; *miyangunu* = *mahiyangana*, Gp. B. 10; *niya* = *naya* 'wisdom' (?) Mayil. A, 17; *piyali* = *prakṛiti* *Gutt.* 235; *bili* = *balika*, Amb. A, 9, S. S. 57, but J. P. *baliva*, *Bhag*; *piyassa* = *pradeśa*, *Nâm.* 105, *Kâvy.* X. 162; *miwun* = *mahisha*, *Nâm.* 140, Mah. C. *Kâvy.* VIII, 39, Mayil. B, 7, Ing. C. 5, Wewelk. 25; *wisin* = *vaśena*, but *wasin* Mayil A, 19; *piri* = *parikhâ*, *Gutt.* 93; *sakwit* = *chakravartti*, Gp. A. 4, *Ab.* 49; *agil* = *agaru*, *Nâm.* 132; *pirikapa*, *pirihela*, Amb. A, 14; *nirâ* = *naraka*, *Gutt.* 38; *riwi* = *rawi*, D. I. 4, *Nâm.* 40; *miringu* = *marîchi*, *Nâm.* 41: *kihiri* = *khadira*; *jisa* = *yaśas*, Nâgirik; *wiya* = *wayasa* *Kâvy.* III, 18, *Nâm.* 254. *Pari* becomes *piri*, *prati* *paḷi* and then *piḷi*; *minisâ* for *manushya*, Mâg. *munise* in the inscription of Dhauli; *min* = *manas*, *Nâm.* 52, *K. J.*, 152, P. P. 19; *sisâra* = *saṁchar*, Gp. C. 2, Wandar. 2, R. D. 23.

The *i* of the so-called second conjugation is perhaps in many cases due to simple weakening of *a*, and in other cases to assimilation. Without intending to settle this question here, I am inclined to consider this conjugation as in most cases derived from the past participle *ṭa*. Examples are:—*siṭinawâ* "to stand, be," Prâkṛit *chiṭṭh*, *bahinawâ* to descend, √ *bhraṁś*; *bandinawâ* "to bind" (*bandh*); *gilinawâ* "to swallow."

Second: *i* for *â* in *tibiyae*, Amb. A, 25; *nimi* = *nâma*, Kir.; *wandimin* = °*mâna*, P. P. 43; *diwana* = *dhâvana*, *Kâvy.* I, 4.

Third: *i* for *u* is very frequent, particularly in prepositions (*ud*, etc.); *haekili* = *saṁkuchita*. *Gutt.* 42; *illanawâ* older *ilwanawâ* from *ullap* (?); *idimenawâ* "to swell" = *uddhmâ*, Pâli Prâkṛit *uddhumâ*; *ipilenawâ* and *ilipenawâ* to float from *utplu*, comp. Prâkṛit *pavâlei* for *plavâyati*; *imbinawâ* to kiss, to smell, √*chumb*, *pirimaya*, "a male," for *purushamaya*, J. P. *purisa*; *mayil* = *mâtula*, *midiwael* = *muddikâ* Skt. *mṛidhvikâ*; *sika* = *śushka*, *S. S.* 22; *diyaniyan* = *duhitâ*, Gp. B, 24; *dimbili* = *dhûmratva*, *Kâvy.* II. 18; *ipaedae*, Amb. A, 2, *isirae*, Amb. A, 19, *siriyaru*, *Nâm*, 224; *sirwadu* = *chhurikâvardhakin*, Amb. B, 45, *Nâm.* 206 Gipsy *churî*, Mikl. VII. 39; *pipi* = *pushpita*, *K. J.* 140; *piru* = *pûraṇa*, *S. S.* 57, *Kâvy.* X. 128, Amb. A, 15, *Nâm.* 62; *tiyu* = *stuti*, *S. L.* 30, *Kâvy.* XIII. 10, *Nâm.* 200 (but *tuti*, *Gutt.* 239, *tomâ*, *Kâvy.* IX, 74, *temun*, *Nâm.* 256, *tewun*, *Nâm.* 61, *K. J.* 210);

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[0] In Jaina Prakrit, we have *no ikkamaî* = *na atikramati* for which I gave a somewhat different explanation in my *Beitr. zur Gramm. d. J. P.*, p. 21, which should be modified according to this.

pina=*puṇya*, P. P. P. 14; *kipenawâ* "to be irritated" √ *kup*, *kupyati* by epenthesis, Gp. A. 7, P. P. 38, *miṭaya*=*mushṭi*, *kimbula*=*kumbhîra*.

We have seen that *pari* and *prati* become *piri* and *piḷi* respectively. Through the agency of *p*, however, they sometimes go a step further and become *puru* and *puḷu*, thus we have in modern Siṁhalese *purudu* adj.=*parichaya* (subst. used as adj. are very common in Siṁhalese) and *puluwan*, possible, able, old, *piḷiwan*=*pratipanna*.

Fourth; *i* for *û*: *hira*, *ira*=*sûrya*; *mila*=*mûlya*, oldest form *mulaya*. 2nd century A. D.; *pidû*, Gp. A, 11, *L. V. K. B.* but *pudamin* P. P. 44: *bima*=*bhûmi*, Amb. A, 40; *pij*=*pûjâ*, Amb. A, 35, later *pidû*=*pûjita*, *J. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 44, *L. V. K. B.*, Gp. A. 11., *pirenawâ*=*pûryate*; *mila*=*mûla*, Wewelkaeṭiya, 18, Amb. B, 3, *Gutt.* 134, *Ab*, 471; *idiriya*, Gp. A, 8 "in presence of" well identified with Pâli, *avi dûre* by Childers, *Notes* II., but the old form *idûra* (12th century) by its long *û* proves it to be a corrupted tatsama; *mî*=*madhûka*, Amb. A, 50, *Ab*. 554.

Fifth; *i* for *u* in conjugation, as *upadinawâ*=*ipaedae*; *uganawâ*=*igana*, see later on; *kisum*=*kusuma*, *S. S.* 14; *kimidinawâ* old *mujita* Hab.=Skt. *majj*, but *kumuṭu*, *S. S.* 57.

Sixth: *i* for *e*, nominative singular masculine as *Budibisowa*, Amb. B, 42, =*Buddhâbhisheka*, but generally *budu*; *i* for e in *nim*=*nemi*, *Ab*. 373.

Seventh: *i* for *o*,—*pihinawâ*, to wipe, Mald. *fohing*, Skt. *proñch*, Prâkrit *pus*, Hâla, p. 31, Hem. IV, 105, Mar. *pusaneṁ*.

Eighth: *i* for *ya* in *anik* also *anit* "the other" from *anyaka*.

Ninth: in the beginning of a tatsama before *s* with another consonant *istri*=*strî*; *ispâsuwa*, cf. *phâsu pâsu*, *L. V. K. B.* leisure, modern Siṁhalese *pahasu*; *istânê*, *istâle* (Dutch for *stable*.)

U for *a*: *Wiwaruṇa*, Amb. A, 8; *uturu*, Gp. C. 2; *munuburâ* "grandson," old *manumaraka*, (1st to 4th century) from Skt. *manorama*, "mind-delighting" comp. *nandana*, "son." *U* for *a* very frequent in terminations, as *kaṭu* for *kanṭaka*, Dambul Inscription 9, Amb. B, 46; *gowuwa*=*gopaka*, Amb. B, 37, 51, but also *gowi* Niśś. M. Inscr. Pol., 53; *gowikam*. Amb. A, 48, *gowikulehi*, Galvihâra; *pawu*=*parvata*, Amb. A, 32, B, 12; *sapu*=*champaka*, Amb. B, 37; *katuru*=*kartarî*, *J. P. kattarî K. S.*; *jeṭu*=*jyeshṭha*, Amb. A, 20, B, 2, 33 Sinh., *deṭa* in *sûdeṭa* cook, *S. S.* 50; *diwu* Gp. A. 11 (*diwi*=*jîvita*, Gp. B. 6, P. P. 4); *mahalu*, P. P. 39=*mahaelaka*, Hab. 5, (*mahâlaka* in Aśoka's inscriptions, Burnouf *Lotus*, 367, 749, Kern, 105); *bunu* "sister"=*bhaginî*, Par. at Polon. 26; *kewuḷ*=*kaivarta* (Inscription 10th cent.) by epenthesis and assimilation; *dunna*, crude form *dunu*=*dhanus*; *kurullâ* cr. f. *kuruḷu*, "bird," from *garuḍa*; *hawurudu*=*saṁvatsara*, Amb. A, 41, 36; *sudusu*=old *sudasu*=*sudaksha* or *sudarśana*, P. P. P. 40; *puruka*=*paru*, Pâli *phalu*; *puwat*=*pravritti*, *Nâm.* 60, *K. J*, 71, *Gutt.* 86; *duwan*=*jaghana*, *Nâm.* 156. *K. J.* 28; *dula*=*jvalita*, *K. J.* 47, *Gutt.* 241, *Kâvy.* X, 121; *pugul*=*puggala*, Amb. A, 17; *purmuka* for *parumaka*, Nett. Tiss. Mahak. A, S. B. M. A. 1; W. P. A. 1; Ing. A. 3, later *purumuwa*, Mayilagastoṭa, A. 7; *nuwara*=*nagara*; *nuba*=*nabhas*; *guwana*=*gagana*; *nuwana*, "wisdom," a corrupted tatsama from Pâli *ñâṇaṁ* pron. *niyâṇaṁ*; *ruwan*=*ratna*, Pâli, *ratana*, (comp. in Prâkrit the verbs *kun*, *mun*, *sun* from Skt. *kriṇu*, *manu*, *śriṇu*, also Beames, I. 132); *luhu*=*laghu*, *S. B. M. B.* 3; *nikmuṇu*, Gp. B, 16; *lunu* "salt" Mald. *lonu*, J. P. *lunu*, Hem. I. 171; *buṅ*=*bhagna*, *Nâm.* 271; *pubudu* from the word *pubudinawâ*. Gp. A. 13; *sabumsaru*=*sabrahmachârî*, P. P. 26; *tumbu*=*trapu*, Pâli *tipu*, *Jât.* II, 296, *Ab.* 69; *tâwuru*=*sthâvara*, *Nam.* 239, *tâwurunâwan*, Gp. B. 15.

U is dropped in the beginning in *diya*=*udaka*, J. P. *daga* or *daya* but *udaga*, *Pâiyal.* 28; *poho*=*uposatha*, J. P. *posaha*.

Second: *u* is dropped at the end in the suffix *tu*, for instance *het*=*hetu*, Amb. A, 49.

Third *u* for *â* in *turaê*=*târâ*, Mahak A. later *taru*, Sâh Malla A, 13, in *tubâ*, Amb. A, 10, later *tabâ*, S. M. B. 24; *kapu*=*kappâsa*, M. G. *kâpusa*, Oriya *kapâ*, Beames I, 318.

Fourth: *u* for *i* in *tululî*=*tirîtaka*, *Kâvy.* XI. 30; *dunu*=*dinna*, Amb. A, 51; *hun*=*sinna*, Amb. A, 41, Rank. D. 6; *puwaṅgu*=*priyaṅgu*, *Nâm.* 122; *tunwan*, the third *L. V. K. A.*; *rupu*=*ripu*, E. P. A. 18, *Nâm.* 188; *kumak* "what" modern *mak* and *mokada*=*kim*+suffix *ka*, *kumaṭa* "for what"=*kimarthâya*; *duwa*, *dû* "daughter," *Kâvy.* X. 84, Gp. B. 3, S. L. 36, old *jita*; *nuga*=Pâli *nigrodha*, Skt. *nyagrodha*, J. P. *niggoha* or *naggoha*; *uḷu* "tiles"=*ishṭikâ*, Amb. A, 45, *S. S.* I, 22; *uk*, sugar=*ikshu* Prâkrit, J. P. *uchchhu*, Hem. I. 94, 95, Hind. *ûkk* Beames, I. 135; *vuhuṭa*=*viśishṭa*, *S. S.* 22 but *wisanda*, *S. S.* 57.

Fifth: *u* for *î* in *duru*=*jîraka* "cummin seed," *Kâvy.* X. 99, *Jât.* II. 363; *tuna* "three" for older, *tini*=*trîṇi* (comp. Benfey, *Introd. to Kalilag and Damnag*, CXLV), Amb. A, 28; *puṭuwa* "chair,"=*pîṭha*.

Sixth: *u* for *vi* in *dutiya*, 2nd (1st and 4th cent.), Pâli the same, Śaurasenî *duiya*.

Seventh: *u* for *o* (*ava*): *aluwa* "loom"=*âloka*; *ukas*=*okâsa*, Amb. A, 46, B, 57, *Nâm.* 231; *uyanawâ*, "to cook," derived from *odana*, *Rohaṇa* (a part of Ceylon)—*Rohini* from Rohiṇika Gamini; name of a prince (second century A. D.) modern *Ruhuṇa*=*Runa*.

Eighth: *ú* by contraction *lúnu*, from *luhunu*=*laśuna* "garlick, onion."

E and *o* represent *ê* and *ô*, *ai* and *au* of the Skt.; *ê* and *ô* are due to contraction or accent. I have not found either before the 12th century, but there are cases where *e* and *o* seem to have had a long quantity before that time, and about the oldest pronunciation I am altogether doubtful—*e* in nom. sing. for instance, we would imagine to be long, but then it was changed into *i* and *a*.

First: *e* for *a*, *á* by influence of *i* or *y*: *eliya*=*áloka*, Mald. *ali*, Gray, 15, *yelá*; Pâli *diyaḍḍha*, *divaḍḍha*, *delum*=*dáḍima*, *dáḷima*, *Nám*. 126, Hem. I, 202, Prâkrit *ḍaḷima*, Sindhi *dárhú* 'pomegranate;' *Demaḷa*, Pâli *Dámiḷa*, Amb. B, 56; *sena*, *Nám*. 34, *henaya* 'thunder'=*aśani*; *weni* for *wana*, *wanu*, *wan*; *welendá* old *wanajá*, *wáṇija*; *set*=*śánti*, *K. J.* 55; *welep*=*viṭapa*, *Nám*. 113, *Kávy*. X. 178, J. P. *viḍima*; *piriseyá*=*parishad*, P. P. 19; *kenehi* from *kaṇa*=*kshaṇa*; *telehi* from *tala* P. P. 6; *kehel*=*kadalí*; *perum*=*páramitá*, *Gutt*. 2; *piḷiwela*=*paṭipáti*, Amb. A, 2; *neralu*=*nálikera*; *nel* =*nalina*, Amb. B, 36, *Ab*. 685; *reda*=*rajas*, *Gutt*. 106; *urehi*=*urasi*, R. D. 12; *teles*=*trayodaśa*, Abhayawaewa A. 5; *deya*=*dravya*, S. M. B. 27; *deya* =*jaya*, Aetavíragoll, but *jaya*, E. P.; *pediw*=*padadháwaka*, Ing. B. 24, K. M. A. 17; *derana*=*dharaṇí*, *K. J.* 57, *Gutt*. 61; *senewi* [*yan*]=*senápati*, L. V. K. B., old Javanese *siniwi* (Cohen Stuart *Kavi Oorkonden* VI, 2a 5); *peṭi*=*paṭhina*, *Nám*. 85, *Kávy*. X. 166; *mehesí* or *mesi*=Pâli, *mahesí*, Skt. *mahishí*. Ruan. D. 12, Mayil. A. 8; *geta* = *grantha*, *Kávy*. XIII. 16, *gettum*, *S. S.* 23, but *gotanawá* see below.

Otherwise; *dena*=*jana*, Wandar. 6, comp. Gipsy *djenó*(*m*) "person," but *jana* constantly used at Amb.; *kenek* plur. *kenekun*, *kenakun*, Gipsy *kánek*, *kaneka* (Pasp.); *dewá* = *dattwá*, Wandar. 14; *denná* = *dad* + *ná*, Niśś. Malla's inscription at Polon. A, 31; *e* for *as* in *iyê*=*hyas* "yesterday." Further in Nom. Sing. masc. (and neuter in old Siṁhalese.)

Second *e* for *i*-*í*; *teta* "wet," Pâli *tinta*, √ *tim*, *S.S.* 13, *K.J.* 58. *Kávy*. XIII. 39; *kelesa*, *elesa*, J. P. *kerisa*=*kídriś* *ídriś*; *teles* 13=*tridaśa*; *keḷinawá* √ *kríḍ*, P. P. 38, S.L. 20, *Nám*. 75, cf. Gipsy, *khel*, Mikl. VII, 78; Prâkrit *kílaï*, Hem. I. 202; *bem*=*bhíma*, *S. S.* 57, and Bentoṭa *Mah*. II, 341; Beligala =*bhilla*° Skt. *vilva*, *Mah*. II, 320; *sena*=*siná*, laughter, *Kávy*. XIII, 27; *jiwel*=*jíwita*, Amb. A, 45, 53, Siṁh. *diwel*; *keremin*=*kriyamána*, Niśś. Malla's inscription at Polon. A. 16, S. B. M., B. 2; *dewana* = *dvitíya*, Wandar. 2; *denu*=*dinna*, Mahak. D. Ingin. C. 22; *nepanna*=*nishpanna* Ing. C. 11, *wehera*, Amb. A, 27, K. M. C. 4, P. P. 42, *wera*, Gp. B. 10; *wesesa*, P.P. 22=*viśesha*, *Wen*=*Wishṇu*, *Kávy*. XII, 14, *Trans. Congr*. 316; *weṇa*=*wiṇá*, *Gutt*. 89, *Nám*. 65.

Third: *e* for *u ú*: *geḍiya* "fruit," *K. J.* 42, from *guṭiká*, *guḍa* (comp. Gipsy, *guló*, prunelle, Pasp.) *geriyá* "ox," Hindî *guru*, Gipsy *gurúv*, Mikl. VII. 58, *geri*, Mah. C; *keṭeriyá*=*kuṭhári*, *Ab*. 86; *kemina*=*kumina*, *Ját*. I, 427; *kesi*=*kuñchi* *Ab*. 222; *redum*=*rujaná* *S. S.* 41; *dela* = *dhura*, *K. J.* 83; *pera*=*púrva*, Amb. A, 47; *perawaru*=*púrvavára* Amb. A, 28; *perewae*, Amb. A, 10, "having dressed" from the verb *párupati*=Skt. *právri*, from which is also derived *porónaya*, "cloth," Amb. B, 53; *peredá*, "on the day before yesterday." comp. Skt. *púrvedyu*; *keḷa*=*kúṭa* in *Samanela*=*Sumanakúṭa* "Adam's Peak," but old *Samanola*. Twelfth Century inscription at Wandarúpa *vihâra*.

Fourth: *e* for *o* (*ava*): *ellanawá*, *elvan*, Wewelk. 14, ancient *elabanawá*, Par. inscr. Polonn. 15. 32, faultily written *eḷaba* from *avalamb*, Pâli *olamb* (comp. Gipsy *umblaváṇa*, caus. *pendre* Pasp.); *porodeni*=*paraśudroṇi* Amb. A, 20; *hep*=*sobbha* Skt. *śvabhra*, *S. S.* 23, *Nám*. 88; *dew*=*dhowana* *K. J.* 49; *sera*=*chora*, *Kávy*. X, 98.

Fifth: *ê* for *o*: *lê* for *lohita* (infl. of *i*), *rê*=*rohita*, *Nám*. 85, *Kávy*. X. 166.

Sixth: *e* contracted from *aya* in *senasun*=*śayanásana*, P. P. 32; *leṇa*=*layana*; *e* is regularly pronounced and often written for *aya* in the present language.

Seventh: *e* for *eya* in *gê*, *geya* 'house;' *dê*, *deya*=*dravya*, 'thing.'

Eighth: *ê* for *iyá* in *wêlanawa* 'to dry,' for older *wiyalanawá*, comp. *wiyalu* dry. In Maldivian we find *hikang* 'to dry,' which corresponds to Mâg, *śukkhábaïssaṁ*, *Mṛicch*, 133.

O for *a*. First, *pol* 'cocoanut,' Skt. *phala*; *goḍa* 'dry land,' R. D. 27; Hindî, *gáḍá* 'low land,' Skt. *garta*, Beames, I. 336, Prâkṛit *gaḍḍa*, Var. II, 25; *ohu* 'he'=*asya* (so *mama* 'I', *tô* for *tava*, thou), *holwanawá*, *solwanawá*; √ *chal*, *Gutt*. 157; *boho*, 'much' =*bahu*, comp. Gipsy *buhu*, Mikl. VII, 22; *poho*=*uposatha*, P. P. 28. Amb. A, 44, S.B.M.A. 1, mod. *póya*; *mona* 'what,' adj. *kumana*, *Gutt*. 40, *mokada* 'what;' *porawá*=*paraśu*, Mald. *furó*; *porawanawá*, and *perawandáwa*, Amb. A, 10, B, 5, 53, P. P. 31 'to wrap'=Pâli *párupati* (prob. tats.); *dóta*=*dohasta*, but *daeta*, *Kávy*. I 15; *onámal*, Amb. B, 25, and *onátaenae*, *ib*. A, 27; *boṇḍ*=*bhaṇḍika*, Amb. B, 44; *pohosat*=*praśasta*, S. M. B. 3, P.P. 23; *pohota*=*prabhúta*, Wew. 19, 22; *gos*, R. D. 5 = *gatvá* (see below); *mohol*, *S. S.* 22 or *mól* = *muśala*; *móru*=*makara*, *Kávy*. XI. 1, *Nám*. 215; *sommaru*=*charmakára*; *sohona*=*śmaśána*, Pâli and J. P. *susána*, Hem. II, 80; *o* for *á* in *maṇḍowuwa*=*maṇḍápaka*, Amb. B, 31; *tôḍu*=*táḍaṅka*, *Kávy*. V, 21.

Second: *o* for *i*, in *toṭa*=*tírtha* cf. *túha*, Hâla

192, Hem. 104, Pâli *tittha*; *kopamana = kiṁ pramâṇa*; *kochchara = kiṁ vistâra*; *lowinawâ* 'to lick; √ *lih*; *poda* 'drop' = *bindu*; *Okâwas = Ikshvâku-vaṁśa*, Amb. A, 1; *loho = lohita*, Gp. A, 18, cf. Gipsy *loho*, Mikl. VIII, 8.

Third: *o* for *u* in *oruwa = uḍupa*, it is doubtful whether this word is derived from Sanskt. *uḍupa* or directly from the Tamil; *pokuṇa*, Amb. A, 40 'pond' = *pushkariṇî*, Hem. I. 116, Pâli *pokkharaṇî* comp. *pokkhaliṇî*, dram. Mâg. ap. Stenzler, *Mricch.* 112; *pota*, Amb. A, 54 = *pustaka*, Pâli *potthaka*; Prâkṛit *pottha*, Var; *dowinawâ* 'to milk,' √*duh*; *poson = prasûna*, *S. S.* 43, *pohona*, P. P. 35; *kokum = kuñkuma*, *Ab.* 303; *kol = kula*, Mah. C; *kot = kunta*, Amb. A, 1, *Nâm.* 280, Hem. I, 116; *porôna = pârupana*, Amb. B, 53 (see above *porawanawâ*); *bol = busa*, Pâli, *bhusa*, *Ab.* 453, Amb. B, 47; *mohot = muhûrta*, S. M. B. 7.

Fourth: *o* for *e* in *woṭunu* modern *oṭunna* "crown," "diadem" = *veshṭana*; *ron = reṇu*; *kot* "pinnacle" = *ketu* (conf. com. to *Kâvy.* 82b); *biso* "queen" Mayilagast. A. 12, but *bisew* "queen" Amb. A, 2, *bisowa* "inauguration," Amb. B, 42, *bisam* Mayil. B. 26, is most probably a mistake.

Fifth: *o* for *vá* in *dora* "door" Mâg. *duvâla*.

In Siṁhalese we find not unfrequently compound consonants preserved by the insertion of a vowel. We have however to distinguish between a natural diaeresis and such cases in which a vowel is inserted to make a tatsama pronounceable.

[A] In genuine Siṁhalese words: *aembul = âmla ambila*; *taraha* "anger" = *trâsa*: *aeduru* "rock" = *adri*, *S. S.* perhaps a corrupted tatsama. Another *aeduru*, J. P. *âyariya = âchârya*; *tamâ*, *tuma = âtman* L. V. K. (about 1210) Amb. A, 3, 30 (comp. Pâli and Tamil) later *taman*, cf. Gipsy *po = tumâ*, *tuvâ*, *tupâ* with assimilation of the initial *t*, Mikl. VIII. 49, B. I. 330; *riyan* Amb. A. 25 = *ratni*, Pâli *ratanam*, J. P. *rayanâ*, *Bhag.* 405; *gini = agni*, *kaduwa* for *kadaga = khaḍga*, Pâli *khaggo*, Prâkṛit the same (Var. III. 1); *idimenawâ = uddhmâ*, Pâli Prâkṛit *uddhumâ*; *ilippenawa* from *utplu*, comp. Prâkṛit *pavâlei* for *palâvei = plâvayati*; *sidura* (*kansidura*) = *chhidrâ*; *îyê = hyas* comp. Gipsy *hidja*, (Pasp.); *ihirenawâ* "to be scattered," inscription 12th century (Galpota A.), *ihiruwanawâ*, older form *visuruwanawâ S. S.* (ed. Batuw) 17, from *viśri*; *nuwana = jñâna*, L. V. K. C. P. P. 6 opposite *nuwuwa*, *Kâvy.* I. 74, *Nâm.* 53; *senehasa*, *Nâm* 270, *Kâvy.* XIII. 25; *senahâ = sneha* (?) Gp. B. 5, *seneha*, *Nâm.* 215; *sanahâ = nahana*. *S. S.* 57; *sanahâ = snânakoṭa*, *Kâvy.* IX. 57; *piyuma = padma*, Pâli *padumo*, Wandar. 11; *niyâya*, R. D. 27, Gp. A. 17; *gili*, Sâh. Malla's A. 14, cf. modern Siṁh. *gilihenawâ*; *gilan = glâna*, Amb. A, 18, B. 59, the same in J. P. (*Kalpasûtra* ed. Jacobi 121, 146, 147); *kiluṭu*, R. D. 1, *kiliti*, Gutt. 6; *wiyat = vyakta*, Mayil. A. 16; *kirula = kṛita* K. J. 44, *Nâm.* 1, 69; *tiyuṇu = tîkshṇa*, Gp. A. 8; *maharu* = J. P. *mahariha = mahârha*.

[B] In artificial corrupted tatsamas, especially poetry (comp. in Tamil, etc., Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 89); *keleśa*, P. P. 3; *Tarawana = Atharwana*, *Kâvy.* V. 3; *pulusa = plushṭa*, *S. S.* 34; *saturuwa = śâstra*, D. I. 21; *samara = smaraṇa*, *Kâvy.* VI. 25, *Nâm.* 73; *sarata = śrânta*, *Kâvy.* VII. 35; *sikurâ = śukra*, *Nâm.* 43, Mald. *hakuru*, Gray 15; *sininda = snigdha*, *Kâvy.* 125, *Nâm.* 243; *siyum = sûkshma*, *Gutt.* 201, *Nâm.* 238; *suwâmin = swâmin*, 104, 15, cf. *suwâmika* in the inscriptions of Kap. Dhauli, Cunn. I. 79; *wisituru = vichitra*; *satura = śatru*, Gp. B. 21; *itiri = strî* (comp. Beames II. 71); *pahasu = sparśa*, *Kâvy.* X. 10, *Gutt.* passim, Hem. IV. 182, J. P. *phasa* or *phusa*, M. 47, but *asû*, *Gutt.* 96; *samudura = samudra*.

A strangely corrupted tatsama we have in *sanîpa*, 'health,' very common in modern conversational language from *sampatti*; from the same word we have a corrupted tats. *saepa*, *saepat*, 'wealth.'

ELISION OF VOWELS.

Originally every Siṁhalese word terminated in a vowel. Between the 7th and 9th century the tendency of the language was so much changed that most nouns came to terminate in a consonant; later, a short *a* was appended to inanimates, animate males partly contracted the syllable *ak* to *â* (so at least I understand this process at present), and if they ended in *u* or *i*, this had been changed into *wak* and *yak*. *W* and *y* assimilated with the preceding consonant, and we find thus double consonants with *â* in the nominative singular (for instance, *kuruḷu*, *kuruḷwak*, *kurullâ*).

Hiatus is not tolerated in written Siṁhalese, but avoided by the interposition of *y* or *w*; but in pronunciation *uwa* becomes *ua*; *iya*, *ia*; *aya*, *ê*; *ayi*, *ai*; *awu*, *au*.

Ancient Siṁhalese, as has already been observed, had lost the aspirates, of nasals, Anusvâra and *ṅ*, *ñ* and the power of doubling or compounding consonants. The aspirates have always remained foreign to Siṁhalese, though we early find them introduced through some tatsamas as *Buddha*, *siddham*, *bhikhu*, *Abhaya*. Besides these we find aspirates in a few ancient inscriptions, viz. those at Kirinde (*Rep.* XXV, p. 6), Kottarakimbiyâwa (*Rep.* II, p. 3, 4),

and in the large inscription of Meghavarṇa Abhaya at Mibintale (cf. *Report* XI, p. 5.)

Commonly even such words (except *siddham*, which we find on the head of inscriptions) were Simhalized according to different methods:

First.—The aspiration was simply given up in tadbhavas, and this is the usual way, as *Abaya* (early Chr. cent.), *biku* (do.), *bidam*=*abidhammo*, *bimdiya* from √ *bhid*, Kir. Amb. A, 13; Mekawaṇa (early Chr. cent); *paridi*=*paridhi*, Gp. B. 8, *paridden*, S. M. B. 24, P. P. 9, 16; *anduru*= *andhakâra*, P. P. A. 12; *d* for *ddh* in *bada* Rank. D. 1, 7, Amb. A, 15; *badana*=*bandhana*, R. D. 27; *ladi*, Mahak. D.

Second.—The aspirate was divided into two parts, the corresponding explosive sound and *h* and a vowel inserted: *daham*, Mayil. A. 17, Gp. C. 2, =*dhamma*; *Abahay*=*Abhaya*; *dahan*=*dhyâna* *K. J.* 132, (*daehaena*, *Kâvy.* XIII, 56); *tahawuru*= *sthavira*, *S. S.* 31; *dahara*=*dhârâ*, *S. S.* 22; *dahagab*, Wandar. 12; *bahasma* = *bhasman*, *S. S.* I. 22.

Third.—*Dh* was expressed by *j*, so already in an inscription at Baḍagiriya between the first and fourth centuries: *wajeriyi*=Pâli *avadhâreti*, later in an inscription of King Mahindo III. at Mihintala, we find this in many places: *waejâr*=*avadhâreti* *waejârma*, Amb. B, 20, *wajârana*, ib B, 38; later *d* in *waedaeruma*, Kong. A. 8; *waddâḍ*, Ing. A, 11; *waḍâlen*, Wp. D, 3, *waddḷa* and *waddâleyin* *Mah.* A, B. Gp. 11, *waddrana*, P. P. P. A. 25; *wardj*=*aparâdha*, Amb. A, 51, *warada*, P. P. 50; *niwaradi*=*niraparâdhin*, Ch. II. 15; for *dhy* in *Majimodini*, (March—April) Hab. 10, later *Maendindina* (inscription at Abhayawaewa A. 4), now *Maendina*. Instances from literature are *wijam* = *abhidhamma* and from modern conversational speech—*Anurâjapura*=*Anurâdhapura*. It is not before the 12th century we find the Skt. aspirates regularly employed and from that time they have kept their place in those numerous tatsamas which the Simhalese of the present day are so fond of. They are clearly pronounced by most people, though perhaps not of the lowest classes and not in all words.

Fourth.—*H* appears as an aspirate in *hingaṇawâ*, Pâli *bhikkh* artificially transformed to *singaṇawâ* in *Kâvy.* X. 78, 79, 147, 161. In the language of the poets and pandits *h* for aspirate is very common, e. g. *heḷi*=*phalika*, *Gutt.* 42. In some cases *h* for aspirates must be genuine, for instance *humanawâ* "to blow" √ *dhmâ* corroborated by Mald. *fumông* "to blow," cf. Pâli *ruhira*=*rudhira* *Jât*, II. 276; artificial *h* in *hunu* "hot, fever," corroborated by Mald. *hung* "fever."

Nasals and Anusvâra.

Although the *anusvâra* does not appear in Simhalese words up to the fourth century A. D., it is doubtful whether it was not pronounced; for later we find many words written with *anusvâra* or a nasal before a consonant which had the same in Skt. but not in ancient Simhalese, while it would be difficult to consider them all as tatsamas; for instance, Skt. *chandra*, A. S. *chada*, modern Simhalese *haṇḍa*, Maldivian *hadu* (*haḍu* is a mistake) besides Skt. *aṅga*, Mod. Sin. *aṅga*; Skt. *maṇḍala*, M. S. *maṇḍul*, etc.

It is true the Simhalese in ancient times wrote the *anusvâra* and nasal before strong consonants in Pâli words and, besides, without assuming the doubtful words to be tatsamas they might have been altered by the influence of the priesthood, the influential instructors of the people. And on the other hand, there are instances enough where the nasal has been entirely lost. I therefore consider it best to assume that the Simhalese had lost the *anusvâra* and the nasal before other consonants. In the ninth century the nasal is frequent enough before *g*, *ḍ*, *d*; other nasals before consonants; and the *anusvâra* (*bindu*) properly so called, came in later with the twelfth century. At present there is a difference in pronunciation between the real *bindu* and those weak nasals before other consonants. I doubt whether two kinds of nasals existed in the twelfth century, for we find the *bindu* used with *k* and ligatures with all the other nasalized consonants. *N* and *ṇ* were distinguished up to a late time, though there is no difference in pronunciation now. In some instances *ṇ* had early to yield its place, for instance in the Gen. Plur. in *ana*, later Accusative and general formative of the plur. in *an* we seldom meet with *ṇ*. Further it was soon given up in the verbal nouns in *na*, as *karana*, etc., though we find *rakaṇa* in the fourth century and sporadic *ṇ* even in the tenth century. In most other instances *ṇ* was preserved to at least the twelfth century; *n* for *ṇy* in *ran* = *hiraṇya*, *n* for *gn* in *bun* = *bhugna* for *bhukta*, Mayil. B. 5, *Nâm.* 271, cf. *bunaṅgaṇâ*, P. P. 26; *n* for *sn*, *nh* in *pinanawâ*, to swim; *ṇ* for *jñ*[1] in *aṇasak*,

[1] The oldest form of this combination is *ny* in *savanyutopele*,—inscription at Kirinde—where the *y* is marked by a separate sign below the line. The group is still pronounced, although not written, in this way in Ceylon. A similar combination is that of *ry* in *amaryawa*—inscription at Kaikâwa, *Rep.* II. p. 3.

Gp. A. 3, S. M. A. 22; by *mahápanan*, Ing. A. 8, Gp. B. 1, and *ánapayámi* in Aśoka's edict, Cunn. I. 74; as in the forms of Jaina Prâkṛit *áṇá*, *K.S.*, *aṇṇá*, *Bhag.* 379, etc. Pâli *áṇá*, Hem. II. 42; for *ñáṇa* we have *nuwaṇa*, L. V. K. C. P. P. 6, *naena*, *K. J.* 104; *n* for *ñch* in *panaes*, Wewelk. 18, P. P. 4 = *pañchásat*, cf. *panna* in the inscription of Delhi, Cunningham, 112; the Prâkṛits have *ṇ* or *ṇṇ*, Pâli *ññ*, Hem. II. 43, and *E. M. J. P.* 41; we find unorganic nasals as parasite consonants since the 9th century, thus we have—

Maenda = *madhya*, P. P. 46, but *maeda*, 36; *haendae* = *áchhádana*, Amb. A, 10, K. J. 51; *naengú* Amb. B, 24; *naṁwá*, D. I. 20, R. D. 14, Wandar. 5; *kaesumbu* = *kaśyapa*; *mun* = *mudga*, *Kávy.* V, 5, Pâli *muñga*, B, I, 268; *dasambul* = *dasabala*, *Kávy.* I, 60; *welemba*, *elembi*, *aswalembi*, 'mare' from *waḍawá* (see Childers, *Notes* II); *numba* for *nuba* = *nabhas*, *Gutt.* 68; *tambanawá* 'to boil' √ *tap* (comp. Ascoli *Zigeunerisch.* 42); *sunga* = *ślakshṇa*, *diḷindu* 'poverty' from *daridra*, R. D. 15; *mûndu*, *muhundu* for *múda*, *muhuda* = *hamuda*, *samudra*, Gp. B, 14, S. M. B. 7; *mundu* = *múrdhá*, Amb. A, 25, 56, D. I. 4; *weḷendá* 'merchant,' old *wanaja*—inscription at Galvihâra, to which may be added a Tamil word introduced into Siṁhalese *panguwa* (Tamil *pangu*) = *bhága*; *kumbuk* or *kubuk* = *kakubha*, *Ab.* 562, *Mah.* 188; *nindi* = *nidrá*, P. P. 30, 37, Gipsy, *lindra*, Mikl. VIII, 7; *mahaengi* = *mahárgha*, but *maha aeg*, P. P. 13, *K. J.* 105; *ng* for *gg* in *mang* = *márga*, Pâli *magga*, Amb. B, 54, cf. Gipsy *mangává* 'to beg, pray,' Mikl. VIII. 12.

In contrast to these words there is a great number of other words where a genuine nasal became supported by the sonant of its organ.

First *ṇḍ* for *ṇ*: *aṇḍuwa* "government," from Pâli *áṇá*; *paṇḍura*, "tribute," from Pâli *paṇṇakáro*, Amb. A, 47; *Nám.* 191, *Kávy.* IX. 18.

Second *nd* for *n*: *aenda* "bed" from *yahana* = Pâli *sayana*; *kanda*, "hill, embankment," old *kana*, inscription at Habarane 2, Amb. B, 55, derived from Skt. *skhanna*, "raised, elevated," √ *skhand*; *kindurá* = *kiṁnara*; *Dewundara* for *Dewunuwara* (Devanagara); *piyáṇandae* for *piyáṇan*, i. e., *piyá*, "father" and honorific suffix *dae* (has no meaning at all); *wandurá*, "monkey," = *vánara*, comp. Hindi *bandará*; *randa* "at the time when" from *kshaṇa*; Amb. A, 12, *Kávy.* I. 14, and often,—but *kanda*, P. P. 32.

Third *mb* for *m*: *imbul* "cotton tree," Skt. *śálmalí*, Hindi *simbala* (see Beames I. 346); *aembul* "sour" (this is a doubtful case, as the word may be derived either from *amla* or from *ábila* or be a tats. for Pâli *ambila*) Skt. *ámla*, dram. Mâg. *ábila*; *dumbara* "dark coloured" = *dhúmra*; *nambuwa* = *namra*; *kalamba* = *kalápa*, *Gutt.* 63; *bambana*, cf. *bambhana* in the inscriptions of Kap. Dhauli, Jaugada, Cunningham, I. 68, Hem. II. 74. (Elu poetry) = *bráhmaṇa*; *bambara* = *bhramara*, Maldivian *maburu*; *rômbu* = *roman* (corrupted tats. as proved by *ô*); *hambu* = *áchâma*, Amb. A, 11, 28; *kambura*, Amb. B, 47 = *kammára*.

Double and Compound Consonants.

Double consonants become single in Siṁhalese (without compensatory lengthening, as in Hindi and other Indian vernaculars), compound consonants either underwent the process of assimilation and became double consonants previously, or they were preserved by the insertion of a vowel (see above). In the course of time it became very common to drop concluding vowels as well as vowels between consonants, and in the 9th century therefore and later, double consonants as well as compound consonants are met with frequently enough. Assimilation takes place as *innawá* for *hidnawá*, √ *sad*, *sídati*. Another case of doubling consonants is from the change of *i* and *u* into *ya* and *wa* and subsequent assimilation in nominal themes (see above). The change, however, did not always take place, thus from *balu* we have *ballá*, from *baeṭalu*, *baeṭaluwá*; assimilation in *attam* and *wattam*, *S. S.* 23 (*wat*, *Nám.* 164); *wissam* = *viśvakarman*, *S.S.* I, 12.

Softening and Hardening.

Softening of surds to sonants is so frequent and natural a process in all languages, that we need not here advert to it, but may notify the change under the head of the respective letters. But the opposite process of hardening sonants is also found in the Siṁhalese.[5] Instances are:

Dik. *dágaep*; *behet*; *panguwa* = *bhága*, cf.

[5] The Mâgadhi and Pâli word *phâsu* (*phâsu* according to Cunn. 97) cf. *ispâsuta*, *pâsu*, L. V. K. B. I believe is to be explained by the supposition of a similar process. Prof. Weber (*J. G. Or. S.* 1879, p. 18), like Childers, rejects the explanation of the Northern Buddhists of "*sukhasparśa*," which would presuppose an adjective [illegible] *sparśuka*. He thinks this could not assume the sense "pleasant." But in Mahâr. Prâkrit we find a verb *mhura*, from which we are led to conclude an original form *smṛś* for Skt. √ *mṛś* and Latin *mulceo*. If we imagine an adjective *smarśu* derived herefrom, this would meet all the difficulties regarding the signification of *phâsu*, and as for the etymological connection, the transition *smarśu*, *smásu*, *phásu*, or following the other method *mhásu*, *bhásu*, *phásu*, is easy enough. If with Prof. Weber I here derive *phásu* rather from *smarśu* than from *sparśu*, I do so under the supposition that at the time of the formation of this word, the verbs *mṛś* and *spṛś* were already perfectly separated not only in Skt. but also in the vernacular dialects, for it is clear that *mṛś* and *spṛś* are merely differentiations of the same root, *smṛś*.

Gipsy *phag*=*bhañj*, Mikl. VIII. 38; *phen*=*bhaginî*, *ib.* 41; *terenawá*, √ *dhar*, cf. Gipsy *teráwa*, Mikl. VIII, 17; *op* or *opa* = *śobhá*; *hoṭa* 'snout' = *śuṇḍa* (comp. Maḷd. *hoḍu*, proboscis); *kohala* 'secret things' hidden property, *J. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 41; *kohol kam*, *Kávy.* XIII, 15=*guhá*; *kirbaṇḍ* =*giribháṇḍa*, Amb. A, 32, 34; *koṭaluwá* P.P.P.B. 12, cf. Gipsy *kham*=*gharma*, *khan*=*gandha*, Mikl. VII. 77; *khas*=*ghas*, ib. 78, *kher*, ib. 79.

Elision of consonants is of course of frequent occurrence as in all secondary languages. A few instances will suffice: *h* particularly is often elided. As this consonant is also changed from *s*, *s* from *ch*, we often find a simple vowel instead of old *ch* with a vowel or *s* with a vowel. Instances for loss of *ch* are:

Imbinawá 'to kiss, smell' √ *chumb*, *andinawá* 'to put on' = √ *chhad*; *aḷu* old *haḷu* 'ashes' from *kshára*, Pâli *chhárikâ*, J. P. *chhárî*, *Bhag.* 214, Sindhî *chháru* (comp. Beames I. 310, Mikl. VII. 29), but Mahâr. *khára*; for loss of *s* in *innawá* 'to be,' 'to sit,' used of animates only, √ *sad*, *sîdati*; *oya*, 'small river' = *srotas*, Pâli Prâkṛit *sotto*, Hindi *sot*; *úrá*=*śúkara*, 'boar': *írí* sow; *iya*, older *híya*, 'arrow,' probably from *śita* 'sharpened;' *í* is to be explained from the following transitional changes— *sita*, *hiya*, *híya*, *hí*; *aṇḍu*, 'tongs,' Skt. *saṇḍiśa*, Pâli *saṇḍása* (see Childers); *isa* = *śírsha*; *ira*= *súrya*; *ima* = *síman*, cf. *síma*, Amb. B, 55; *ohinawá* √ *sich*; *iṭi*=*śishṭa* or *siktha*, *Ab.* 494, *Kávy.* X. 198; *inguru* 'ginger' = *śriñgavera*, ancient *hinguru*, *S. S.* 22; *iñgini*, the clearing nut, old *hiñgini*, *Report* II. 1880, p. 5. Loss of initial *k* in *udaella* 'hoe' Skt. *kuddála*, of initial *w* in *ihirenawá* = *viśri*, loss of *y* in *ukuná*[9] 'louse'; Skt. *yúká*, Pâli *úká*, H. *júṁ*, Gipsy, *djuv* 'pou' Paspati, Mar. *ú* and *úṁ*. Loss of whole syllables we find in *kuḍí* = *kuṭumbin*, (inscription eleventh century, comp. B. I. 146) Amb. A, 24, 41; *doraṭu*=*dvárakoṭṭhaka*, Gp. C. I. 2, *Nám.* 104; *ganná*=*gaṇhana*, Amb. A, 28. B, 42, *gannak* = *gaṇana*, Amb. B, 5; *anuru* = *anurúpa*, Amb. A, 42; *gatuwan* = *gṛihîtawán*, Amb. B, 57; *yaṭa* = *adhastát*, Amb. A, 39; *yeḷa* = *diyaḍḍha*; *kanawá* (Gipsy *cháva*, Mikl. II. 11) 'to eat' √ *khád*, Dram. Mâg. *kháhiśi* (*Mṛicch*), Hindî *khánán*, (see above); *radol*, Wewelk. 17, Ing. A. 8, *nikmae* =*nishkramya*, R. D. 21; *patá* = *pawatá*, in *dawaspatá*, Amb. A, 55, *Mah.* B; *J. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 29; *danawá*, to burn √ *dah*; *taṭuwa* 'wing' = *patatra*; *parahaṇa*, Amb. B, 43. = *pariśáwana*; *sittara* = *chitrakára*, Amb. B, 37, S. S. 23; *wí* = *vríhi*, Amb. A, 36 'paddy'; *rá* 'toddy,' older *surá*; *hæma* = *særuma* (*sarva*), Amb. A, 36; *naya* 'debt' = *ṛiṇa*; *ridí* 'silver' = *rajata*; *ran* 'gold' = *hiraṇya*; *paṇíwá* = *práṇátipáti*, Amb. A, 42; *pere* = *pehera* = *peśakára*, Amb. B, 11; *dáwar* = *diwasáwar*, Amb. A, 44; *nawám* = *nawakarma*; *miṇír* = *maṇikára*, Amb. B, 46; *Kaṭunnaru* = *Kaṭṭhantanagara*, *Mah.* 51, 73; *kumba* = *kumbhakára*, Amb. B, 27; *dú*=*duhitá*, Amb. A, 31; *nuga*=*nyagrodha*; *ekkoma* and *okkôma*; *balu* nom. *ballá* 'dog' = Skt. *bhasha* and aff. *la*, possibly also *koṭalu* 'donkey' = *garda*(*bha*) aff *la*; *aranawá* = *áruh*; *rae* 'night' for *raeya*, S. M. A. 15= *rátri*; *páya* = *prásáda*, L. V. K. A.; *herana*, S. S. 57, P. P. 25 for *mahanera* = *samaṇero*; *pilu* = *pangulo*, *Ab.* 319; *miyangunu* = *mahiyangana*, Gp. B. 10; *wisi* 'twenty' older *wisiti*; *kiṭṭuwa* near, neighbourhood = *nikaṭa*? *miwá* = *mahisha*, 'buffalo;' *mak*, *mokada*, *mona*; *lanuwá* = *raśaná*.

TRANSPOSITION OF CONSONANTS.

Lahág = *śáláka*, Amb. A, 10, *S. S.* 14; *saraká* 'bullock,' Gp. A. 19, Skt. *śakvara*, *śakkara*, *śákvara*, *śákkara* 'a bull,' 'an ox,' *śákaṭa* 'a draught ox;' *mahaṇa*, Ing. A. 20, later *mahaṇuwan* = *śramaṇakarma*, Gp. A. 23, Pâli *samaṇo*, old Siṁh. *hamaṇa*, *meheṇí*=*śramaṇí*, *Mah.* B, (but *samana*, *Mah.* A.) It is doubtful whether J. P. *máhana* is the same as this or=*bráhmana*; *muhuda*, *múda*, older *hamuda* (Gâm. Abh. Mih.) =*samudra*; *monará* 'peacock' for *moranaí*, *i. e.*, *mora* + *na* (on *na* see above note). The Maldivian has gone a step further and made it *nîmeri* "peacock." The *í* and *i* corroborate my conjecture that the affix *na* is due to an original feminine tats. *monarí*; *anúwa*, '90,' for *nawuwa*, Pâli *navuti*; *koṭakaya*=*karkaṭa*, 'the sign Cancer,' perhaps *koṭa* 'short,' Maḷd. *kuru*, from *stoka* comp. *ṭikiri* or it may be for *ṭokaṭa*, the affix *ṭa* in Siṁhalese corresponding to *ḍa* in Indian vernaculars, comp. Mar. *ṭokaḍá*; 'short;' *raela* 'wave' = Skt. *lahari*, *laharí* (see above); *ilippenawá* 'to float' for *ipilenawá*, √ *plu* and *ut*; *dala* = *dhavala*, *Mah.* II. 180; *damora*, S. S. 18 = *damodara*; *poho* = *uposatha*, Amb. A, 44; *munuburrá*, grandson, older *manumaraka*, also *marumanaka* (first to fourth century, A. D.) from *manoráma* 'mind delighting' comp. *nandana* 'son;' *awurudu* 'year' older *hawurudu*, Ell. P. A. 14 for *hawudara*, *sawudara* = *saṁvatsara*; *lihil* 'slack' loose for *hilil*, *Kávy.* VI. 53=*śithila* (comp. Prâkṛit *siḍhila*); *bulat*, *Kaelig.* A. 24 'betel' for *tabula* from *tambúla*; *raha*, *Kávy.* IX. 31, contracted *rá* from *surá* through *sará*; *asapuwa* for Pâli *upassaya*; *síwaela* = *kasí*?, *Ab.* 448; another difficult word is *laya* 'heart' only found in literature, here I am also inclined to think of apokope of the first syllable and to assume the original form to have been

[9] The syllable *na* is probably due to an original fem. *ukuni*, the same origin, I believe, is to be attributed to the syllable *na* in *goṇa*, Pâli *goṇo*, Dram. Mag. *Mṛicch*, Siṁhalese *goná*.

halaya corresponding to Dram. Mâg. *haḍakka*; *wenasa*, S. L. 82, S. S. I. 6 = *viśesha*; *wunaru*, *Nam*. 41 for *aruṇa*., *Kávy*. X. 82, *ḍebara* = *badará*, Mah. 194, Prâkṛit *boru*, J. P. *búru*, Hem. I, 170; *kenera*, *karenu*, elephant, Hem. II, 116.

Gutturals.

K is the old Sanskrit guttural. We find it of course for *kha*, as *kaḍanawá* "to break" (*khaṇḍ*) *kaḍuwá* = *khaḍga*, etc., *kra* and other compound consonants:

First: *k* for *ksha* in *kaeta*, D. I. 9 = *kshatriya*; *keta* = *kshetra*; *kiri* 'milk' = *kshîra*; *kuḍa* small = *kshudra*; *ruk* = *vṛiksha* cf. *lukha* in the inscriptions of Kap., Dhauli, Jaug. Cunn. 67 (Girnar, *vachchha*), Hem. II. 17; *rakinawá* 'to watch'; *salakanawá* probably tats.; *makanawá* √ *mraksh*; *uk* 'sugarcane' = *ikshu*; *aka* = *akkha*, Amb. A, 6, B, 1, 7; *k* for *skh* in *kana*, *kanda* = *skhanna* (see above), *k* for *sth* in *kaṇu* S. M. B. 29 = Pâli and J. P. *khánu*, Hem. II. 7; Hâla, *khaṇṇu* p. 43. *K* for *h*: *kitul* = *hintála*, *Mah*. II. 12, 50; *kk* for *k*, in *ekkasa*, Amb. A, 16.

Second: *g* for *k* (*kh*, *ksh*, etc.) in *giwula* = *kaviṭṭha*; *gewanawá* 'to spend' as *dawas gewanawá* 'to spend one's day' (Par. Poll.) also 'to pay' from *kship* caus. = Pâli *khepeti*; *girawá* 'parrot', Skt. *kîra*; affix *ka* sometimes is changed into *ga* and *nga*, as *senaga*, Rank. D, *senanga*, R. D.; *wasaṅga* = *wasag*, Amb. A, 12, B, 6; *sulaṅga* 'wind' = *chalaka*, *Nám*. 25, *Kávy*. XIII. 37; *agi* = *agni*, S. B. M. B. 2, but generally *gini*; *g* for *ś* in *dig*, P. P. 5, *digin* Gp. B. 4; *g* for Skt. *h* (orig. *gh*): *daṅga* 'cunning' √ *druh*, *drogha*, etc. Mald. *dogu* 'lie, falsehood,' *walaṅga*, *waligaya* 'tail.'

Palatals.

Ch I have met with in inscriptions till the fourth century, afterwards it changed into *s*, and in the ninth century had quite disappeared. We find it for *sh* in *chaka* 'six' (comp. Pâli and Prâk. *chha*), *chudi* = *kshudra* (fourth century); later on *ch* reappeared; first it was introduced into Siṁhalese through numerous tatsamas, then it was employed in genuine words for *t* through the agency of *i* for instance: *kochchara* = *kovitara*, *kiṁvistára* 'how much' (comp. *ewitara* so much); *pachaya* = *pratyaya*, Tiss. 16: *pacheni* Gajabâhu, *pajeni*, Nett.; *michiyaḍiṭika* = *mithyádṛishṭi*, Kir. more modern *misaditu*, *Gutt*. 56; *puñchi*, 'small,' probably for *poti* from *potaka*.

Second: *j* was changed to *d* as *ch* to *s*, but we find it already revived in the 11th century when it is used in genuine Siṁhalese words (as *raejna* = *rájñî* formerly *raedna*) from a desire to use old language and for *dh* in tatsamas (see above). In modern times we have it in one instance for *g*, *jaemburu* for older *gaemburu*, Gp. A. 14, Amb. A, 52 = *gambhîra*; *j* for *c* in *meraj*, poetical = *marîchi*.

Cerebralization by influence of *r* has been carried much further in Siṁhalese than in Pâli or even Prâkṛit, thus we have :—

Siṁhalese.	*Sanskrit.*	*Pâli.*
toṭa 'ferry,' *toṭuwa* 'heathen' *S. S.* 42.	*tîrtha tîrthaka*	*tittha*
puṭa 'son' in some old inscriptions, usually *puta*, Śaurasenî *puḍa*, *puḍḍo*.	*putra*	*putta*
aḍa 'half'	*ardha*	*addha* and *aḍḍha*
uḍa 'above'	*ûrddhva*	*uḍḍha*
aṭaya in the Siṁhalese dative, comp. B. II. 272.	*arthâya*	*atthâya*: so also in Aśoka's inscription, Cunn. I. 70.
waeḍi	*vṛiddhi*	*vaddhi* and *vaḍḍhi*
maeṭi, Amb. B. 8.	*mṛittiká*	*mattiká*, comp. Beames I. 333, II. 35 J. P. *maṭṭiyá*
waeṭenawá 'to fall.'	*pat*	*pat*, Prâkṛit *pad*, Gipsy *peráwa*, Amb. A, 49, cf. *niwaḍita*, Niray. 5.

In other words Pâli and Siṁhalese coincide as :—

aeṭa	*asthi*	*aṭṭhi* Prâkṛit do, Sindhi *haḍu*, Pashṭo *haḍ*, see Trumpp's *Gram*.
yaeṭa now *yaṭa*	*adhasthát*	*heṭṭha* Prâkṛit do, Sindhi *heṭhá*, Beluchi *jálá* (*j* = *h*.)
gaeṭa	*granthi*	*gaṇṭhi*, Mar. *gáṇṭha*; S. *gaṁḍhi*, *ghuṁḍi*; Pashṭo *guṇḍí*, Trumpp's *P. Gram*. p. 6.
naṭanawá, 'to dance'	√ *nṛit*	*naṭati*
waḍuwá 'carpenter', Amb. B, 44	*varddhakin*	*vaḍḍhaki*
waḍanawá	√ *vṛidh*	*vaḍḍhati*

Siṁhalese.	*Sanskrit.*	*Pali.*
waḍamanaka (ancient name), *waḍanuwan*, P. P. 6	*vardhamána*	*vaḍḍhamánaka*
waeṭiya 'wick'	*vartiká*	*vaṭṭiká*, but no cerebral in B. H. Beames, I. 154.
waṭuwa 'quail'	*vartaká*	*vaṭṭaká*, comp. Beames, I. 333, 334.

Other instances of cerebralization are *aḍiya* (see above), *goḍa*, etc. The cerebralization in *ṭika* is not explainable (see above), *ḍahanawá* 'to bite' probably a Pâli tatsama. We have no cerebralization in *tabanawá* 'to put,' Pâli *ṭhápeti*, Prâkṛit *ṭhávei* (but *paṭan* = *prasthána*), *danawá* to burn √ *dah* (compare Beames, I. 155).

Further, *r* is without influence in *keta* = *kshetra*, *gotanawá* from √ *grath*, *get*=*grantha*, and *gettam*; *puta*, *pute*, *puti* = *putra*; *katura* 'scissors' (Mald. *katuru*) = *kartarí*; *amadinawá* √ *márj*.; *tíha* 'thirty' = *triṁśat*; *chada*, modern *handa* = *chandra*. *R* for *d* we find in *oruwa* = *uḍupa* (see above). Cerebral *ḷ* we find for *r*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*. The two *l*'s are kept distinct till the 13th century, though in the present day there is no difference in their pronunciation, it seems to have been still retained in the end of the 12th century as we find even the Skt. word *pralaya* written *praḷaya*, D. I. 1, S. M. A. 2, Gp. A. 13, on account of the preceding *r*. The instances in which *l* is found for cerebrals I shall advert to later on. In two instances I find an *ḷ*,—in *eḷabae*, Gerund of *eḷabanawá* = *avalamb* (see above), Mald. *eluwang* or *eḷang* 'to cast, throw.' Chrst., Par. inscr. at Polonn. 15, and *kaḷaṁka*, *ib.* 9. Fortunately the Maldivian dialect has kept the two *l*'s distinct to the present day, and thus we are able to know the nature of *l* in many words for which the inscriptions furnish no examples.

First: *ḷ* for *l* in *muḷu* = *múla*, P. P. P. A. 13, S. M. A. 6, but *mul* 'root of a tree" S. M. A. 24, *Nám.* 115, *mula*, P. P. 29, Mald. *muḷi* 'whole'; *maḷuwa* = *málaka*, R. D. 22; *yáḷa* and *yahaḷa*, Amb. A, 36, L. V. K. B., R. D. 31, but *yála*, *Ab.* 484, D. I. 12; *kaebiḷi* = *kawala*, Amb. B, 48, Siri Sangabo's inscription at Mihintale, A. 3, compare *kabul*, Amb. A, 52; *pirihela*, Amb. A, 15, *Nám.* 62, Parâkrama. Bâhu's inscription at Galvihâra 20, but *pirihela*, *Nám.* 62; *aḷí* channel, Sandag. *aeḷ* Gp. 20, S. B. M. B. 3 (cf. *áli*, *Ját*, I. 336; *álinsarodaka*, *Mah.* I. 212, and *Digael* = *Díghálika*, *Mah.* II. 212, *Nám.* 91); *acḷ* = *śáli* in *Aclgamiya*, Amb. A, 32, cf. *sael*, S. L. 80, ancient Siṁhalese *sál*, *J. C. A. S.* 1873, p. 78; *helmal*, 'white lotus', Amb. B, 35; *aeḷi*, 'painter' Amb. B, 13, = *áleyaka*, S. B. M. A. 5; *kuḷu* = *kula*, Sâhasa Malla's inscription at Polonn. A, 16, 19; *kaḷuwael*, R. D. 25 but *kalu*°, *Nám.* 132; *puḷapan*, K. M. B. 9, but *pulupu*, *Nám.* 136, *pulup*, Minn. 6; *waḷa* = *valaya*, Wandar. 5, but *wael*, *Kávy.* XIII. 81, *wælá*, *Nám.* 169; *wiyaḷa*, 'dry field,' S. M. A. 24, but *wiyali*, *Nám.* 271, *Kávy.* XIII. 42; *gaḷawá*, R. D. 8, *galawá*, Gp. B. 24; *dukuḷa*, P. P. 28, S. L. 36, cf. *duhul*. *dhuraḷaya*, P. P. 16; *pahala*, *K. J.* 54, *Nám*, 232, *pahaḷa*, P. P. 42, S. L. 50; *weḷa*, Gp. B. 6; *waḷandamin*, P. P. 44, etc., but *walandaná*, Wew. 34; *koḷ* 'shrubs,' Amb. A, 50, mod. Siṁhalese. *kola*; *koḷ* 'clothes,' Amb. *B*, 53, comp. *kola*, *Nám.* 173; *kaḷu*, *Nám.* 56, *K. J.* 293, *S. S.* 21 = Mald. *kaḷu*, Pâli *káḷa*, Skt. *kála*; *keḷa*, Pâli *kheḷa*, J. P. *kheḷa*, *K. S.*

Second: *ḷ* for *r* in *haḷu*, later *aḷu* "ashes" Skt. *kshára*, Pâli *chháriká*, Sindhi *chhára*, Mald. *hulu*, 'blaze,' Gipsy *tchar*, 'ashes' (Pasp. 117), but Mahâr. *khára*; probably also *polanawá*, Maldivian *fuláng* 'to winnow,' from *sphorayati* (caus. of *sphur*) 'to vibrate, cast;' *ataḷi*, *aetaḷu*, *aetuḷu*, *aetula* = *antara*, Hab. 2, Amb. A, 21, 22; *maḷu*, 'brother,' (= *kumára*) Situlp. (*Rept.* XXV. 7), but *malaṇuwan*, S. M. A. 27; *diḷindu*, Gp. A. 19, R. D. 5, but *diḷinda* *Ab.* 101; *veralu* = *veḷuriya*, J. P. *veruliya*, *Ab.* 491, *Nám.* 221; *waddḷa*, *Mah.* B., Gp. 11, from *avadháreti*; *selu* = *sáriká*, S. L. 21.

Third: *ḷ* and *l* for *ṭ*, and *ḍ* for *t*, *d*, through the influence of *r*: *kewuḷ* = *kaivarta* (inscription of Abhayawaewa Col. Museum), Pâli *kevaṭṭo*, H. *kevaṭa*; *waḷa* 'hole, cavity, pit' Mald. *waḷu* = *avaṭa*; *suḷu* = *kshudra*; *piḷiwelae* = *paṭipáṭi*, Amb. A, 2, but *piliwela*, P. P. P. 47; *galapanawá*, *gaḷawá*, R. D. 8 = *ghaṭápeti*, *S. S.*, Wewelk. 21; *piḷibaḍa*, P. P. 44, Amb. A, 18, J. P. *paḍibaddha*; *paḷisatari*, Hab. 7 = *paṭisatari*, Gajab.; *piḷi* = *sphaṭika*, *K. J.* 45, J. P. *phaliha*, Ks. Hem. I. 198; *ḍela* = *jaṭá*, *Kávy.* III, 28; *saḷu* = *śáṭaka*, *Nám.* 173, *Kávy.* X, 92; *tola* 'lip' for *tuṇḍa* 'beak.' In the Maldivian dialect we find *tung*, *i.e.* *tuṇḍa* 'beak' and *tungfai*, *i.e.* *tuṇḍapattra* 'lip,' properly the blade of the beak or mouth (also comp. Mar. *toṇḍa* 'mouth'). The lip therefore was originally called in Siṁhalese the blade of the beak, but *pata* was omitted afterwards. *Eḷuwa* = Pâli *eḷaka*, Mâg. *eḍaka*, Cunn. 112; *kuruḷu*, *kureḷi* = *garuḍa* (see above); *kela* 'saliva,' Pâli *kheḷa*, Skt. *kheṭa*, Mald. *kuḷu*; *kaḷa*, Amb. A, 14, 51, P. P. 17, = *kṛita* but Pâli *kaṭo*, *akaḷa*, Hab. 7, Situlp. 3; *maḷa* 'dead' dram. Mag. *maḍe*, J. P.

maḍa, Gipsy *mulo*, Mikl. II. 7; *taḷanawá* √ *táḍ*; *kakuḷuwá* 'crab,' J. P. *kakkhaḍa* = *karkaṭa*; *wiḷi* = *vríḍá*, *Nám.* 71, *Kávy.* XII, 74; *hila*, 'hole' = *chhidrá*; *haeḷiya* = Pâli *chāṭi*; *piḷi* = *paṭiká*, Amb. B, 8, 21; *balalá* 'cat' = *viḍála*, Mald. *bulan*; *aswalaemba* I know only from the present language where no difference is made; *muḷulu*, *Nám.* 238, *muḷulla* (Mald. *muḷi* *i.e.* *mulerh*) 'whole entire' from *manḍala* cf. *tunmaḍulla* = *trimanḍala*, comp. Pâli *parimanḍala*; *ularu*, *Nám.* 237 = *udára*, Pâli *uḷára*; *laya* 'heart' = *hṛidaya* and *liya* 'woman' I have only found in literature, and therefore cannot decide whether they were originally written with *ḷ* or if this had been changed to *l*, but in inscriptions I have found *ḷ*, also as an initial consonant, for instance *ḷahanná*, S. B. M. B. 3, *ḷahiniya pawu*, Amb. A, 39. We have further numerals with cerebral *ḷ*: *ekoḷos* 'eleven;' *doḷusa*, *doḷos* 'twelve;' *teḷes* 'thirteen;' *pasaḷos* 'fifteen;' *soḷos* 'sixteen' where *ḷ* is either changed from *r* or from *d*.

Fourth: *ḷ* for *ṭh* and *ḍh* or *th* and *dh*: *paḷamu* S. M. A. 11 = *prathama*; *yeḷa*, Pâli *diyaḍḍha*, Prâk. *divaḍḍha*, Beames I. 237; *daeḷi* = *dáṭhiká*, *Kávy.* XIII. 44, Mald. *daḷu* 'ivory;' *piḷuka* = *píṭhasappi*, Gp. B. 4; *daḷa* firm = *dṛiḍha*; *daḷa* 'tusk' = Pâli *dáḍhá*, Skt. *daṁshṭrá*; *weḷanawá* 'to wrap' √ *veshṭ*; *poḷowa* or *poḷoya*, E. P. Aet. Gp. A. 14 = *pṛithiví*, but *polowa*, *Nám.* 95, *Kávy.* XIII. 37; *aesaḷa* = *áshádhá*, 104, 1; *koḷa* = *kuṭṭham*, *Ab.* 303; *tiḷi* = *tushṭawí*, *S. S.* 71; *tiḷina* = *tyága*, *Kávy.* 19, *Nám.* 180.

Fifth: *ḷ* for *n* in *weḷenda* = *vaṇij*, Gp. C. 3; *paeḷanda*, Gp. A. 17, P. P. P. A. 8, *Kávy.* X. 180 = Pâli *pilandhana*, Skt. *pinah*; *sal* 'time' = *kshaṇa*, Amb. A, 9, *Nám.* 35 (?) S. S. I. 14.

T for *ṭ*. In *waeṭenawá* √ *pat* Prâkrit *paḍ* modern vernaculars the same. Mâg. *paḍana*, *Mṛicch.* 30. J. P. *waḍ*, *Nirayávaliya* 5, Hem. IV. 218. Var. VIII. 51; cf. Hindi *poḍná* Mar. *paḍaneṁ*, Beames I. 224, Gipsy *perdwa*, Mikl. VIII. 36, Baluchi *perenga* 'to cause to fall'; *waeṭup*, wages, Amb. A, 47, *Nám.* 209, *Gutt.* 176; *waeṭ*, Amb. A, 44, B. 35 = *vaṭṭi* 'lamp;' *ṭ* for *st* in *ṭika* = *stoka*, for *sth* old *aṭhána* in the inscription at Kirinde, *saṭhe* = *śástṛi*, ib.; *ṭhera* = *sthavira*; *savayiṭha* = *aśrávayishṭa*, *sagahaṭhaya* in the inscription at Kottarakimbiyâwa, *Rep.* II. p. 3, 4; in *paṭan* = *prasthána*; in poetry I have met with the word *ṭaem* = *stambha* which may be curtailed from genuine *ṭaba*, *ṭaemba*, but perhaps is only a corrupted tatsama; *pariwaṭahi* from *parivṛit* but *pawaṭ* = *pravṛitti*, S. M. J. A. 24, *Nám.* 60, Gp. A. 9, and *anuvatisanti* in Aśoka's edict, Cunn. I. 71.

D for *ṭ*. *Kuḍí* = *kuṭumbin*; *puḍuwa* = *puṭa*; *goḍa* = Skt. *garta*, Mahâr. *gaḍḍa*, Hindi *gáḍha* (see above). *D* for *d*: *uḍgalu*, Amb. A, 34, but *udágal* P. P. P. 12, Gp. A. 12; *ḍádiya*, *Kávy.* VI. 33, *ḍahadiya* 'sweat,' 'perspiration' literally 'heat water' from *dáha* and *udaka*. The simple root *dah* in Pâli and Prâkrit often shews an initial cerebral, for instance *ḍajjhanta*, *K. S.* passim, Hem. I. 218, but in Siṁhalese it is *danawá* with a dental. In *maḍa* 'mud' we perhaps have another form of Skt. *mala*. Perhaps there is another irregular cerebralization in *hanḍa* 'sound' *hanḍanawá* 'to call,' which it is difficult to connect with any other Skt. word but *śabda*.[10]

DENTALS.

T for *st*, in *atwatu* = *hasta* and *vastu* 'account,' Amb. A, 56: *atuta* = *ástṛita*, *tada* = *stabdha* Gp. A. 9; *mata* = *mastaka*, L. V. K. C.; *pata* = *pattha*, Amb. B, 9. 17; *watup* 'garden,' Amb. A, 49 = *watu*, *Kávy* X. 99, Pâli *vatthu*, *Mahávagga* III. 56; *balataka* = *balattha*, Hab. 5 (*balannaku* S. B. M. A. 3 is probably a mistake for this); *tiram*, R. D. 13 = *sthira*; *t* for *kt*: *rat* 'red,' = *rakta* (*ratran* 'gold' properly red gold); *yutu* = *yukta*, Amb. A, 23; *bat* 'boiled rice;' *mut* = *mukta*; *t* for *tt*, in *anutare*, Kir; *ṭ* for *pt* in *naṭuwá* old *napa*, Galvana 'heir' from *napát*; *t* for *nt* in *satuta*, P. P. P. A. 20, *sitá* P. P. P. A. 30; *t* for *ś* in artificial Siṁhalese, *Kávy.* XII. 17 *tesu* for *śesha*; *t* for *ty* in *cheta* (later *cheya*, *sey*, *sǽ*, *sáya*) = *chaitya*; *ameta* and *ametiya*, Pâli *amachcha*; *t* for *k*, in *anit* for *anik* 'the other'; *t* for *ttv*, in *satu* = *sattva*, R. D. 26, and *t* of the suffix *tra* preserved in *suta* = *sútra*, Amb. A, 13, but dropped in *pá* = *pátra*. *T* for *ch* (cf. J. P. *tegichchhá* = *chikitsá*, *átikkhati* = *áchikkhati*, *vatíyoga*, *álotiya*, *Beitr.* 5, 25), I have found only in artificial Siṁhalese. It is easily explained as the modern pronunciation of *ch* is very much like *ty* and with uneducated people often hardly different from *t*. Instances are *ruti* = *ruchi*, *Kávy*, passim, and *taepala*, X. 98; *witála*, 'he inquired,' from the tats. *vichára̤nawá*, *Kávy.* X. 214: *witáḷahá* 'they inquired,' *Kávy.* XI. 31; *t* for *j* in *pariwataka* = *parivrájaka* (?), *kiyata* = *kakacho*; *d* for *t* termination of the old ablative *do*, *da* (fourth century A. D.); *kadima* = *kántimat*; *dunumanḍul* *Mah.* C., inscription of Kassapo Mihint. A. 10, modern *tunmaḍulla* = *timanḍala*, the dress of a Buddhist priest which covers the three circles (see above *tunu* = *tríṇi*); *d* for *j* is the common change (cf. J. P. *duguṁchhá* = *jugupsá*, *Bhag.* 413, Hem. IV. 4; *dosiná* = *jyotsná*, *Bhag.* 415, Pâli *junhá*, Prâkṛit *jonhá*, Hem. II. 75, Pâli *parichchadi*

[10] *Śabda*, I believe, is originally = *śapta*, participle of *śap*, and this verb, I think, is nothing but the caus. of *śur* = *śrávayati*. It is not impossible, though I do not consider it very probable myself, that in some dialects these words continue to be *śrap* and *śrabda*. In this case the cerebralization in *hanḍa* etc. may be due to the original influence of *r*.

from *parichchajjati, daddallati,* Pasenadi, *digha-chchhá; dampati =jayampati* in *tudampat,* Mâg. *ádivikemhi* in Cave inscriptions of Barabar and Nâgârjuna, Cunn. 103): *rad, Mah.* A. 'king' = *rájan* in the inscriptions of Mahâkal. and Mayil., while the inscription of Amb. has *raj, raejna,* and L. V. K. *raja,* cf. Goldschmidt's *Report,* XI, p. 10; *warada = yuwarájá,* Gp. C. 5; *radahara* 'royal taxes,' Mayil. B. 4, *Report* II. 1880, p. 5; *radawa = rajaka,* Amb. B, 53; *radol = rajakula,* Wewelk. 17, Ing. B. 21; *raedna* 'queen' = *rájñí; badinawá* 'to fry' = √ *bhrijj; dannawá* 'to know' = √ *jñá, jánámi; delu = jyeshtha,* S. B. M. B. 1; *madata = májyeshtha, Nám.* 121, *K. J.* 66; *andun = añjana,* corrupted tats.; *kudu* 'hump-backed' = *kubja,* Pâli *khujjo; teda = tejas,* Gp. A. 9, D. I. 2; *maeda = madhya,* Mald. *medu; midul = majjá,* J. P. *mijjá, Nám.* 105, *Kávy.* XII. 47; *ada* for *ajja = adya; mada* 'kernel' = *majjá,* Pâli *miñjá; daehaepiyae* from *jaháti,* Amb. A, 17; *dahawút,* Amb. A, 16, *daehae,* S. S. 22; *sûdeta* 'cook,' S. L. 50, *jetmawu,* Amb. B, 19; *wadná* from *wadinawá* √ *vraj; paewidi,* P. P. 30, Amb. B, 55, *paewiji,* P. P. 34, 38, 48; *weda = vejja* Skt. *vaidya,* Amb. A, 11, B, 30; *diyat = jagat, Gutt.* 47, *S. S.* I. 13; *dena* 'person' = *jana,* comp. Gipsy *djeno* 'person' (Pasp.); *dana* 'knee' = *jánu; daeli = jhalla,* J. P. and Pâli *jalla,* the soot on utensils, comp. Childers s. v. *rajovajallam,* Mald. *deli* 'ink'; *daeli = kajjalá, Kávy.* XI. 25; *deya = jaya,* Aetawiragol; *dá = játa,* Mayil. A. 15, R. D. 12; *deranawá* 'to decay' = *jri.; daella* 'flame' = *jvála; daela = jálá* 'net' *diwa* 'tongue' = *jihvá,* Mald. *dû; diwi* (old) life = *jívita,* Gp. B. 6, P. P. 4, *diwel,* Gp. A. 19, but *jiwel,* Amb. A, 45, 53; *dada = dhvaja, Gutt.* 181, *Nám.* 201, J. P. *dhaya* and *jhaya; dambadiwu,* Gp. B. 15, 21; *saedí,* P. R. D. 13; *daenum,* √ *jan* or *jñá* (?) Gp. C. 12, 13; *baediyáwa = bhrajjita; widinawá = vijjhana,* Ch. II. 15, *winiwida, K. J.* 98; *landa = laja* in *wilanda, Nám.* 261; *dañga = jañghá, S. S.* 16; *haemaendae = sammárjana,* Amb. B, 52, cf. *saemadá,* S. S. 22, *aemadá, Kávy.* X. 101; *bodun,* S. S. 21, but *bojun,* P. P. 32, 33; *maendina,* P. P. 39, older *maendindina,* Abhay 4, still older *maji-modini,* Hab. 10: *yodí,* √ *yuj,* P. P. 16, generally *yedí* or *yedû,* P. P. 50; *saeda = sarjita,* Gp. B. 3, *K. J.* 44; *kadó = khajjota, Mah.* II. 345, *Nám.* 145.

Kimidinawá 'to dive' with the exception of the first syllable is derived from √ *majj*; in the 4th cent. A. D. we find *mujita,* 'inundated.' The first syllable *ki* represents evidently an old gerund which I have not succeeded in tracing. The Simhalese, however, are very fond of combining two verbs in this fashion. Not to speak of the so-called reflexives as *balá gannawá,* 'to look, to examine,' etc., we find *hapá kanawá,* 'to bite' (literally, 'having chewed to eat'), and others. In *pínanawá,* 'to float, to swim,' also, the second part, *nanawá,* is √ *sná*; the first part, an old gerund, perhaps modern *bí* from √ *pá,* 'to drink,' Simhalese *bonawá.* It then probably meant originally only 'to bathe,' like the simple √ *sná,* though at present it is rather the custom of the Simhalese to wash first in the water, which they drink afterwards. Mald. *finan* means 'to dive' which corroborates my etymology.

D for *jñ* we find in *dat* (literary) = *jñáta, data* supine = *jñátum,* comp. *jj* for *jñ* in Mahâr. Varar. III, 5: *savvajjo, ingiajjo; d* for *ch* (apparently through *j*) in *mudanawá* = √ *much,* cf. *midinawá,* Tiss., K. J. 115, Situlp.; *aedurá = áchárya,* Amb. B, 39, 44, Mald. *eduru* 'teacher;' *hawurud = samvatsara,* Pâli *samvachchharo* (see above); *godura,* 'prey' = *gochara,* cf. *pandarasa* and *pannadasa,* Cunn. 112, 98; *purudu = parichita, Ab.* 105; *yadinawá,* 'to pray, beseech' = √ *yách, yedi = yáchita,* S. M. A. 17; *dína = chína, Kávy.* X. 98; *danga = chañchá, Kávy.* II. 24; *d* for *s* in *daha = sahasra,* S. M. B. 10.

Labials.

P for *b,* see above; *p* for *mp* in *parapuren,* E. P., *pardparawen,* Ing. A. 13, *parapurehi,* P. P. P, 1, in the old formula *Okáwas raja parapurehi,* but in the text the more modern form *paramparáyen* corrupted tats. Amb. B, 25; *p* for *lp* in *kapanu, kaepu,* inscription of Kassapo V. Mihin., *Report* XXV. p. 5, *kaepiyae,* Amb. A, 50, cf. *J. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 21; *p* for *w* in *hapanawá,* 'to chew,' √ *charv,* Mar. *chávanem* (comp. Beames, I. 352); *p* difficult to explain in *watup* 'garden,' Amb. A, 49 = *watu, Kávy.* X. 99, Pâli *vatthu, Mahávagga,* II. 5, 6, and in *waetup,* 'wages,' *Nám.* 209, *Gutt.* 176; Amb. A, 47, and *Kávy.* XIII. 64, present the form *waetum* instead, in Pâli it is *vutti; b* for *p* in *bada* 'belly' (see above); *bonawá* 'to drink,' √ *pá, pána; boruwa* 'lie,' from *aparádha; aba,* 'mustard' = *sarshapa,* Pâli *sásapa; balanawá* 'to look,' Amb. A, 20, 31, Skt. *pralok,* Prâkrit *paloa, puloa, pulaa; tabanawá = stháp,* Pâli *thápeti,* Prâkrit *thávei; b* for *m* in *munuburá* (see above), perhaps in *baetaluwá,* 'sheep,' from *medhra, mendá,* affix *la; tamba = támra,* Gp. A. 18, J. P. id.; *kappil = kambapil,* S. S. 23: *imbul = sálmali,* J. P. *sambali; arub = aráma,* Amb. A, 18, 46; *saebae = sammá* (?); *tamburu = tammala. Mah.* II. 125; *b* for *y* in *dalabuwa = jaráyu,* Pâli *jalábu; b* for *v* in *bakamúná,* 'owl' (*vakra + mukha*); *balalá = vidála; welamba, elembi, asvalembi,* 'mare,' from *wadawá.*

M becomes *n* frequently in the end of a word, *nikam* and *nikan* (commonly pronounced *nikañ*) 'empty' = *nis* + *karman*.

M for *p* in *paemiṇi*, Wandar, 2, *paemuṇu*, P. P. P. B. 23, *pamuṇu*, Rank. D. 2 = Pâli *pappunoti*; *pamiṇi*, Gp. B. 15, modern *pamunuwanawá*, cf. J. P. *maṇáma* = *manḍpa* √ *áp*.

M for *lm* in *kamas* = *kalmasha* (?), Amb. B, 41.

M for *w* in *namaya*, 'nine,' but also and more elegantly *nawaya*; *Wesamuni*, J. P. *Vesamana*, *Bhag.* 213 = *Vaiśrávana*, Ruwanwaeli Wandar. 9.

SEMI-VOWELS Y AND W.

Both these semi-vowels supplant other consonants. Thus we have:—

Affix *ya* after the fashion of the Jaina Prâkṛit (called *yaśruti*) for *ka* in *kiyanawá*, Amb. A, 12, *S. S.* 57, = *kathay*, *sitiyama*, *daḍayama*, 'hunting' for °*karman*; *diya* = *daka*, *siyalu* = *sakala*; *piḷiyam* = *patikamma*, Gp. C. 6.

Y for *kh* in *niya* = *nakha*, *Nám.* 163, *liyanawá*, √ *likh*.

Y for *g* in *niyam* = *nigama*, *S. S.* I 18, Amb. B, 2; *niyinda* = *nágendra*, *S. L.* 40, Amb. A, 33; *tiyuṇu* = *triguṇa*, Gp. A. 8; *siyura* = *ságara*, *S. S.* 16, *ayunu* = *aguṇa*, P. P. 49.

Y for *j* in *niyṇa* = *nija*, S. S. 21.[11]

Y for *t* in *oya* = *srotas*; *aya* = *sattva* (?) Amb. A, 52, D. I. 7, *Gutt.* 122; *heyin* = *hetuná* in *waddâḷeyin*, *Mah.* A; *giya* = *gata*; *siya* = *śata*: *wiyan* = *witána*, *K. J.* 48, *Nám.* 175, *Ab.* 299; *mawupiya*, P. P. 26 = *mátápitá*.

Y for *d* in *uyanawá*, 'to cook,' from *odana*; *piya* = *pada*.

Y for *dh* in *yaeṭa*, *yaṭa* = *adhasthát*; *boya* = *bodhi*, Siri Sanga Boy, *boyana*, Gp. C. 11; *goyam* = *godhúma*, B. I. 267; *goya* = *godhá*; *piyan* = *pidhána*, Amb. B, 11.

Y for *s* in *yahan*, *yahana*, 'bed,' = *śayana*, *S.S.* 14, Amb. A, 11.; *yahala* = *sahâyu*; *yalá* = *salá*, Amb. B, 27; *kiriya* = *karîsha*, S.S. 18 (*kari*, Hab. 4) Amb. A, 32 B. 3; *yahapat* = *sukha prápta*; *ayiti* old *asati* in inscriptions.

W for *k* in *daṇḍuwama*, P. P. 50, 'fining' = *daṇḍa* + *karman*; *lowa* = *loka*; *karuwa* = *káraka*, Amb. A, 47; *gowuwa* = *gopaka*, *ib.* B. 37, 51; *pawuru* = *pákára*, Gp. C. 1; *siwumaeli* = *sukumára*, *Nám.* 243, *Kávy.* XII. 52 J. P., *sumála*, Hem. I. 171; *mahanuwam*, older *mahanám*, Mayil. Abhay. A. 17; *paewas* = *prakáśa* *K. J.* 74; *raekinawa* = *rakkhanáyaka*, Amb. B, 17, 18; *setuwam* = *śvetakarma*, Amb. B, 7, 3.

W for *kh* in *suwa* = *sukha*; *muwa* = *mukha*, P. P. 42.

W for *g* in *nuwara* = *nagara*; *guwana* = *gagana*; *suwanda* = *sugandha*, R. D. 24; *tuwara* = *tagara*, *Nám.* 129.

W for *t* in *ruwan* = *ratna*; *awuwa* = *átapa*; *gawwá*, Pâli *gávuta*, Skt. *gavyúti*, R. D. 26, Ab. 30; *siwu* = *chatwar* in *siwu pasayen*, L. V. K. B. cf. *chhávudasam*, Pillar at Delhi, II. Cunn. 112; *siwuranga*, Rank. D. cf. *siwumaeduru*, K. J. 107, *Nám.* 104; *siwuranga*, fourfold, Gp. B. 8, *siyuranga* B. 13.

W for *d* in *anumowana* = *anumodana*, L. V. K. C.

W for *dh* in *tulawaru* = *tuládhára*, *Nám.* 224, cf. *tarahal*, *K. J.* 171.

W for *P* in all causatives, as *dakwanawá*, etc., *gewanawá* (so already in very old inscr.); the only apparent exception is *galapanawá*, *S. S.* 25, an old tatsama for Pâli *ghaṭápeti*; *waesaewiyae*, P. P. 30; *piliwisá* = *pratipuchchhá*, *Kávy.* V. 29; *wak* = *paksha*, Amb. A, 45, 53; *nuruwa* = *núpura*, *Nám.* 170, Prâkr. *neura*, Hem. I. 123, Pâli *niyura*, *Ab.* 285, Hem. I. 123; *maenaewi* = *manápa*, *J. P.* *maṇáma*; *kawulu* = *kapáṭa*, *Nám.* 104, *Ab.* 218; *waeṭenawá*, √ *pat*; *maḍuwa* = *maṇḍapa*; *wewulanawá*, √ *vep*; *diwa* = *dvîpa*; *diwiya* = *dvîpin*; *weya* = *upachiká*, D. I. 10; *waewa*, old *wawiya* = *vápi*; *wahan* = *upáhana*, Skt. *upánah*; *uwayutu* (old) for *upayukta*; *awud* = *ápta*, Amb. A, 11.

W for *bh* in *wenawá*, *wena*, *wû* and *wae* = *bhûta* Mahak. *wuwamaná*, R. D. 18.

W for *m* in *wakanawá*, 'to daub,' 'smear,' old *maekuwá*, S. M. B. 28, √ *mraksh*.

W for *y* in *nuwana* = *ñánaṁ* (pronounced *nyánam*, with insertion of *u*); *hewana* = *chháyá*, Sindhî *chhava*; *tawak* (old) 'three'; *wiya*, *wiyagaha* 'yoke' = *yuga* through *yiya*. In *awiya* = *áyudha*, *Gutt.* 106, *y* first changed into *w* through the influence of the original *w*, afterwards *u* was changed into *i*.

W for *s* (*ś*), *h* in *porawa* = *paraśu*.

W for *h* in *lowinawá*, √ *lih*, *dowinawá*, √ *duh*.

W for *rw* in *nakápawatá* = *nágaparwata*, Tamanagala, N. C. P. (about the second century A. D.) Mâg. tats. comp. *sawa* Kirinde.

To explain *wara* 'monastery' Mahâkalattaewa, Amb. B, 34, is difficult. It is the common word for 'house' in Prâkrit, and Weber, *Hála*, 338, derives it from *ghara* = *gṛiha*, but Bollensen *Vikramorvaśî*, from *dvára*.

W often is developed from *u*, to introduce a word into the *a*-declension.

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[11] Simple *y* is never changed into *j* (except in *jiya* = *yajas* Nâgirik) as in most Prâkrits and modern vernaculars, nor is it on the other hand substituted for *j* as in dramatic Mâgadhi, but for *dy* we find *d* in *ada* 'to-day' probably through *ajja*. *ry* is preserved by the insertion of a vowel in *bariya* (cave inscription = *bháyá*, Mahâr. *bhajjâ*) *ly* in *mulaya* (2nd century A. D.) = *múlya* modern Simhalese *mila(ya)*. It must be noted that *y* is not changed into *l* in the case of Skt. *yashti*, Simhalese *yaṭiya* (it is genuine), Pâli Prâkrit *laṭṭhi*, and so *l* in all vernaculars.

L AND R.

L for *n* in *alut* 'new,' from *anukta*[12]; *wal*=*vana*, *asal* = *ásanna*; I have not noticed *l* for other dentals, perhaps however *saela* is derived from *śasta*, partic. of *śas*; *n* for *l* in *naganawá*, *naegenawá*, √ *laṅgh* (for the modification of the meaning, comp. Pâli caus. and Gipsy *uglidva* = *ullangh* and *ughliáva* = *avalangh*, Mikl. II. 8); *naguṭa* 'tail' = *lángula*, Pâli *nanguṭṭha*; *nagula* 'plough' = *lángala*, Pâli *nangala*; *nalala*, forehead = *laláṭa*, J. P. *nidála*, K. S., Hem. I. 125.

L for *dh* in *kulala*, 'neck' = *kandhará*, *Ab.* 263, *kandará*, *Ját.* 33, Mald. *kadura*.

L for *m* in verbal nouns, as *gaeníma*, *gaenuma yaenma*, *gaenilla*, from *gannawá* (the old form is *ikama íma*, as in *paṭisatarikama* = *paṭisakariyakama senim*, etc.) *J. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 24.

L for *r* in *gali*, *gala* = *giri*; *chatalisa*, *hatalisa* = *chatváriṁśat*, *Ilmasa* for *śiśira* (old *hihila*, 10th century, *Nám. sihil*); *mala* younger brother = *kumára*, *maḷu*, Situlp., but *malaṇuwan*, S. M. A. 27, also 'infant,' *Nám.*; *lanuwá* 'string,' 'rope' = *raśaná*; *kimbulá* 'alligator,' Skt. *kumbhíra*, Pâli *kumbhíla*; *kola* 'leaf,' perhaps = *koraka* 'bud'; *elesa*, *kelesa* = *ídriśa*, *kidṛiśa*, Prâk. *eriso*, *keriso*. The *l* appears here at least in *lesa* (inscr. 12th century). It is not unlikely that the Simhalese brought these words with them from India where they had begun to change *r* to *l* in the Mâgadhi fashion; *°wal* = *war* plural. (This is modern, therefore not cerebral.)

L for other cerebrals. *Welu* (later *Wen*, *Kávy.* XII. 14, old for *Vishṇu*) Nett.; *gael* = Skt. *gantrí*, etc. (cerebralization may have been given up previously, so in inscr. of the 10th century). Where the nature of the *l* is doubtful I have written according to etymology as *hila* 'hole' and in other cases as the only exception known to me is *gael*; I have adopted a different method, however, with *l* from *r* for the reasons above given.

L for *kl* in *leḍa* 'sick' for *klishṭa* either through apokope of *k* or through *kiliṭṭho* with apokope of the whole syllable.

R for *y* in *nahara* = *snáyu*, Pâli *naháru*, *J. P. ṇháru*, *Bhag.* 172; *gawará* = *gawayá*.

SIBILANTS.

In most ancient Simhalese inscriptions we find two characters for *s*, but used indiscriminately, the common Indian *s* and ϝ, the latter was given up before the Christian era.

We find *s* for *chh* and *ksh*. *S* for *ksh* (through *chh*, *ch*): *maessá* = Pâli *makkhiká*, Prâkr. *machchhia* (Var); *pasa* = *paksha*, Amb. A, 14, but *pak*, Amb. A, 4; *wak*, Amb. A, 45, 53; *aesa* 'eye' = *akshi*; *sanda* 'when,' Amb. A, 12 from *kshaṇa*; *seṇen*, Amb. B, 30 (most probably also *sal*, Amb. A. 9, *Nám.* 35 is the same word), cf. *J. P. achchhano*; *kusa* = *kukshi*, Amb. A, 2, Gp. A. 7; *walahi* 'bear' = *vana* + *ṛiksha* (see above); *sulu* 'small' = *kshudra* (more common nom. is *kuḍa*); *sudasa* = *sudaksha*, Amb. A, 43; *semehi*, Gp. B. 7 from *kshamá*; *semen* 'slowly,' *S. S. I.* modern *hemin* = *kshemena*, Pâli *khamá*.

S for *ch*, *chh*, is common enough, later it changed into *h* (which see): *us* 'high' = *uchcha*; *sitá* = *chintayitvá* P. P. 9; *gos* = *gachchá*, i.e. *gatvá* cf. *chichchá*, *bhochchá*, Ks. Hem. II, 15, Pâli *chachchara*, *Ját.* I. 425; *aṇasak* = *ájñáchakra*, S. M. A. 22; *pasu* = *paśchát*; *nisa* = *niśchaya*, P. P. 19; *pasakkaemiya*, *passehi* (?) Amb. A, 21, P. P. 43; *winisa* = *winiśchaya*, P. P. 23; *nisal* = *niśchala*, D. I. 2; *sat* = *chhattra*, Amb. A, 3; *pas* = *pañcha*, Amb. A, 54, cf. *pansásiwása*, Cunn. 98; *gas* plural of *gachchha*, Amb. A, 50, *Ab.* 540; *ruswá* = *ruchitvá*, Amb. A, 6, cf. Hem. I. 193; *siwur* = *chívara*, Amb. A. 10, B, 16; *siyu* = *chatvar*, Amb. A. 9, old *satarak*, Amb. B. 34; *suwisi*, Amb. B, 20; *sey* or *sǽ* = *chaitya*, Amb. B. 51; *sirit* = *charitra*, Mah. B. Amb. A, 6, 19; *kos* = *koñcha* (cf. *koggala* and *koswálihiniya*) *Ab.* 644; *tirisana* = *tirachchhána*; *sapu* = *champaka*, Amb. B, 37; *sakwiti* = *chakrawartti*, Gp. A. 4; *asiri* = *áścharya*, *Nám.* 69, K. J. 68, J. P. *achchhera*, Hem. I. 58; *waesikiliya* = *vachchakuṭi*, *Ab.* 212.

S for *j* in *parasatu* = *parijáta*, *Nám.* 21, *Kavy.* XI. 38; *lakus* = *lakuja*, *Nám.* 124; *musná* = *sammujjaní*, *Ját.* 161.

S for *ty* in *pasos* = *pratyúsha*, Amb. A, 9; *pasak* = *pratyeka*, Amb.; *kisa* = *krityá*, Prâkrit *kichchá*. Hem. I. 128; *tísae* = *tṛitya*; *tṛitíya*, Amb. B. 30, cf. J. P. *tachcha*; *pasaya* = *pratyaya*, L. V. K. B. Gp. A. 23, J. P., *pattiya*, later *pasa*, P. P. 27, 33; *sakasá* = *sanskrityá*, P. P. 31; *pasak* = *pratyaksha*, (?), 104, 16, Amb. A, 12; *nisa* = *nitya*, S. L. 44, *Gutt.* 177; *malas* = *málati*, Amb. A, 38, B, 34; *sas* = *satya*, *Kávy.* 128, *S. L.* 24.

S for *ts* in *mas* = *matsya*, cf. *chikisá*, inscriptions of Kap. Dhauli, Jaug. 9, Cunn. 67. Pâli *tikichchhá*.

S for *śl* in *sema* 'phlegm' = *śleshman*.

H for *k* in *pahala* = *prakáśa karaṇa*, *K. J.* 54, *Nám.* 232; (*pahaḷa*, P. P. 42, *S. L.* 50), *kiṇihiri* = *kaṇikára*, *Mah.* II. 180; *duhul* = *dukúla*, *Nám.* 172. through *dugulla*, cf. Hem. I. 186; *paliha* = *phalaka*; *muhula* = *mukulita*, *K. J.* 73, *Nám.* 167. *Gutt.* 31; *ahasa* = *ákáśa*.

H for *ch*, *s*, *ś*, in *daha* = *daśa*, cf. *dahanuhan*. *Bhag.* 298, *dahamuho*, Hem. I. 262; *behet* =

[12] *Gamwala*, *Kávy.* XI. 2; *hulwala*, *ib.* XI. 34; *raṭawala ib.* IX. 70; *sandawala*, *ib.* X. 123; *raṭawal*, *ib.* XI. The old form *war* found in inscriptions down to the beginning of the 13th century, was still known to the author of the *Námávaliya*, see *ukuḷuwara* 'of the hips,' *Nám.* 159. *pereḷiwar*, Amb. A, 38, *dúwar*, *ib.* A, 44, etc.

bheshaja, P. P. 26; *hunu* = *chuṇṇam*, older *sunu*, Amb. B, 47, cf. *watsuṇu* = *wásachuṇṇam*, *Ab.* 306; dissimilation of *ss* in *watsika*, Amb. B, 7, = Pâli *wassika*; *ham* = *charman*, Mald. *ham*, Gray 20; *hiṭinawá*, *siṭinawá* = *chiṭṭh*, comp. *siṭi*, Amb. A, 27, 29; *hindae*, etc. √ *sad*. *handanawá* = √ *sádh*; *hata* = *sapta*, cf. *hattari*, *Anuyog.* 926; *hira*, *ira*, = *súrya*; *has* = *sasya*, Pâli *sassa*, Amb. A, 26, 27; *hawurudu*, Amb. A, 4, 36; *himi* = *swámi*, older *hami*, *J. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 18, Amb. A, 11; *hila* = *chidrá*; *handa* = *chandra*; *kahi* = *akárshît*, *J. C. A. S.* 1879, p. 7, cf. *káhiti* = *kárshyati*, *Bhag.* 306, *káhi*, Hem. III. 162, *dáhanti* and *kachchhanti*, Delhi Pillar IV, Cunn. 111; *pahan* = *prasanna*, *Gutt.* 39, R. D. 16; *pahan* = *páshâṇa*, Galgirk. Wâdig. (contracted in *panwaesa*); *pirihuna* from *piriwenawá*, Gp. C. 10; *pahura* = *pachcharî*; *wihida* = *viśîrṇa*, *Nám.* 114, *Gutt.* 66, *Kávy.* IX. 71, *wihidae*, P. P. 18, but *wisuruwá*, Gp. A. 7; *hikmun* = *sikmun*, S. S. 22; *paha* = *prásáda*, *K. J.* 44, Amb. B, 26; *hiku* = *śushka*, S. S. 22; *haedaerum* = *sajjháyana*, *S. S.* 22; *haeṭa* = *shashṭi*; *haya* = *chaka*.

H for *t* in *his* = *tuchchha*, cf. *chuchchha*, *chhuchcha*, Hem. I. 204, older *sis*, *Ab.* 698, Gipsy *chucho* Mikl. II. cf. *vihatti* = *vitasti*, *Bhag.* 265, Hem. I. 214.

H for *t* through influence of a preceding *dh* in *duhanga* = *dhutanga*, *Kávy.* X. 129.

H for *rsh* in *kahapana*, inscript. at Mihintale last line (Pâli *kahápana* or *karisápana*), *kahawunu*, Niśś. Malla's inscr. at Polonn. A. 18. In some cases we find *h* used for aspirates, perhaps already softened to *h* before the emigration from India. The only certain instance I am acquainted with is *bihiri* 'deaf,' *mihiru*, 'sweet,' cf. Pâli *ruhira*, *Ját.* II. 276 (poetical *muhuna*, *K. J.* 82, is made by the Paṇḍits); for other consonants in *kehel* 'plantain' = Skt. *kadalî*, H. *kelá*, etc. Beames I. 142; *h* for an aspirate in the old corrupted tatsama *hinganawá* = *bhiksh*, further corrupted into *singanawá*, *Kávy.* X. 78, P. P. 26. Quite irregular is *humbaha*, 'ant hill,' older *tumbasa* in literature.

AN ÂBU INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF BHÎMADEVA II., DATED SAMVAT 1265.

BY W. CARTELLIERI, VIENNA.

An imperfect translation of the subjoined inscription has been given by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the *As. Res.* vol. XVI, pp. 299-301. The transcript now published has been prepared, with the assistance of Prof. G. Bühler, Ph.D., according to a facsimile taken by Dr. Burgess.

The preservation of the inscription is very good; there is only a small abrasion at the end of the first and second line, and the last letters of the inscription have been lost. The characters are the common Jaina-Devanâgarî of the 12th and 13th centuries.

The inscription was caused to be incised by Kedârarâśi, who seems to have been the superior of a Śaiva monastery at Ujjain, belonging to the Chapala or Chapalîya sect, and its object is to record his building operations at the Tîrtha of Kanakhala in Achalgaḍh. It begins with an invocation of Śiva, the Lord of the holy Mount Âbu, and after a glorification of Ujjain, the spiritual ancestors of Kedârarâśi are enumerated, just as kings in their grants give their genealogical tree. The first ascetic named is Tâpasa who came from the Nûtana-maṭha and was the superior of the Chaṇḍikâśrama. He was followed by Vâkalarâśi, Jyeshṭajarâśi, Yâgeśvararâśi, Maunirâśi, Yâgeśvarî a female ascetic, Durvâsarâśi, and finally by Kedârarâśi.

The constructions made by the latter for the deities of Kanakhala are, according to the inscription, very considerable. Firstly, he renovated the temple of Koṭeśvara at Kanakhala; secondly, he paved the interior of the whole Tîrtha with large stone-slabs and surrounded it with high walls; thirdly, he renovated the temple of Atulanâtha; fourthly, he built two new temples of Śûlapâṇi and embellished the temple of Kanakhalaśambhu by erecting in its Maṇḍapa a row of pillars of black stone. His sister Môksheśvarî built also a temple of Śiva.

Interesting as these details may be for the antiquarian, the chief historical value of the inscription lies in the postscript which mentions Bhîmadêva II. of Aṇhilvâḍa as lord paramount of Âbu, and shows that the Mâṇḍalika of Chandrâvatî, Dhârâvarsha, acknowledged his supremacy Saṁvat, *i. e.* Vikrama-Saṁvat 1265, or 1208-9 A. D.[1]

[1] See also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, pp. 187-88.

[1] ओं स्वस्ति ॥ यः पुंसां द्वैतभावं विघटयितुमिव
ज्ञानहीनेक्षणाना—मर्द्धं स्वीयं विहायार्द्धमपि
मुररिपोरेकभावात्मरूपः । — — —
[2] रोदजन्मा प्रलयजलधरश्यामलः कंठनाले
भाले यस्यार्द्धलेखा स्फुरति शशभृतः पातु वः
स त्रिनेत्रः ॥ १ [2] अवंती भूलोकं निज[भु]-
[3] जभृतां सौर्यपटलैः[3] पुनंती विप्राणां श्रुतिवि-
हितमार्गानुगमिनां । सदाचारैस्तारैः स्मरस-
रसयूनां परिमलैरवंती हर्षंती जय-
[4] ति धनिनां क्षेत्रधरणी ॥ २ [4] एतस्यां पुरि नूत-
नाभिधमठात् संपन्नविद्यातपा धीरात्मा चप-
लीयगोत्रविभवो निर्वाणमार्गानुगः । एका-
[5] ग्रेण तु चेतसा प्रतिदिनं चंडीशपूजारतः
संजातः स च चंडिकाश्रमगुरुस्तेजोमय-
स्तापसः ॥ ३ [5] शिष्यो मुनेरस्य महातपस्वी
[6] विवेकविद्याविनयाकरो यः । गुरूरुभक्तिव्यस-
नानिरिक्तो वभौ मुनिर्वाकलरासिनाम ॥ ४ [6]
जज्ञे ततो ज्येष्टजराशिरस्मा-
[7] देकांतरी शांतमनास्तपस्वी । त्रिलोचनाराध-
नतत्परात्मा वभूव यागेश्वरराशिनाम ॥ ५ [7]
तस्मादाविरभूदहस्कर इव प्रव्य-
[8] क्तलोकद्वयः कोधध्वांतविनाशनैकनिपुणः श्री-
मौनिराशिर्मुनिः । शान्तिक्षान्तिदयादिभिः
परिकरैः शूलेश्वरीसन्निभा
[9] शिष्या तस्य तपस्विनी विजयिनी योगेश्वरी
प्राभवत् ॥ ६ [8] दुर्वासराशिरेतस्याः शिष्यो
दुर्वाससा समः । मुनीनां स वभूवो-
[10] ग्रस्तपसा महसापि च ॥ ७ ॥ [9] व्रतनियम-
कलाभिर्यामिनीनाथमूर्त्तिर्निजचरितवितानै -
र्दिक्षु विख्यातकीर्त्तिः । अमलचप-
[11] लगोत्रप्रौद्यतानां मुनीनामजनि तिलकरूप-
स्तस्य केदारराशिः ॥ ८ [10] जीर्णोद्धारं वि-
शालं त्रिदिवपतिगुरोरत्र को-
[12] टेश्वरस्य व्यूढं चोत्तानपट्टं सकलकनखले श्र-
द्धया यश्चकार । अत्युच्चैर्भित्तिभागैर्दिवि दिव-
सपतिस्यंदनं वा वि-
[13] गृह्नन्[11] येनेहाकारि कोटः कलिविहगचल-
च्चित्तवित्रासपासः ॥ ९ [12] अभिनवनिजकी-
र्त्तेर्मूर्त्तिरुच्चैरिवादः स-
[14] दनमतुलनाथस्योद्धृतं येन जीर्णं । इह कन-
खलनाथस्याग्रतो येन चक्रे नवनिविडविशाले
सद्मनी
[15] शूलपाणेः ॥१० [13] यदीया भगिनी शांता
व्रह्मचर्यपरायणा शिवस्यायतनं रम्यं चक्रे
मोक्षेश्वरी भुवि ॥११॥ [14] प्रथम-
[16] विहितकीर्त्तिप्रौढयज्ञक्रियासु प्रतिकृतिमिव नव्यां
मंडपे यूपरूपां । इह कनखलशंभोः सद्मनि
स्तंभ-
[17] मालाममलकषणपाषाणस्य स व्याततान॥१२ [15]
यावदर्वुदनागोयं हेलया नंदिवर्द्धनं[16] वहति
पृष्ठतो लो-
[18] के तावन्नंदतु कीर्त्तनं ॥१३ [17] यावत् क्षीरं
वहति सुरभी शस्यजातं धरित्री यावत् क्षोणीं
कपटकमठो यावदा-
[19] दित्यचंद्रौ । यावद्वाणी प्रथमसुकवेर्व्यासभाषा
च यावत् श्रीमल्लक्ष्मीधरविरचिता तावदस्तु
प्रशास्ति ॥१४ [18]
[20] संवत् १२६५ वर्षे वैशाख शु १५ भौमे चौ-
लुक्योद्धरणपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्री -
मद्भीमदेवप्रवर्द्ध-
[21] मानविजयराज्ये श्रीकरणे महामुद्रामत्यमहं°
ठाभूप्रभृति समस्तपंचकुले परिपंथयति । चं-
द्रावतीनाथमांड-

[2] Metre Sragdharâ.

[3] Line 3 read शौर्यपटलैः.

[4] Metre Śikhariṇî.

[5] Metre Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[6] Metre Upajâti. Line 6 read °भक्तिव्यंस°; वभौ; °रा-शिनामा. Line 7 read वभूव; °राशिंनामा. Line 8 read क्रोध°. Line 9 read वभूवो°.

[7] Metre Upajâti.

[8] Metre Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[9] Metre Anushṭubh.

[10] Metre Mâlinî.

[11] Line 13 read °गृह्णन्; °पाशः; °मूर्त्ति°. Line 15 read ब्रह्म°.

[12] Metre Sragdharâ.

[13] Metre Mâlinî.

[14] Metre Anushṭubh.

[15] Metre Mâlinî.

[16] Line 17 read °दर्बुद°. Line 19 read प्रशस्तिः.

[17] Metre Anushṭubh.

[18] Metre Mandâkrântâ.

[22] लिकासुरशंभुश्रीधारावर्षदेवे एकातपत्रवाहकत्वेन भुवं पालयति । षट्दर्शनअवलंबनस्तंभसकलकलाकोविद-

[23] कुमारगुरुश्रीप्रल्हादनदेवे[19]यौवराज्ये सति इत्येवं काले केदारराशिना निष्पादितामिदं कीर्त्तनं । सूत्र पाल्हण ह

[24] केन [उत्कीर्ण्णं]

Translation.

Om! Hail! 1. May the three-eyed god protect you, he who abandons one half of his own self and whose remaining half becomes identical with the foe of Mura (Vishṇu), in order to destroy the notion of duality among men deficient in true knowledge, he who is the birth of...he whose neck is dark-blue as a cloud at the end of the Kalpa, and on whose forehead glitters the crescent of the moon.[20]

2. Glory to Avantî, the home of rich men, which protects the world by the heroism of its lords,[21] cleanses it by the pure and brilliant life of its Brâhmaṇs who follow the way prescribed by the revealed texts, and which gladdens it through the fragrance arising from the dalliance of its passionate youths.

3. In this city Tâpasa (*arose*) from the monastery called Nûtana, a man eminent through learning and austerity, of firm mind, the ornament of the Chapalîya race, following the road to the *Nirvâṇa* and dedicating himself daily with his whole heart to the worship of Chaṇḍîśa (Śiva); he became the glorious superior of Chaṇḍikâśrama (*the hermitage of Chaṇḍikâ*).

4. The disciple of that ascetic was the resplendent sage called Vâkalarâśi who practised great austerities, who was a mine of judgment, learning and humility, who deeply venerated his Gurus, and was free from vice.

5. Then Jyeshṭajarâśi succeeded. In the next generation after him he who was called Yâgeśvararâśi was an ascetic full of tranquillity of mind, exclusively engaged in worshipping Trilochana (*Śiva*).

6. After him the illustrious Maunirâśi appeared, resembling the sun who illuminates both worlds, unrivalled in destroying the darkness of wrath. The disciple of that ascetic was the austere and victorious Yâgeśvarî who resembled Śûleśvarî on account of her tranquillity, patience, piety and other qualities.

7. Her disciple Durvâsarâsi was equal to Durvasas. He was mighty among ascetics through austerity and lustre.

8. Kedârarâśi, his disciple, became the ornament of the ascetics belonging to the pure Chapala race who resembled the moon, since he grew through keeping his vow and restrictive rules, just as the moon grows through her *kalâs*, the fame of whose virtuous life was celebrated in the whole world.

9. He who out of faith made here an extensive renovation of (*the temple of*) Koṭeśvara (*Śiva*) the Guru of Tridivapati (*Indra*) and in the whole of Kanakhala a broad pavement of (*stone*) slabs, by whom the fort in this place was built, which perhaps may arrest the chariot of the sun in the sky by its high walls, and which is a snare terrifying the bird-like moveable mind of Kali.

10. By whom the old home of Atulanâtha was repaired, a sublime image, as it were, of his new fame, who built here, in front of Kanakhalanâtha, two new solid, large temples of Śûlapâṇi,—

11. Whose sister Mokshesvarî (*a mistress of liberation, as it were,*) on earth, tranquil and chaste, built a beautiful temple of Śiva,—

12. Erected[22] in the Maṇḍapa of this temple of Kanakhalaśambhu a row of pillars made of pure black stone, and shaped like sacrificial posts, a modern imitation, as it were, (*of those which were used*) for the high-famed sacrifices of yore.

13. As long as this serpent Arbuda easily bears Nandivardhana on his back, so long this song of praise shall rejoice in the world.

[19] Line 22 read °दर्शनावलंबन° there are two strokes above the अ signifying that it should be removed. Line 23 read प्रह्लादन°.

[20] The half of his body, which Śiva abandons, is his śakti *Pârvatî* with which he is united in his form of *Ardhanârîśvara*. The remaining half identifies itself with Vishṇu. The god does this in order to destroy the notion of duality (*dvaitabhâva*), *i. e.* the idea that Vishṇu and Śiva are two different deities which prevails among the ignorant. The poet though proclaiming the identity of the two gods, yet indicates that Śiva is greater than Vishṇu, since one half of Śiva is equal to Vishṇu.

[21] *Bhujabhṛit*, which seems to be the reading of the text, must be intended as a synonym of *bhûbhṛit* (king), though it is not clear how the word could acquire that meaning; possibly the poet may have coined it because *bhûbhṛit* would not fit the metre.

[22] The subject is Kedârarâśi taken up again from v. 8.

14. May this eulogy, composed by famed Lakshmîdhara, remain as long as the earth carries the most excellent water (*of Gangâ*) which proceeds from Îśa, as long as (*Vishṇu*) disguised as a tortoise (*supports the earth*), as long as sun and moon (*exist*), as long as the song of the first excellent poet[23] and the speech of Vyâsa[24] (*survive*).

Saṁvat 1265, on the 15th day of the light half of the month of Vaiśâkha, on a Tuesday; during the prosperous and victorious reign of the illustrious Bhîmadeva, the supreme Lord and king of great kings, the saviour of the Chaulukya race; while Mahaṁ Ṭhâbhû (?), the keeper of the great seal and all the other Panchakulas, performed[25] (*the work*) of writing the superscription *Śrî*,[26] while the Lord of Chandrâvatî, the chief of the feudal barons, the illustrious Dhârâvarshadêva being the only possessor of a regal parasol, protected the earth; while the illustrious Prahlâdanadêva,[27] an expert in all the fine arts and useful sciences, a most worshipful prince, was the heir-apparent; at that time Kedârarâśi caused this song of praise to be composed. (*It was engraved on stone*) by the mason......Pâlhaṇa.

AN ENGRAVED STONE WITH PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION FROM BAGHDÂD.

BY E. W. WEST, PH.D., MUNICH.

The late Dr. A. D. Mordtmann, writing from Constantinople on the 11th November 1875, enclosed to the late Professor Haug of Munich some ink impressions of a stone talisman engraved with a long inscription in Pahlavi characters, which impressions he had received some days before from Baghdâd. He remarked that the characters seemed to be those of the seventh or eighth century, and though he could decipher some isolated words, such as *nafshman, pavan shem-î yazdân*, &c., yet he could nowhere discover a connected sentence. He, therefore, had some slight suspicion that the inscription might be a forgery, more especially as, notwithstanding its great length, he thought it did not contain some of the letters of the Pahlavi alphabet. He further mentioned that its native owner wanted £45 for the stone.

This letter was handed to me on my return from India in June 1876, just after the death of Professor Haug. It contained one impression of the obverse, two of the reverse, and four of the edge of a circular stone about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. And the inscription consisted of a single line around the figures on the obverse, five concentric lines round those on the reverse, and three lines round the edge of the stone. The characters were, nearly all, very distinct, and after careful examination and study I was able to discover the order in which the lines ought to be read, as well as several connected sentences and well-defined words.

It appeared from this examination that the inscription contained all the Pahlavi letters except *gh*, a letter which is not used in Sasanian Pahlavi, though it occurs on the Pahlavi papyri of the eighth or ninth century lately found in Egypt. The sentences, also, so far as they could be read, were too idiomatically correct to be the production of any modern writer. I was, therefore, able to assure Dr. Mordtmann, when sending him an attempt at a fragmentary translation of about three-fourths of the inscription, that there was every probability that the inscription was genuine. Owing to several scattered words being still unintelligible, this tentative translation was, no doubt, too unsatisfactory for Dr. Mordtmann to make use of, as I heard nothing further about it. I likewise sent copies of the inscription to some of the Parsi Dasturs in India, to see if they could suggest a more complete translation, but their attempts furnished me with only two or three verbal improvements.

After an interval of four years and a half I asked Mr. Thomas a few months ago whether he had heard of this inscription, when he informed me that he had received a set of impressions of it some years before from Sir

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[23] Valmîki's *Râmâyaṇa*.

[24] The *Vedas, Purâṇas*, etc.

[25] *Paripanthayati* in the same meaning, but used as a transitive occurs in the inscription of Sarangadeva in the temple of Vastupâla at Âbu of Saṁvat 1350, in the Nadûla plate of Kumârapâla of Saṁvat 1213, and in the inscription of Visaladeva of Saṁvat 1317. In all these inscriptions we read (*Śrîkaraṇâdau*) *mudravyâparân paripanthayati*.

[26] *Śrîkaraṇa* lit. 'making Śrî,' then obtains the meaning of 'Secretariat.'

[27] Prahlâdanadêva, the younger brother of Dhârâvarsha, was a poet who wrote several Sanskrit plays; see *Rep. on Search for Sanskrit MS.* Bombay, 1872-73, p. 4.

H. C. Rawlinson, which he has since kindly placed at my disposal. These are the central impressions of the obverse and reverse, and the uppermost impression of the edge of the stone, on the accompanying photo-lithograph; the remaining impressions being those received from Dr. Mordtmann. Mr. Thomas's impressions are particularly clear, and have been specially useful in deciding the reading of the last two words on the obverse, as well as some of those in the outermost circle on the reverse of the stone. And according to a note on one of these impressions, the stone itself is a green flint.

The figures on the obverse comprise a naked, hairy, cloven-footed demon, facing to the front and standing, with an upright, serpent-encircled spear, point downwards, in each hand; the butt-end of each spear is surmounted by a cock; a star being above one cock and a crescent above the other. The occurrence of the cock is remarkable, inasmuch as it is said, in the Avesta, to be an opponent of demons. Around the demon are ten animals, mostly creatures of the evil spirit; thus, on the demon's right are a scorpion, fox, and ape; on his left, a scorpion, a wolf suckling twin children, a frog, and a goose; and beneath his feet are a duck, jackal, and hare (or rabbit).

The figure on the reverse appears to be the full-faced bust of a man with turreted head-dress, fillets, and side-curls; and having three stars to his right, and a star and crescent to his left.

The edge of the stone has a couple of holes drilled into it, as indicated by the circular spots on the impressions; or it may be a single hole drilled through from side to side of the edge, as the two spots are exactly half the circumference apart. This hole is evidently intended for mounting or stringing the stone upon a wire, and was probably drilled before the inscription was engraved, as none of the letters appear to be really mutilated by the drilling.

The inscription commences on the obverse, continues on the edge of the stone, and terminates on the reverse at the end of the outermost line. The beginning of each line of the inscription being indicated by the short lines external to the impressions on the photo-lithograph, which exhibits the letters and figures as they appear on the stone, and not reversed, but is by no means so clear as the original impressions.

The following transcription and translation of this inscription will probably be found to give a pretty close approximation to the actual meaning, though some of the words are still more or less ambiguous.[1]

Transcription.

[*One line on the obverse.* 1] Dûshtbakht ba*r*man va*l* Khasmbakht-î âsuftŏ ba*r*man pêtkham shed*r*ûnt,[2] aîkam â*rd*ŏ khâst hastŏ;

[*Three lines on the edge.* 2] kevan bîdûn[3] va kanîjakŏ, ba*r*â lâlâ khêzak chûk, *l*akhvâ*r* va*l* nafshman kûpŏ min-ich-at shed*r*ûnam. Zak vâ*r*ûn va*r*ê*d*

[3] aîkat aît *l*â sejgûn, chîgûn vakhdûnam amatam *l*ôît; va zak shibâ *r*î*d*ŏ va shibâ kanîjakŏân shed*r*ûnt

[4] asa*z*ân asa*z* dî*d*anŏ, bundakŏ *r*anjîkŏ kalbân sag, va kevan va*l* kunpê*d*. Sag Khasmbakht pêtkham *l*â nigûn vakhdûnt[4] :—

[*Five lines on the reverse.* 5] Ko*l*â â*rd* dûrêst vad sakhûn-khvahîh khvâr.[5] Denman lag

[6] pavan khabîh aô yehevunt,[6] dush anshûtâ! Afat vâng î li

[7] va nêm-î apîrân va pîrân va ko*l*â khusrûg-î tigil ba*r*man, min kevan rasîkŏ vad bânŏ, lâ

[8] vijâ*d*ê*d*, ba*r*â va*r*ê*d*. Va kevan pavan

[1] In the transcription italic *d* is used when d is written like t, italic *l* and *r* when l and r are like n or the Avesta o; and italic *z* when z is like ch. The short vowels which have no distinguishing mark are not expressed, but merely understood, in the Pahlavi text, and are here supplied in accordance with the cognate language, whether Chaldee, modern Persian, or the Avesta. And for the sake of convenient reference, the lines of the inscription are numbered.

[2] This form, traceable to Chald. *shedar*, is a more satisfactory reading for the verb 'to send' than the *shedûn* of the MSS. which has to be explained as a contraction of *yeshdûn* (traceable to Chald. *shedâ*, 'to throw'). The Glossaries give two forms, *shedûn* and *shedûn*; the first is evidently the *shedrûn* of our text with one stroke (forming the r) omitted, while the second is a joining of the dr at the top so as to form *t*-d, a malformation easily perpetrated, as may be better seen from the other occurrences of the word in ll. 2, 3. It may be further noted that the word is spelt *shedrûn* (just as in this inscription) in MSS. of the Dînka*r*d written in Persia.

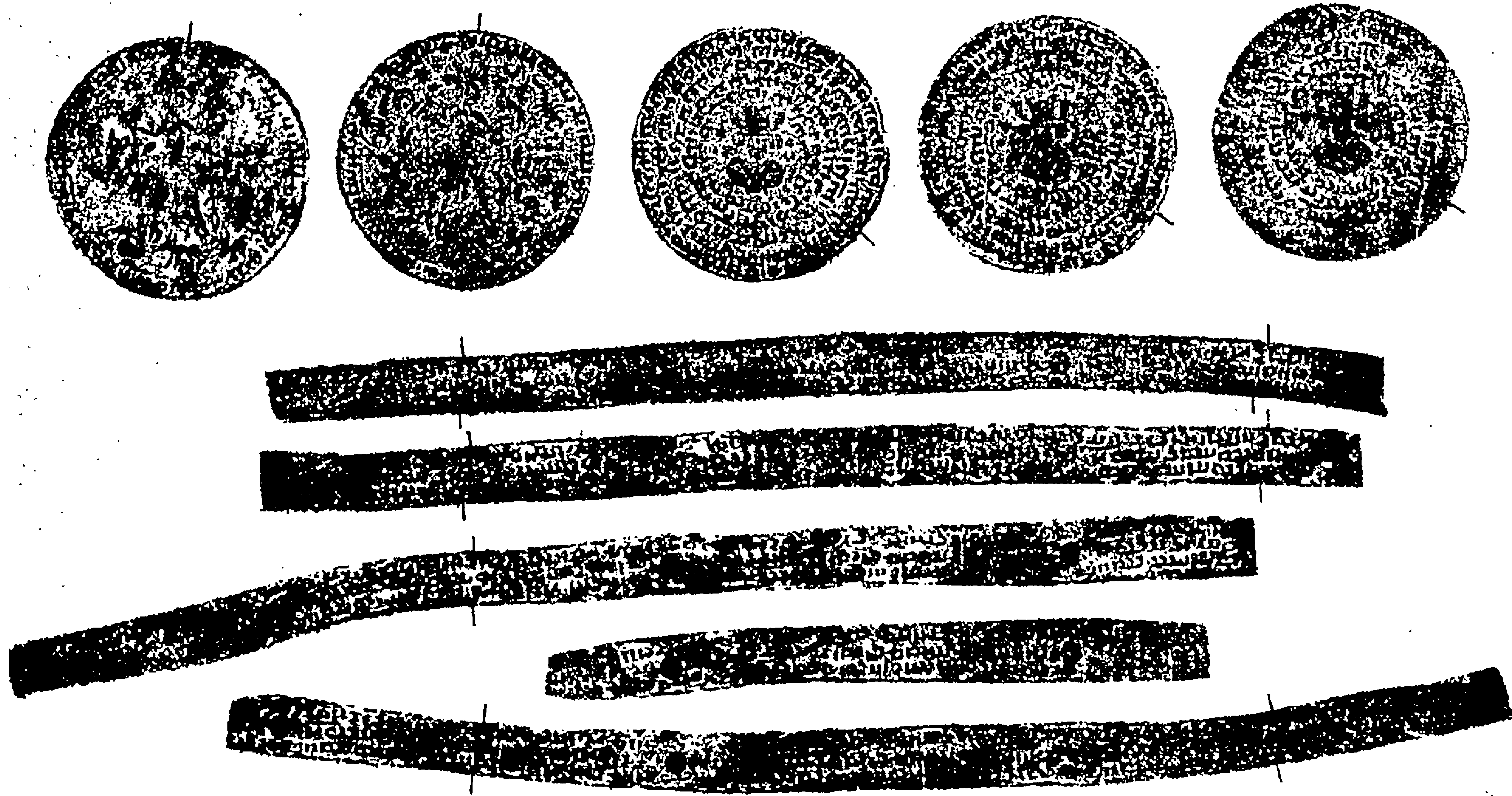
[3] The correct reading of the word which is traditionally read *bakhîn* owing to malformation.

[4] We might read *lakhvâr vâdûnt*, 'delivered back,' if we were at liberty to assume that the engraver had misformed the letters *âr* in the former word, and if we did not know that the latter word ought to be written *vabîdûnt* or *vadîdûnt*.

[5] This word is engraved above the line, as if it had been omitted by the engraver at first, and added afterwards.

[6] This word is usually written with an additional medial stroke, so as to make the *u* long.

IMPRESSIONS FROM AN ENGRAVED STONE
WITH PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION FROM BAGHDÂD.



NATURAL SIZE.

shem-î gazûd pavan khûdŏ ângûn barâ vijâdêd chîgûn âtûr

[9] myazd, mûnat pavan nigîr dûsh-fash, bandag. Denman sitâv-khvahîh min *li* mûnat darîd va khap tâsakŏ sitâft.

Translation.

[*On the obverse.*] The son of Dûshtbakht ('the ill-fated') sent a message to the son of the distracted Khasmbakht[7] ('the wrath-devoted'), thus:—"My anger[8] is excited;

[*on the edge*] now without an uprising bend of the knee[9] I send back a slave-boy and slave-girl for their own beating even from thee.[10] Dispatch the slave[11] so that it may not be ruinous to thee, as I seize though it be not mine; and those seven slave-boys and seven slave-girls are sent to see the unworthy of the unworthy, the fully afflicted dog of dogs, and now leap[12] at *them*." The dog Khasmbakht took the message undejected *and replied*:—

[*on the reverse*] "All anger is right while the quest of speech is easy.[13] This trouble should have happened in silence, O evil[14] man! Likewise turn away thy outcry which does not curse me and half of the unaged and aged, and every father-in-law of a youthful[15] son, from the now-a-day slave unto the lord. And now, in the name of the accursed, curse on so about yourself like a slave of the sacred feast of fire, which in thy sight is evil-diffusing. This request for haste is from me who tore[16] thee and hastened *thy* silent anxiety."

The inscription, as thus read, contains 474 Pahlavi letters and 84 different words, of which all but 15 (exclusive of the two names) are known to occur in Pahlavi MSS. These fifteen words which have not yet been noticed in the MSS., but which are all readily traceable to Persian or Avesta forms, are as follows;—*chûk, varêd, kunpêd, lag* (*alag* in MSS.), *khabîh, apîrân, khusurâg, tigil, bânŏ, vijâdêd, guzûd, dûsh-fash, sitâv* (*aûshtâv* in MSS.), *khap* and *tâsakŏ*. The meaning of all the words in the transcription is, therefore, nearly certain, and there is little room for emendation without altering the reading of the words which, considering the ambiguity of several of the Pahlavi letters, is a matter that can never be altogether free from doubt.

The date of the inscription may be approximately stated as earlier than the conversion of the Sasanian *sh*, and later than the conversion of the Sasanian *h* or *kh* into the corresponding letters of modern Pahlavi.[17] Now although there was, no doubt, a considerable period during which either the old or new forms might be used, yet it appears from the evidence of dated coins, subsequent to the Muhammadan conquest of Persia, that the modern form of the *h* came into use about A. D. 670, and that of the *sh* about A. D. 680. So that the date of this inscription may be reasonably fixed at the latter end of the seventh century. If, therefore, there be any one who still doubts the genuineness of the Pahlavi MSS. preserved by the Parsis, it will be important for him to notice that we have here an inscription of considerable length, which numismatists must admit to be about twelve hundred years old for palæographical reasons, and which, at the same time, is composed in the same style, and uses the same words and phrases, as the said Pahlavi MSS. employ. The only practical conclusion that can be drawn from such facts is that the MSS. are really (as they profess to be) specimens of a written language still current in Persia twelve hundred years ago.

This inscription is also of some interest to philologists from its giving the probably correct form (*shedrûn*) of the Huzvârish verb 'to send' (see note 2), and from its use of the unusual word *vârûn* in the sense of 'slave,' which word is the equivalent of *verezêna*, 'bondsman,' in the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta. But its chief importance lies in its supplying some connecting links between the form of the final[18] syllable *-man* of many

[7] Or, perhaps, 'to Khasmbakht with the distracted son.'

[8] Or it may be *khirdŏ*, 'wisdom,' both here and in l. 5.

[9] Or, perhaps, 'an uprising penis.'

[10] Better than reading *kôfô min chad* and translating 'to their own mountain aside' *min-ich-at* being a true Pahlavi idiom.

[11] 'Or choose the torment' if we read *vikhrûn* instead of *vârûn*.

[12] Or it may be *kûpêd*, 'strike;' the verb may, however, be 3rd sing. present.

[13] That is, anger is justifiable so long as it does not deprive one of speech.

[14] Or *gash*, 'handsome.'

[15] It is possible to read *ôsravag-î Tir* instead of '*khusurâg-î tigil*, and to translate 'every son of a priest of Tîr,' but this is unlikely. The whole sentence is as complicated as any of the same length in the MSS., and quite beyond the power of composition of any modern writer of Pahlavi.

[16] Speaking ironically as a dog.

[17] It may also be noted that out of 42 occurrences of the letter *n* there are 7 with the old short side-stroke at the bottom.

[18] That is, it is always final so far as the Semitic portion of the word is concerned, but Iranian suffixes can be added to it, so as to give it a medial appearance.

Semitic words in modern Pahlavi and that of its equivalent letter in Sasanian Pahlavi. Of such words ending in *-man* there are three occurrences of *barman*, one of *nafshman*, and two of *denman* in this inscription. In lin. 1 the *-man* in *barman* differs but slightly from its Sasanian form; there is no open loop to the *m*, and the *n* is decidedly curved. In the word *nafshman* in lin. 2 the loop of the *m* is open, but unlike the usual form of that letter, and the *n* is still curved. In *barman* in lin. 7 the *n* is straighter, but the *-man* still differs from the following word, *min*, composed of the same letters. While in *denman* in ll. 5, 9 there is hardly any difference between the final *-man* and any ordinary *min* or *mû*. There is thus a regular gradation of forms in this inscription from the Sasanian letter to its modern representative *-man*, illustrative of the progress from the one form to the other, and showing that this final syllable *-man* can hardly have arisen from a combination of the letters *m* and *n*, but from a gradual alteration of the form of a single letter of the Sasanian alphabet, which letter in the great majority of cases corresponds to the Chaldee emphatic suffix *-â*.

With regard to the stone itself, although it has, no doubt, been used as an amulet, there is nothing in the inscription to indicate that it was manufactured for that purpose. It seems to be merely a record of part of an insulting correspondence between two men, possibly imaginary, engraved probably by direction of Khasmbakht who, from the allusion to the *âtûr myazd* or 'sacred feast of fire' being despised by his opponent may perhaps be conjectured to have been a Zoroastrian, and may be represented by the man's bust on the reverse of the stone. Whether the demon on the obverse be intended as a fancy portrait of 'the son of Dûshtbakht,' or as a representation of the 'accursed' evil spirit in whose name he is told to curse himself, it is hardly safe to guess. It is also difficult to conceive the object of engraving such an inscription as a permanent record.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(Continued from p. 172.)

No. 16.—The Rat's Wedding.[1]

Once upon a time a rat was caught in a shower of rain. Being far from shelter, he set to work and soon dug a hole in the ground, in which he sat as dry as a bone. Now while he was digging he came on a fine bit of a dry root. "This is quite a prize," said he to himself, "I must take it home."

So when the rain was over, he took the dry root in his mouth, and set off home. On the way he saw a man trying to light a fire while his children stood by and howled with hunger. "Dear me," said the rat, "what an awful noise! What is the matter?"

"The bairns are hungry," answered the man, "and want their breakfast, but the fire won't light because the sticks are wet, so how can I cook the bread?"

"If that is all," said the good-natured rat, "take this dry root. I'll warrant it will make a fine blaze."

"That's really most kind of you," replied the man gratefully, "and in return take this bit of dough."

"What a clever fellow I am," thought the rat as he trotted off, "what bargains I make! Fancy getting food that will last me for five days for an old stick! Wah!"

Soon after he saw a potter trying to pacify three little children who were howling, and crying, and screaming. "Dear! dear! what is the matter?" asked the rat.

"The bairns are hungry," answered the potter, "I haven't any food to give them."

"Is that all?" said the soft-hearted rat. "Here take this dough, cook it quickly."

"You are most obliging," cried the potter delighted, "and in return take one of those pipkins."[2]

The rat was delighted at this exchange though he found the pot rather hard to carry. At last, however, he managed to balance it on his head,

[1] Told at Muzaffargarh by a boy of Pûrbiâ origin named Namdar.—F. A. S.

[2] *Gharâ*—a round earthen pot.—R. C. T.

and went gingerly tink-a-tink, tink-a-tink down the road, saying to himself "How clever I am! what a hand at bargain! Wah!!"

By and bye he came to where some cowherds were milking a buffalo in the jangal, and having no pail they used their shoes instead. "Oh fie!" cried the rat quite shocked, "what a nasty trick! Why don't you use a pail?"

"Haven't got one," growled the cowherds sulkily. They didn't see why the rat should call them over the coals.

"Is that all?" cried the cleanly rat. "Here, take this pipkin. I can't bear dirt!"

The cowherds were delighted, took the pipkin, and milked away till it was quite full. Then they brought it to the rat, saying—"Here little fellow, drink your fill as a reward."

"Come! None of that!" cried the rat, who was as shrewd, as he was good-natured, "as if I could drink the worth of my pipkin at a draught! *I couldn't hold it!* Besides I always make good bargains, and you must just give me the buffalo."

"Rubbish!" returned the cowherds, "Who ever heard of such a price? Besides, what could you do with such a big beast? The pipkin was about as much as you could manage."

"Leave that to me," said the rat, "all you have to do is to give me the buffalo."

"All right," said the cowherds laughing. So just to humour the rat and for the fun of the thing, they loosed the buffalo's halter and began to tie it to the rat's tail.

"No! no!" shouted he in a great hurry. "It wont be safe there. Why, if that big brute were to pull, the skin would come off, and then where should I be? Tie it round my neck instead."

So they tied the rope round the rat's neck, and he set off gaily towards home; but when he came to the end of the tether, not a step further could he go, for the buffalo saw a fine tuft of grass in another direction, and marched off to eat it, and the rat willy-nilly had to trot behind. But he was much too proud to confess the fact, so he nodded his head gaily to the cowherds, and said, "Ta Ta, I shall go home this way, it is a little roundabout perhaps, but it is much shadier." And when the cowherds burst out laughing, he took no notice, but looked as dignified as possible.

"After all," he said to himself, "when one keeps a buffalo, one has to look after it when it is grazing. There is plenty of time before me, and the beast must get a bellyful of grass if it is to give any milk." So he trotted about amiably after the buffalo all day, making believe. But by the evening he was dead tired of it, and was quite glad when the buffalo lay down under a tree to rest.

Just then a bridal party came by, and sat down in the shade to cook some food.

"What detestable meanness," grumbled the palanquin-bearers and servants, "fancy giving us plain *palau*[3] with never a scrap of meat in it. It would serve the skinflints right if we left the bride in a ditch."

"Dear me," said the rat, "what a shame! I sympathise with you entirely, and to show you how I feel for you, I will give you my buffalo, kill it and cook it."

"Phooh!" returned the servants, "what rubbish? who heard of a rat who owned a buffalo?"

"Not often, I admit," replied the rat with pride, "but look yourself; don't you see I am leading the beast with string?"

"Bother the string!" cried a great big hungry bearer, "Master or no Master, I'll have meat for my dinner!"

Whereupon they killed the buffalo, and cooked the flesh, saying "Here little ratskin, have same *palau* in payment."

"Now look here! none of your sauce!" cried the rat, "you don't suppose I am going to give you my beautiful buffalo that gave quarts and quarts[4] of milk for a wee bit of its flesh. No! I got a loaf for a bit of stick; I got a pot for a little loaf; I got a buffalo for an earthen pot, and now I'll have the bride for my buffalo, and nothing else!"

The servants by this time having satisfied

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[3] *Palau*, a rich Indian dish of rice boiled in soup with meat, spices, etc.—*Fallon.* A dish composed of flesh or fish highly seasoned, first roasted and afterwards fricasseed or stewed, covered and heaped over with rice newly-boiled, seasoned and sometimes coloured, and garnished with eggs and onions.—Johnson *Pers. and Arab. Dict.* The *palau* of the text must have been rice newly-boiled in soup or more likely boiled rice seasoned.—R. C. T.

[4] *Ser:* liquids are always sold in India by weight not by any measure of capacity; a *ser* (seer) equals 2 lbs. or about a quart.—R. C. T.

their hunger became rather alarmed at what they had done, and came to the conclusion it would be best to escape while they could. So leaving the bride in the *dolâ*[5] they bolted in different directions.

Then the rat drew aside the curtain, and in his sweetest voice, and with his best bow begged the bride to descend. She hardly knew whether to laugh or to cry, but as anything was better than staying alone in the jangal, she followed him as she was bid. The rat was delighted to find by her rich dress and jewels that she was a king's daughter, and went trotting along, saying to himself, "Oh, how clever I am! what bargains I do make to be sure! Wah! wah!!" When they arrived at his hole, he said to the bride with a polite air—"Welcome, Madam, pray step in. I'll show you the way." Whereupon he ran in first, but when he found the bride didn't follow, he put his nose out again, saying testily—"Why don't you come? It's rude to keep your husband waiting."

"My good Sir," laughed the bride, "I can't get in *there*."

"There is something in that," replied the rat thoughtfully, "I must build you a thatch somewhere. In the meantime sit under that wild plum tree."[6]

"But I'm hungry," said the bride.

"Dear me, that's very sad," returned the rat, "I'll fetch you something in a trice."

So he ran into his hole and returned with an ear of millet,[7] and one pea. "There's a fine dinner," said he triumphantly.

"I can't eat that," whispered the bride, "I want *palau* and cakes, and sweet eggs, *koftas*,[8] and sugar-drops. I shall die if I don't get them."

"Dear, dear!" said the rat fretfully, "what a bother a bride is! Why don't you eat the wild plums?"

"I can't live on wild plums," replied the bride, "besides they are only half ripe, and I can't reach them."

"Rubbish!" cried the rat, "you must for to-night, and to-morrow you can gather a basket-full and sell them in the city, and then you can buy sugar-drops and sweet-eggs and *koftas* and cakes."

So the very next morning the rat climbed up the plum tree, and nibbled away at the stalks till the fruit fell down. Then the king's daughter gathered them up, unripe as they were, and carried them to the town in a basket, calling out,

Gaderî gader! gaderî gader!
Râjâ dî beṭî, chûhâ legîâ gher![9]
Green plums I sell! green plums I sell!
Princess am I, rat's bride as well.

As she passed by the palace, her mother heard the voice, and ran out—ever so happy to find her daughter safe again, for they thought she had been eaten by wild beasts. So they feasted and were very merry. By and bye who should come to the door but the rat with a big stick. He was in a frightful rage, and called out—

"Give me my wife! Give me my wife. I gave a stick and I got a loaf; I gave a loaf and I got a pot; I gave a pot and I got a buffalo; I gave a buffalo and I got a bride. Give me my wife! Give me my wife!"

"La! son-in-law," said the wily old Queen, "what a fuss you make! Who wants to take away your wife? On the contrary we are delighted to see you. Just wait a bit till I spread the carpets, and then we will receive you in style."

The rat was mollified by the old lady's politeness, and waited patiently outside, while the cunning old thing cut a hole out of the middle of a stool,[10] and put a red-hot flaming stone underneath, covering up the hole with an iron sauce-pan lid,[11] then she threw a fine embroidered cloth over all, and called out,

[5] *Dola*, a bride's palanquin, see above in these tales *passim*.—R. C. T.

[6] *Ber*, the wild plum tree, *Ziziphus jujuba*.—R. C. T.

[7] *Kangnî*, millet, *panicum italicum*. It is a very small grain.—R. C. T.

[8] *Kofta*, a ball of fried meat highly spiced: minced meat; pounded or bruised meat.—R. C. T.

[9] *Lit*. Green fruit! green fruit!
The rat has made a mistress of the râjâ's daughter.
Gaderî gader: *gaddrâ* and *gaddar*, nearly ripe; half-ripe; green. *ghernâ*, to surround, but idiom. *gher lenâ*, to keep a mistress, marry a widow.

pâe bahut phere
par ab charhî hai ghere.—Proverb.
I came again and again,
And entrapped her at last.

[10] *Pîrhî*, a small square stool with a straight upright back. It is very low, not more than a foot from the ground.—R. C. T.

[11] *Sarposh*—Panj. *sarpos*: *cf.* Hind. *dhaknî*. A cover: lid (*sar*, head, and *posh*, covering, Pers.); usually it is the iron or copper cover used with *degchîs*,—iron or copper-tinned cooking pots; sauce-pans.—R. C. T.

"Come in now, my dear son-in-law, and rest yourself."

"Dear me! how clever I am! what bargains I make!" said the rat to himself as he climbed on to the stool. "Here am I the son-in-law of a real live Queen! What will the neighbours say?"

He sat down on the edge of the stool at first, and after a time he said, "Dear me! mother-in-law! how hot your house is."

"You are sitting out of the wind there," said the wily Queen, "sit more in the middle. It's cooler there."

But it wasn't! for the sauce-pan lid had become so hot that the rat fairly frizzled when he sat down, and stuck so that he left all his hair and the best part of his skin behind him, before he managed to escape, howling and vowing that he never, never, never would make a bargain any more.

No. 17.—A Story of Heroes.[1]

There was once upon a time a wrestler who lived in a far country, and hearing there was a mighty wrestler in India, he determined to try a fall with him; so he tied up 10,000 lbs.[2] of flour[3] in his blanket, put the bundle on his head, and set off. Towards evening he came to a little tank in the middle of the desert, so he took a good drink of water first, then emptied all the flour into the remainder, stirred it up into brose, and made a hearty meal. Then he lay down to sleep under a tree.

By and by an elephant came to drink, and was astonished to find the tank quite dry with only a little mud and flour at the bottom. "What shall I do now?" thought the elephant, "there is no other water for twenty miles."

Then it espied the wrestler under the tree, and became furious, saying, "This is the creature that has done the mischief."

So it galloped up to the sleeping man and stamped on his head, determined to crush him. But the wrestler only stirred, and said sleepily, "What the dickens are you at? If you want to shampoo my head why don't you do it properly? Put a little of your weight into it, my friend."

At this the elephant stared: "Never mind," thought it however, "I'll just seize him by my trunk, and dash him to the ground."

So it seized the wrestler by the waist, and was dragging him up, when the man quietly caught its tail, and saying—"Ho my friend, that's your little game, is it?" threw the big beast over his shoulder, and set off on his journey.

By and bye he came to the Indian wrestler's house, and called out—"Ho! my friend, come out, and try a fall!"

"My husband's not at home," cried the wrestler's wife, "he has gone to the wood for sticks."

"Well, when he returns," cried the stranger, "give him that, and tell him the owner has come from far to challenge him."

With that he chucked the elephant over the courtyard wall.

"Oh Mama! Mama,!" cried a treble voice inside, "that nasty man has thrown a mouse over the wall, what shall I do?"

"Never mind, my little daughter," answered the wrestler's wife, "Papa will teach him manners. Take the grass broom and sweep it away." Then there was a sound of sweeping, and the dead elephant came flying over the wall.

"Now!" thought the stranger, "if his little daughter can do this, the man himself will be a worthy foe."

So he set off to the wood, and on his way he met the Indian wrestler dragging 160 carts laden with brushwood. So he stole behind the carts, and laid hold of the last. "Now we shall see," quoth he, and began to pull.

"That's a deep rut," said the Indian wrestler and pulled harder. So it went on for an hour but not an inch one way or the other did the carts move. "There must be some one behind," said the Indian wrestler at last, and walked back to see. Sure enough there was the stranger, who said to him at once—"I think we are pretty well matched, let us have a fall together."

"With all my heart," answered the other, "but not here alone. It is no fun fighting without applause."

[1] Told by a cook at Muzaffargarh, who came from Bândâ.—F. A. S.

[2] 160 *Man*: the *man* is $82\frac{2}{7}$ lbs., therefore the weight named was really 13,166 lbs.—R. C. T.

[3] *Sattu*, grain parched and ground; flour; meal; especially grain not ground small. In the Panjab the real sattu is barley [illegible] meal [illegible] pulse [illegible] meal. [illegible] ears of [illegible] and [illegible]—R. C. T.

"I haven't time to wait," said the stranger, "it must be here or nowhere."

Just then an old woman came hurrying by: "Here's an audience," cried the wrestlers, and called out—"Oh mother, stop and see fair play."

"I can't, my sons, for my daughter threatens to steal my camels. I must be off, and not stop here, but if you like you can jump on to the palm of my hand, and wrestle as I go along." So the two wrestlers jumped, one on to each palm, and fell to without delay.

Now when the old woman's daughter saw her coming along with the two wrestlers on her hand, she thought, "Here comes my mother with the soldiers she spoke of." So the girl packed up the 160 camels in her blanket and set off at a run. By and bye one of the camels got its head out, and began groaning and bubble-ubble-ubble-ing. So the girl tore down a few trees, and stuffed them into the bundle too. But when the farmer to whom the trees belonged saw this, he ran up and called out that she was a thief.

"A thief indeed!" cried the girl, and with that she bundled the farmer, fields, crops, oxen, farm and all, into the blanket.

By and bye she came to a town, but when she asked a pastry cook to give her some food, he refused, so she caught up the town bodily, and thrust it into the blanket; and so on, with everything she met.

At last she saw a big water-melon in a field. Being very hungry she sat down, and put her bundle beside her, and began to eat it. When she had finished she felt sleepy; but the camels in the blanket made such a noise with their bubble-ubble-ubble that she just packed everything into the lower half of the empty water-melon rind and popped on the other like a lid. Then she went to sleep in her blanket. While she slept a big flood came and carried off the water-melon, which floated down stream for ever so far, till it struck on a mud bank, when the top fell off, and out hopped the camels, the trees, the farmer, the farm, the oxen, the town and all the other things, till there was quite a new world in the middle of the river.[*]

[*] This story has a non-Aryan ring about it, and may refer to the mythology of pre-Aryan times in Bândâ: perhaps to the somewhat mythical Gond occupation of that district.—R. C. T.

FOLKLORE FROM KASHMÎR.

COLLECTED BY Mrs. F. A. STEEL.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

No. 1.—Folk-tale.[1]

King 'Ali Mardân Khân[2] and the Snake Woman.[3]

Once upon a time King 'Ali Mardân Khân went out hunting, and as he hunted in the forest above the Dal Lake[4] he saw before him a maiden beautiful as a flower, who was weeping bitterly. So he bade his followers remain behind, and going up to the beautiful damsel, he asked her who she was, and how she came into that wild forest alone.

"O great king," she answered, "I am the Emperor of China's handmaiden, and as I was wandering about in the pleasure garden of the palace I lost my way. And now I must die, for I am hungry and weary."

Then the king said gallantly, "So fair a maiden must not die while 'Ali Mardân Khân can deliver her."

And calling to his servants he bade them convey the damsel to his palace in the Shâlimâr

[1] Told by Paṇḍit Nânâ Beo at Khrû, near Srinagar.—F. A. S.

[2] The celebrated 'Ali Mardân Khân of Shâh Jahân's reign. He was for a time Governor of Kashmîr (not king as the tale says) about A.D. 1650, and was one of the most magnificent and best remembered the country ever had.—R. C. T.

[3] The word used is *Lamiâ*, said in Kashmîr to be a snake 200 years old, who has the power to turn into a woman at will. In Panjâbî *lammâ* is any long snake or serpent (*lambâ* long). The before-mentioned belief (Panjâb Folklore) in the power of jogis to conquer snakes crops up in this tale. Similar legends about long-lived snakes abound in the neighbouring Kângrâ Valley. 100 years' snakes can fly and are said to live in the sandal tree on the odour of the wood: they can also in Kashmîr assume the shape of any animal. Only the 200 years' snake, *yahawwâ*, can turn into a woman, while the 1000 years' snake can fly to the moon where he regales himself on *amṛit*, nectar. In the Kângrâ district *Bhirţî* is a malignant sprite who can assume any shape, man, animal, snake, etc. Bhirţî has a special dislike to children and is held up to them as a bugbear. Mischiefs of all kinds, fires, &c., are put down to her; as also are cattle and agrarian thefts, a notion taken useful advantage of by the local thief. Like the *Lamiâ* she resumes her shape at night.—R. C. T.

[4] The celebrated lake at Śrînagar.—R. C. T.

Gardens,[5] and she, nothing loth, lived there with the king, who became so enamoured of her that he forgot everything else.

Now it so happened that the servant of a holy jogî[6] was coming back from Gangâbal[7] where he went every year to draw water for his master. As he passed the wall of the Shâlimâr Gardens he saw the tops of the fountains that flashed in the sun like silver, and he said to himself "What wonder is this? I will go and see." So he put the vessel of water on the ground, and went in to see. There amid the fountains and the trees he wandered astounded at their beauty, till wearied out he fell asleep.

Now the king was walking in the garden, and saw the man asleep, and noticed that he held something fast in his right hand. Stooping down he gently removed it, and found it was a small box containing a sweet-smelling ointment.[8] While he was looking at it the man awoke, and missing his box began to weep and wail. But the king bade him be comforted, and showing him the box, told him it should be returned to him safely if he told faithfully why he prized it so much. Then the man said: "O great king, the box is my master's, and contains a precious ointment of many virtues. So long as I have it in my hand, no harm can happen to me, and it enables me to go to Gangâbal and return with the water to my master in so short a time that he is never without the sacred element."

"Tell me truly," said the king, "is your master indeed such a man? Is he indeed such a holy saint?"

Then said the servant "He is indeed such a man, and there is nothing in the wide world he does not know."

Then the king became curious to see this holy man, so he said to the servant:—

"Go home to your master, and tell him King 'Ali Mardân Khâṅ has his box, and will keep it till he comes to fetch it himself."

So the servant set off to his master, but as he had not the magical box, it was two years and a half before he reached home. All this time King 'Ali Mardân Khâṅ lived with the Snake Woman and forgot everything else in the wide world.[9] Yet he was not happy: a strange white look came into his face and a stony look into his eyes.

Now, when the servant told his master, the jogî, what had happened, he was very angry with him, but as he could not live without the box which enabled him to get the water from Gangâbal he set off to the Court of King 'Ali Mardân Khâṅ; when he arrived there the king gave him the box as he had promised.

Then the jogî said, "Oh king, you have been gracious to me, now in my turn I will do you a kind action. Tell me truly, had you always that white scared face and those stony eyes?"

"No," said the king, and hung his head.

"Tell me," said the jogi, "have you any strange woman in the palace?"

Then the king, who felt a strange relief in telling the Jogî all about it, recounted the whole story from the beginning. Then said the jogî—

"Oh king, she is no hand-maiden of the Emperor of China. She is nothing but a *Wásdeo*, a *Lamiá*,[10] the two hundred years' old snake who has the power of taking the form of a woman."

The king was very angry at first, but when the jogî insisted, he began to be afraid, and at last promised to do as he was bid, and so find out the truth of the matter.

Therefore, that very evening according to

[5] At Śrînagar, made by Jahângîr, who preceded 'Ali Mardân Khân by a generation, being Shâh Jahân's father. Moore has immortalized these gardens, the scene of the loves of Jahângîr and Nûr Mahâl:

"And oh! if there be an Elysium on earth,
It is this, it is this."

There are some Shâlimâr gardens near Lahor on the Amritsar Road made by Ranjît Singh.—R. C. T.

[6] See note Panjâb Folklore *ante passim*.—R. C. T.

[7] A holy lake on the top of Mt. Harâmukh (16,905 ft.) in the North of Kashmîr. It is one of the sources of the Jhelam River and the scene of an annual fair about 20th August. Ince's *Kashmîr Handbook*.—R. C. T.

[8] Jogîs keep ointments and unguents to propitiate certain gods with, *e.g.* Mahâdev, Pârbatî, Mahâbîr (Hanumân), Bhairava, Kâlî, &c.—R. C. T.

[9] As a matter of fact 'Ali Mardân Khân, like all the Mughal Emperors and Governors, merely stayed the summer in Kashmîr. Indeed his journies to and fro gave rise to an extravagance that has become historical.—R. C. T.

[10] For *Lamiá*, see note 3 above, also p. 232. *Wâsdev*=Vâsudeva a descendant of Vasudeva. The connection of this word with snakes is not at first apparent, and it seems to be confined in this sense to Kashmîr. Vâsudeva was the earthly father of Kṛishṇa, and therefore of his elder brother Balarâma, who was equally a Vâsudeva with Kṛishṇa. Now Balarâma is in classical legend much mixed up with Śêsha (now Sesh Nâg) the serpent who supports the world and is king of the serpents or nâgas, and with Vâsuki, the king of the snakes, who was wound round Mount Meru at the churning of the ocean, now known as Bâsak Nâg; and lastly Ananta the infinite, the serpent whose legend combines that of Śêsha and Vâsuki, is mixed up not only with Balarâma but also with Kṛishṇa. Hence I fancy the modern Wâsdev, a mythical serpent.—R. C. T.

the jogî's order he had two kinds of *khichṛî*[11] made ready and placed in one dish. One half was sweet *khichṛî*, and the other half was very salt.

Now when dinner was served the sweet *khichṛî* side of the dish was put towards the king, but the salt side towards the Snake Woman. She found it very salt, but seeing the king eat away without any remark went on eating also. But after they had retired to rest, when the king by the jogî's orders was feigning sleep, the Snake Woman became so thirsty, so dreadfully thirsty from all the salt food she had eaten, that she longed for water. As there was none in the room she had to go out for it. Now a Snake Woman always resumes her snake shape when she goes out at night.[12] The king could scarcely lie still as he saw the beautiful woman in his arms change to a deadly slimy snake that slid out of the bed and out of the door into the garden. He followed it softly. It drank of every fountain by the way, but nothing quenched its thirst till it reached the Dal Lake, where it bathed and drank for hours.

Fully satisfied of the horrible truth the king begged the jogî to show him some way out of the trouble. Whereon the jogî said: "Don't be alarmed. I can save you and destroy this Snake Woman if you will do as I bid you." The king promised, and according to the jogî's orders had an oven made of a hundred different kinds of metal, very large and very strong, with a cover and a padlock. This was placed in a shady spot in the garden, and fastened to the ground with chains. Then the king said to the Snake Woman, "My heart's beloved! Let us amuse ourselves with cooking our own food to-day."

She, nothing loth, consented. Then the king heated the oven very hot and set to work to knead bread, but being clumsy at it he found it hard work, so after he had baked two loaves he said to the Snake Woman—"To oblige me, bake the bread while I knead it."

At first she refused, saying she did not like ovens, but when the king said: "Oh, I see you do not love me since you will not help me," she set to work with a bad grace to tend the baking.

The king watched his opportunity as she stooped over the oven's mouth to turn the loaves, gave her a shove in, and clapped down the cover and locked it fast.

When the Snake Woman found herself caught, she bounded so that if it had not been for the chains she would have bounded out of the garden, oven and all, and this went on from four o'clock one day to four o'clock the next, when all was quiet. Then the jogî and the king waited till the oven was cold, and when they opened it the jogî took the ashes, and gave the king a small round stone that was in the middle of them, saying, "This is the real essence of the Snake Woman, whatever you touch with it will turn to gold."[13] But the king said—"Such a treasure as that is more than a man's life is worth, for it must bring envy and battle and murder with it." So when he went to Aṭak he threw it into the river near Hoti Mardân.[14]

MISCELLANEA.

LAMIA OR AA'MIA.

What is the Lamia? is the question I propound here in the hope that some of the readers of this Journal will be able to help me to solve it.

Some little time ago Mrs. Steel sent me from Kashmîr a folktale, which she had entitled the "Story of the Lamia and the King." Owing to the uncertainty as to what the Lamia is, the title was altered to "'King' Ali Mardân Khân and the Snake Woman," (see p. 230,) there being no doubt

[11] See note to Folklore in the Panjâb, No. 1. Sweet *khichṛî* consists of rice, sugar, cocoanut, raisins, almonds, cardamoms and aniseed: salt *khichṛî* of *dâl* (pulse) and rice.—R. C. T.

[12] Compare the legend of the *Bhirṭî*—note 3 above.—R. C. T.

[13] This must evidently refer to the modern Indian *pâras* (Sansk, *sparśa-maṇi*) or philosopher's stone that turns what it touches into gold. Here we have an origin for it!—R. C. T.

[14] Aṭak on the Indus, better known to Europeans as Attock. Hoti Mardân, a frontier post, is a little to the north-west of Aṭak on the Lûndâ River, a tributary of the Indus, which last is always locally known as the Aṭak River. I do not know that Hoti Mardân, which as its name signifies is merely the head quarters of the Muhammadan tribe of the Hots, had ever any connection with 'Ali Mardân Khân, a name with quite a different derivation. Perhaps the similarity of sound has suggested the connection here. I think it is pretty clear that this is an old tale fastened on to a celebrated man as a peg whereon to hang it. Mûlrâj of Mûltân, who lived in *this* century, is another personage on whom such tales are commonly fastened in the Panjâb. This tale and those about Mûlrâj, Sir H. Lawrence, Râm Singh the Kûkâ and the very modern legend of Dânî and Sakhî Sarwar, which I have given elsewhere (Panjâb Folklore *ante* and *Calcutta Review*, October, 1881), show how many centuries behind us the natives of India are in mental darkness.—R. C. T.

whatever as to what the Lamia was in the tale, *viz.*, a snake woman.

Now in the tale the Lamia is a "beautiful damsel, beautiful as a flower," who is found by 'Ali Mardân' Khân in the forest above the Dal Lake at Śrînagar, and gives herself out to be "the Emperor of China's hand-maiden." The Viceroy, for that is what he really was, takes possession of her, and lives with her in the celebrated Shâlimâr gardens for three years, "and yet he was not happy, and a strange look came into his face, and a stony look into his eyes." At last a Jogî comes and explains to him that she "is nothing but a *Wasdu*, a Lamia, or snake, two hundred years old, which has the power of taking the form of a woman." This makes him determined to destroy her, which he effects by tricking her into an oven, and baking her "from 4 P. M. to 4 P. M."

There are two peculiarities about this Lamia which I would notice. She had to resume her snake-shape if she went out of the house at night, and after she had been burnt a small round stone was found in the ashes, which the Jogî said was "the real essence of the Lamia: whatever you touch with it will turn into gold." This I take to be the *Páras*, or Philosopher's stone, the classical *Sparśa-mani*. Clearly in the above story the Lamia is a snake-woman: but whence her names?

Wasdu is the same as Bâsdev, *i. e.* Vâsudeva, the patronymic of Krishṇa and Balarâma from their father Vasudeva. Balarâma is constantly mixed up with Śesha Nâga and Vâsuki, now known as Bâsak Nâg, the King of the Serpents. Hence I fancy *Wasdu* comes to mean generically any supernatural serpent.

The derivation of Lamia, also generic be it observed, is not so clear.

The *Lodiáná Mission Panjábi Dictionary*, 1854, gives—*lammá*, a tall man: also long, lengthy, protracted: *lammá-jhammá*, a tall man: *lammí*, a leech: *lamiáuṇa*, to spin out, lengthen; *lambá*, long: *lambáí* and *lambáu*, length: *lambu*, a tall man: *lambo*, a tall woman: *lámb* and *lám*, length. *Lam* is also a compound for length, *e.g.*, *lam-nakká*, long-nosed; *lam-kanná*, long-eared. And lastly,—and here is the point,—*Lammá* means also a snake or serpent. Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.* 1879, gives *lambá*, long, tall: *lambáí*, length: *lambu*, long-shanks, tall: and also *lam* in composition for length, as *lam-ṭangû*, long-legs: a crane.

Monier-Williams, *Sansk. Dict.* 1872, says—*lamb*, a later form of root *ramb*, to hang down, depend, whence the causal verb *lambayati*, to cause to hang down, stretch out, extend: and gives references to Lat. *labi*; Lith. *rambus*; Angl. Sax. *limpian ge-limp*; Eng. *limp*. *Lamba*, hanging down, long, tall: name of a Muni: name of a Daitya. *Lambá*, a kind of bitter gourd, or cucumber[1]: name of one of the Mâtṛis attending on Skanda[2]: a name of Durgâ or Gaurî: of Lakshmî: of a daughter of Dakshâ and wife of Dharma or Manu: of a Râkshasî.

In the same article *lamba*, long, is found compounded with the following names of demigods and demons. These are names of Mâtṛis, attending on Skanda or Kârttikêya, the son of Śiva: *lambapayodhará*, hanging-breasted, and *lambín*, hanging. These are names of Râkshasas: *lambakarṇa* long-eared: *lambujibha*, lolling-tongued: *lambodarí*, pot-bellied. And lastly, *Lambuká* is the name of a serpent-demon.

The inference then is that the Lamia or snake-woman is an old Indian Aryan word meaning long or length. As it might be of Muhammadan origin I searched in Johnson's *Persian and Arabic Dict.* 1852, where I find only Persian *lamzadan*, to sleep soundly, to stretch out, which may be compared with *lambá honá* in Hind., (*lit.* to be long,) to be off, go away. All the other words in Persian as *lam*, rest, tranquillity: *lamtur*, fat, idle, tranquil, languid: *lambar*, *lumba*, fat, large; point to a connection with the Sanskrit root *ram*, rest, repose. This strengthens the reference of *Lamia* to an Indian Aryan origin.

I may here mention that a snake of 100 years is able to fly and lives in the sandal-wood tree, thriving on the scent (*chandana*). A 200 years' snake is the Lamia. A 1000 years' snake can fly to the moon, where it lives on ambrosia (*amṛita*): its name is *chandrámṛita*, which is pure Sanskrit, though I can find no classical trace of it.

If then we must go to Aryan mythology for an origin for Lamia, I select "*Lambá*, the name of a daughter of Dakshâ and wife of Dharma or Manu and of a Râkshasî," to investigate further. Hindu mythology is more than usually confused regarding Dakshâ, but from Dowson's *Classical Dict. of Hindu Mythology*, 1879, I gather:—

Dakshâ, 'able, competent, intelligent.' This name generally carries with it the idea of a creative power. Daksha is a son of Brahmâ: he is one of the Prajâpatis,[3] and is sometimes regarded as their chief. There is a great deal of doubt and confusion about him, which of old the sage Parâśara could only account for by saying "that in every age Daksha and the rest are born and are again destroyed." . . . . According to Manu and the *Mahâbhârata* he gave ten of his daughters to Dharma and thirteen to

[1] (?) The modern kakṛî.

[2] *i.e.* Kârttikêya, the son of Śiva.

[3] Creators.

Kaśyapa, who became mothers of gods, demons, men, birds, serpents and all living things.

Dharma. An ancient sage, sometimes classed among the Prajâpatis. He married 13 (or 10) of the daughters of Daksha, and had a numerous progeny, but all his children "are manifestly allegorical, being personifications of intelligences and virtues and religious rites, and being therefore appropriately wedded to the probable authors of the Hindu code of religion and morals! or the equally allegorical representation of that code, Dharma, moral and religious duty."—*Wilson.*

Daityas. Titans. Descendants from Ditî by Kaśyapa. They are a race of demons and giants who warred against the gods and interfered with sacrifices . . . . they and the Dânavas are generally associated and hardly distinguishable.

Ditî. Daughter of Daksha, wife of Kaśyapa and mother of the Daityas.

Dânavas, descendants from Danu by the sage Kaśyapa. They were giants who warred against the gods.

Asuras . . . . The word has long been used as a general name for the enemies of the gods, including Daityas and Dânavas and other descendants of Kaśyapa.

Putting all the above evidence together, and taking into consideration the confusion into which mythological legends are apt to fall, I do not think it an unfair inference to draw that the modern Aryan Lamia, the snake-woman demon, is the classical Aryan Lambâ, the demon, Titan or giant, or the mother of the demons, Titans or giants, or probably either indifferently, and that her name means 'the Long One.'

But the Lamia is equally the property of Europe as of India. In *All the Year Round*, New Series, Vol. XXIX, No. 691, p. 41, for February 1882, I chanced on the following: "The most cruel and formidable of all ferocious animals is the *Lamia*, a monster like unto an enormous goat, except that it has the hoofs of a horse.[4] In its wild rush it breaks down well grown trees, snaps off and scatters their boughs, and loves to fall upon men and bite them, the wound being incurable within sound of the creature's voice. In its fury it tears even its young to pieces."

The author of the article "Imaginary Monsters," quotes as his authorities the *Bestiaire d'Amour* of Richard de Fournival, the *Ortus Sanitatis* of Johann von Cube and the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomeus de Glanvilla, black letter, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1494. He does not say from which of the above authors the passage is culled.

Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon*, 1864, says,—Λάμια, ἡ (not Λαμία Spitzn. *Vers. H. P.* 30, Meineke Menand. p. 145), a fabulous monster said to feed on man's flesh, a bugbear to children. Ar. Vesp. 1177, etc.

Smith's *Latin Dict.* 1864. *Lămia*, f. λάμια, a witch, sorceress, enchantress: neu pransæ lamiæ puerum vivum extrahat alvo, Hor. *A. P.* 340; App. *M. I.* p. 110.

Smith's *Dict. of G. and R. Biog. and Mythol.* 1859, gives *Lămia* (λάμια) a female-phantom (Empusa). Also—

Empusa (Ἔμπουσα), a monstrous spectre which was believed to devour human beings. It could assume different forms, and was sent by Hecate to frighten travellers. It was believed usually to appear with one leg of brass and the other of an ass, whence it was called ὀνοσκελίς and ὀνοκώλη. The Lamia and Mormolyceia, who assumed the *form of handsome women* for the purpose of attracting young men, and then sucked their blood like vampyrs and ate their flesh, were reckoned among the Empusæ.

Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lex.*, give Ἐμπουσα, ἡ, Empusa, a hobgoblin assuming various shapes, said to be sent by Hecate, also Ὀνοσκελίς and Ὀνοκώλη, the donkey-footed: Aristoph. *Ran.* 293, *Eccl.* 1056, *cf.* Dem. 270, 25: sometimes identified with Hecate Ar. Fr. 426. *v.* Λάμια.

Smith, *Biog. and Mythol. Dict.*, gives Mormo (Μορμώ also Μορμολύκη, Μορμολυκεῖον), a female spectre with which the Greeks used to frighten their children. Again, Liddell and Scott say Μορμώ and Μορμών, a hideous she-monster used by nurses to frighten children with, like the *Lamia*, *Mania* and *Maniola* of the Romans: Luc. *Philops*, Ruhnk. *Tim.*: generally, a bugbear. Μορμολυκεῖον like μορμώ, a bugbear, hobgoblin: Ar. Thesm. 417; Fr. 97,187; Plat. *Phœd.* 77E; *cf.* Ruhnk. *Tim.* In MSS. sometimes μορμολύκιον, also μορμολύκη, ἡ: Strabo, 19.

Smith, *Dict. of Biog. and Myth.* gives *Mānia*,[5] a formidable Italian, probably Etruscan, divinity of the lower world. Smith, *Latin Dict.* says *Mānia*, a bugbear for children. Arn. 6 *fin.* *Māniolæ*, little bugbears for children; Fest. *s.v.*

Lastly, Smith, *Dict. of Biog. and Myth.* says Hecate, Ἑκάτη, a mysterious divinity . . . . According to the most genuine traditions she appears to have been an ancient Thracian divinity and a Titan. . . . . She was the only one among the Titans who retained power under the

[4] Compare the figures used as brackets in early Indian temples and caves, *e.g.* on the door of Cave IV at Ajaṇṭâ and in the Mahâvalliparam Caves, sometimes called Sârdûlas in the north and Yâlis in the south.—Ed.

[5] Connected with *Mānes*, the infernal deities, not with *mănia*, madness.

rule of Zeus and she was honoured by all the immortal gods. . . . . . She thus became a deity of the lower world, and is described in this capacity as a mighty and formidable divinity. . . . . . From her being an infernal divinity she came to be regarded as a spectral being, who sent at night all kinds of demons and terrible phantoms from the lower world and also taught sorcery and witchcraft and dwelt at places where two roads crossed, on tombs and near the blood of murdered persons. She herself wandered about with the souls of the dead, and her approach was announced by the whining and howling of dogs.

Therefore we may fairly assume that the mediæval monster, the Lamia, was the classical demon traced back to the Titans and giants, or to the mother or mistress of Titans and giants. The descent, so to speak, of the European Lamia bears a most remarkable resemblance to that of the Indian Aryan Lamia. The similarity is rendered all the more striking by the fundamental closeness of the connection between Sanskrit mythology on the one hand and the Greek and Latin mythology on the other.

We in India, away from public libraries, are forced practically to rely on our private ones, and hence the limited nature of the enquiry I have been able to make now. I give the above evidence in the hope that some one, who has the command of a large library, may take up the thread and prove or disprove the connection between *Lamia* and *Λάμια*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

Amballa, 19th April 1882.

The following notes may perhaps help to throw some light on the *Lamia*:—

1. Among the six forms under which living beings may be reborn, according to Tibetan belief, the third is that of the *Lha-ma-yin* or 'evil spirits' (Sans. *A-suras*). To them the Yakshas, the Nâgas, the Râkshasas, and many other groups of ill-natured spirits are subjected; their particular adversaries are the four Mahârâjas (Tib. *r*Gyal-chhen-*b*zhi); they inhabit the fourth step of Mount Meru (Burnouf, *Introd.* 2me ed. p. 538, and Georgi, *Alphab. Tibet.* p. 481). Among them are those who cause "untimely death" (see Schlagentweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, pp. 92, 109). Râhu is classed among the Lha-ma-yin.

2. The Dudpos (*b*Dud-po) the assistants of *r*Shin-*r*je, the judge of the dead, and often likewise called Shinjes, inhabit the region Paranirmata Vásavartin ("obedient to the will of those who are transformed by others"). They try to hinder the depopulation of the world by supporting man in evil desire, and by keeping the Bodhisattvas from attaining to *Bôdhi*: it is they who disturb the devoutness of assembled Buddhists and put an end to steady meditation by assuming the shape of a beautiful woman, &c. (Schlagentweit, p. 110).

3. The goddess Lha-mo (Sans. Kâladêvî)—also called Ri-ma-te—was married to *r*Shin-*r*je, king of the *b*Dud-pos, who at the time had assumed the form of the king of Ceylon. The goddess had made a vow either to soften her husband's notoriously wild and wicked manners, and make him favourably disposed towards Buddhism, or, to extirpate his race by killing the children of their marriage. It was beyond her power to turn the king from his evil ways, and she accordingly determined to kill their son, who was greatly beloved by his father, because in him he hoped to put a complete end to Buddhism in Ceylon. During a temporary absence of the king, she flayed her son alive, drank the blood out of his skull, and ate his flesh. She then set out for her northern home, using her son's skin as a saddle for the king's best horse. On his return, the king—seeing what had happened—seized his bow, and with a terrible incantation, shot a poisoned arrow after his dreadful wife. The arrow pierced the horse's back; but the queen, neutralizing the efficacy of the imprecation, took out the deadly weapon and uttered the prayer—"May the wound of my horse become an eye large enough to overlook the twenty-four regions, and may I myself extirpate the race of these malignant kings of Ceylon!" She continued her journey towards the north, traversing in great haste India, Tibet, Mongolia and part of China, and settled in Mount Oikhan, in the district Olgon, supposed to be in Eastern Siberia. (*Ib.* pp. 112, 113.)

J. B.

BHAṬṬI.

In the last volume of the *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* (Calcutta, 1881), vol. VI, pp. 146, 147, I am reproached by Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra for not having discriminated between Bhaṭṭi, the author of the *Bhaṭṭikâvya*, and Bhartṛihari. It seems a pity that the Doctor is inclined to make unfounded assertions. In the Index to my *Catalogue of the Oxford MSS.* p. 509, Bhaṭṭi is stated to be the author of the *Bhaṭṭikâvya*, while on the next page Bhartṛihari is cited as the well known poet of the *Śataka*, and a writer of the same name as the author of grammatical memorial verses (*Kârikâ*) and the *Vâkyapadîya*. Every page where these distinct authors are quoted is accurately given. The *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa* mentions by name neither Bhaṭṭi nor Bhartṛihari (*Catalogue*, p. 208), but contains verses of both. Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra would oblige Sanskrit scholars by favour-

ing them with his reasons for the statement that "Bhôjadêva, the author of the *Sarasvatî-kaṇṭhâbharaṇa*, lived over a thousand years ago." As Muñja and Bhôjarâja are cited in the work, and as Bilhaṇa mentions the latter king of Dhârâ, we cannot place the work in question earlier than the end of the eleventh century. With respect to Bhaṭṭi it deserves notice that two verses of his are cited in the *Śârṅgadharapaddhati*, one under the name of Bhartṛisvâmin, while the other is ascribed to Bhaṭṭasvâmin (*Journal of the Ger. Or. Soc.*, pp. 60 and 96).

DR. AUFRECHT.

Bonn.

AKHANNA AND MÂDANNA.

SIR,—In the last March number, p. 82, statements are made regarding these two ministers which seem due to confusion in traditions. Elphinstone is referred to as the authority for stating that "Sultan Abdul Hasan, the last of the Kutb Shahi dynasty, who ascended the throne of Golkoṇḍa in 1670, entrusted the administration of his dominions to two singularly able Brahmans, Akhana and Madana Pantulu." But on turning to Elphinstone I find only "Madna Pant" mentioned as Abdul Hasan's minister; and it is the fate of "Madna Pant" alone which is related further on, this being correctly quoted.

Akhanna and Mâdanna, on the other hand, were two brothers, who administered some of the eastern provinces of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the reign of Devarâya in 1431, or 250 years before Abdul Hasan. The evidence of this is found in grants at Mulbâgal translated in my "*Mysore Inscriptions*," pp. 213 and 259. They there describe themselves as "the Heggaḍe Devas of the Vishṇu varddhana gôtra, Akhanna Dannâyaka and Mâdanna Dannâyaka, the sons of Vommayamma." At p. 208 is another inscription in which they are called Akhana Voḍayar and Mâdana Voḍayar."

They are said in the latter to have conferred the possession of Tekal on a Gôparâja. Singularly enough Gopanna is also given as the name of the nephew of Madana Pantulu, the minister of Abdul Hasan: but his individuality seems as sufficiently marked as his uncle's.

LEWIS RICE.

Bangalore, 8th May 1882.

SUPÂRÂ—ŚÛRPÂRAKA—ΣΟΥΠΑΡΑ.

In the *Mahâvaṁsa*, parichh. vi, l. 46, we read *Suppârakêpaṭṭhanamhi Wijayô pana okkami: parisâ sâhasênettha bhîto nawaṅ punâruhi.* 'Now Vijaya disembarked at the port of Suppâraka, but because of the lawlessness of his followers, he re-embarked in his vessel.'

One hardly expects to find Vijaya landing on the west coast of India when on his way from Bengal to Ceylon, and accordingly Burnouf supposed this might be the same as Ptolemy's Σιππάρα (*Geog.* VII, i, 16) on the east coast, which Gosselin had identified with 'Sipelier' on one of the mouths of the Krishnâ (*Recher. sur la geogr. des anciens*, tome III, p. 253); but Lassen places it at False point in Orissa. Suppâraka on the west coast, however, was a place of note among the Buddhists long before Mahânâmo's time, and, as his ideas of geography were probably not very clear, he may have believed that this place really was visited by Vijaya.

The early Buddhist story of Pûrṇamaitrâyaṇîputtra (S. Hardy, *Man. Budh.* pp. 58, 267 f.) is connected with the city of Śûrpâraka—a great seaport and the residence of a king. Pûrṇa 'the Ârya,' a very prosperous merchant of the city, who had made seven successful voyages 'on the great ocean,' is represented as going to Śrâvastî—more than a hundred *yôjanas* from Śûrpâraka—where he was instructed by Buddha and became one of his most famous disciples (Burnouf, *Introd.* pp. 426, 503; *Lotus*, p. 2; Beal, *Catena*, pp. 287, 344; Edkins, *Chin. Buddh.* p. 290). He was then allowed to return and live among the Śrôṇâparântakas (Pâli—Sunâparântakas)—a name evidently connected with Aparântas.[1] Buddha is said to have afterwards miraculously visited Śûrpâraka in person, where he again met with Pûrṇa and preached his law to Krishṇa and Gautamaka, two Nâga kings who came out of the great ocean to hear him. Pûrṇamaitrâyaṇi built a vihâra for Buddha; he is regarded as a Bôdhisattva and is expected to reappear as the Buddha Dharmaprabhâsa, who is often confounded with Maitrêya. Hiwen Thsang found his stûpa at Mathurâ together with those of Śâriputtra, Mañjuśrî, and other disciples and Bôdhisattvas (Julien, *Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.* tome I, p. 208; *Vie de H. Thsang*, p. 103). He was regarded as the patron saint of the Sautrântika (Pali—Suttavâdâ) school—a branch of the Sarvâstivâdins, founded by Kumâralabdha 'about 400 years after the *Nirvâṇa*' (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, pp. 301, 302).

Śûrpâraka, Surpâraka, or Sôrpâraga, in Pali Suppâraka, is said to have been founded by Paraśurâma, and is frequently alluded to in Sanskrit literature: *e. g. Mahâbhâr.* II, 1169.

[1] In the *Milindaprasna* we read that "the esculent water-lily, so much used in the region called Aparânta, is ready to be cut in one month after it has been sown" (Hardy, *Man. Budh.* p. 469). What is referred to here?

Tataḥ Śûrpârakaṁ chaiva Tâlâkaṭaṁ athâpi cha |
vaśe chakrê mahâtêjâ Daṇḍakâṁścha mahâbalaḥ ||

Ib. III, 8185-6,—

Tataḥ Śûrpârakaṁ gachchhêj Jâmadagnyanishêvitam ||
Râmatîrthê naraḥ snâtvâ vindyâd bahusuvarṇakaṁ

'Then let one go to Śûrpâraka dwelt in by Jâmadagnya: the man who bathes in the Râmatîrtha will obtain much gold.'

III, 8337,—

Vêdî Śûrpârake tâta Jamadagnêr mahâtmanaḥ |

'The *vêdî* of the high-souled Jamadagni, my son, at Śûrparaka.' Lassen understands this as the *vêdî* of Râma.

III, 10221,—

Kramêṇa gachchhan paripûrṇakâmaḥ Sûrpârakaṁ puṇyatamaṁ dadarśa |

III, 10227,—

Tîrthêshu sarvêshu pariplutâṅgaḥ punaḥ sa Sûrpârakam âjagâma |

XII, 1781-2,—

Tataḥ Śûrpârakaṁ dêśam sâgaras tasya nirmamê||
Sahasâ Jâmadagnyasya sô'parântamahîtalam |

'Thereupon Sâgara fashioned forthwith for that Jâmadagnya the Sûrpâraka country occupying the western face of the earth.'

And XIII, 1736,—

Narmadâyâm upaspṛiśya tathâ Sûrpârakôdakê êkapaksham nirâhârô râjaputrô vidhîyatê ||

Harivaṁsa, 5300,—

Ishupâtêna nagaraṁ kṛitaṁ Sûrpârakaṁ tvayâ |

Ib. 5387,—Râma the son of Jamadagni speaks—
Krishṇa yâsyâmy ahaṁ tâta puraṁ Sûrpârakaṁ vibhô ||

And *Mârkaṇḍêya Purâṇa*, lvii, 49,—

Dâkshiṇâtyâs tv amî dêśâ Aparântân nibôdha mê |
Sûrpârakâḥ Kâlibalâ durgâś chânîkaṭaiḥ saha ||

Also in Varâha Mihira's *Bṛihat Saṁhitâ*, lxxx, 6 (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S. vol. VII, p. 125), the Surâshṭrian diamond is said to be somewhat copper-coloured, and that from Sûrpâraka, dark. See also *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*, x, 79, 20; and Gorresio's *Râmâyaṇa*, vol. IV, p. 526.

In cave No. VIII at Nâsik is a Sanskrit inscription of Ṛishabhadatta the son-in-law of Nahapâna, in which Sôrpâraga is mentioned apparently as a place of note, and a few lines further down, among other places is named "Râmatîrtha near Sôrpâraga" (*Arch. Sur. Rep. W. Ind.* vol: IV, pp. 41, 100; *Trans. Cong. Orient.* 1874, p. 328). And it has not yet been noted that in the *Mahâbhârata* III, 8185, this Râmatîrtha at Sûrpâraka is also mentioned, and at l. 8337 the *Vêdî* at the same place. In the Pâli inscriptions also at the Kaṇhêri caves, Sopâraga is twice named; a short inscription over a cistern at Nânâghâṭ reads,—*Sopârayasa Goviṁdadâsasa deya dhama poḍhi*; on a pillar in the chaitya cave at Kârlê, it is twice spelt Sopâraka (*Arch. Sur. Rep. W. I.* vol. IV, p. 91; *Cave Temple Inscr.* pp. 31, 32); and in the Śilahâra grant of Anantadêva (Ś. 1016), it is spelt Sarppâraka (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, pp. 35, 38), probably for Surppâraka.

In Jaina literature we find that Vairasêna, a Sûri—whom they place about A. D. 60-80—converted the four sons of Jinadatta at Sôpâraka, who became the founders of four *Kulas*.

C. Müller (*Geog. Græc. Min.* tom. I, p. 295), Ritter (*Erdk:* bd. V, p. 666, and XIV, 384), and Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* bd. I, pp. 137, 650, 679; II, 545; III, 172, 278) all agree in placing Śûrpâraka at Surat. From the statement of Al Bîrûnî (Reinaud, *Fragm. Arabes et Persans*, p. 121) regarding the distances between Bharuch, Sindan, Sûbâra and Tâna, I first identified it correctly with the village of Supârâ, 5½ miles north of Vasâï, in Lat. 19° 25′ N., long. 72° 51½′ E.—a determination which affords a firm basis for other identifications (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I, p. 321, and Smith's *Classical Atlas*, p. 22).

The port of Sûpâra or Sûbâra—also called Sûfâra and Sûfâla—is also mentioned by the Arab writers—Al Mas'ûdî, Abû'l-Fida, Rashîdu'd-dîn, Al Istakhrî, Ibn Haukal, Al Idrîsî, and the Nubian geographer. Ptolemy (*Geog.* VII, i, 6), calls it Σουπάρα, and the author of the *Periplus* Σουππάρα. Conf. also *Ind. Ant.* vol. II, p. 96; IV, 282; VII, 259; VIII, 144, 145; IX, 44n, 46, 314.

Edinburgh, July, 1882. J. BURGESS.

DHANAKAṬAKA.—A REPLY.

The learned Editor, in his paper published in the *Indian Antiquary* for April 1882 (vol. XI, p. 95), opposes certain views which I expressed in an article read before the Royal Asiatic Society in November 1879[1] regarding the identification of Hiwen-Thsang's kingdom of Dhanakaṭaka and its two monasteries. It is with great diffidence that I again come forward as a controversialist. The truth, however, will not suffer by my attacks if I am wrong; while any light thrown on this rather difficult subject will be a gain to science.

The question stands thus:—Hiwen Thsang describes two monasteries, the *Pûrvaśilâ* and the *Avâraśilâ saṁghârâmas*, as existing in the kingdom of Dhanakaṭaka. Was "Dhanakaṭaka" the name of a city as well as of the kingdom? Where was its site? Were the monasteries at Bezavâḍa or not?

[1] Published in J. R. A. S. N.S. vol. XII, pp. 98-109.

Dr. Burgess has adduced excellent proofs—proofs which probably will only be strengthened as time goes on—to shew that the city of Dhaṁnakaṭaka was situated at or near Amarâvatî; and I frankly admit that I was probably in error in placing it 17 miles to the east at Bezavâḍa. This, however, does not invalidate the possibility that the *kingdom*, of which probably Bezavâḍa formed part, took its name from the great religious centre where stood the magnificent marble *stûpa* now known as the "Amarâvatî Tope." Amarâvatî being situated in a flat plain, it is, indeed, *probable* that the royal residence should be looked for in a place better adapted for defensive purposes; and in Bezavâḍa just such a place presents itself. No finer position could be chosen in the neighbourhood than the site of this very ancient town, which is protected by steep hills on the west, north, and part of the east, while the south is guarded by the Kṛishṇâ River. There is no *primâ facie* reason therefore (and Dr. Burgess admits this) why the "capital city"—the royal residence—of the kingdom of Dhanakaṭaka should not be at Bezavâḍa, though the city of Dhanakaṭaka lay at Amarâvatî.

Now as to the two monasteries. It must, I think, be conceded that the pilgrim, when he penned his descriptive note regarding them, had in his mind buildings situated on mountains, and could not have been describing buildings in a plain. A very careful translation of the passage in the *Si-yu-ki* was most kindly made for me by Mr. Beal, to whom I communicated the nature of the questions at issue, so that he might be on his guard. It runs as follows:—"Placed on a mountain to the east of the city is to be seen the . . . . Pûrvaśilâ Saṁghârâma; on a mountain to the west of the city is the Avaraśilâ Saṁghârâma. An early king of this country . . . . made in the sides of the mountain long galleries, wide chambers, connecting them with one another along the whole course of the scarp." And this is not the only passage; for in the *Life of Hiwen Thsang* written by Hoei-li, the description of the same monasteries is given. It is there said that the Avaraśilâ monastery was raised on the side of the hill facing the mountain on which stood the Pûrvaśilâ Saṁghârâma (*sur le côtè opposé de la montagne*), and that the reason why the monasteries were deserted in his day was because the "spirits of the mountains" had changed their sentiments and driven visitors away by their violence. When we look to Amarâvatî as a possible site for these monasteries we are met at the outset by the stern fact that that place lies in a gently undulating plain, and that even if the hills about 3 miles to the east be taken as the site of the Pûrvaśilâ monastery, we should have to travel five or six times that distance to the west before we could find a hill on which to locate its companion. It is clear that Hiwen Thsang could not have been thinking of Amarâvatî when he wrote the passages quoted above. And if it be contended that possibly the pilgrim might have been confusing two places or more in his mind, and that the monasteries might after all really have been built in a plain, surely the very names of the monasteries themselves tend to contradict this supposition; for one is called the *Eastern rock* (*pûrva śilâ*) monastery, the other the *Western*—or *Opposite*—*rock* monastery (*avara*, or *apara*, *śilâ*).

Dr. Burgess admits that the language of the original passage applies in a very marked degree to Bezavâḍa. There is the eastern hill with rock-cut remains.[2] There is the western hill, a lofty ridge rising 600 ft. sheer out of the plain, with rock-cut remains exactly where described, "on the side opposite" the first. More than that, there is, as stated by the pilgrim, an "*énorme rocher*" right opposite Bezavâḍa, exactly in the direction mentioned,—due south. This is the Sîtânagaram Hill, shaped—as seen from Bezavaḍa—like a steep-sided pyramid, or cone, and several hundred feet high. I may have been in error in assuming the hill to the south-west, which contains the Uṇḍavalle cave temple, to have been the "énorme rocher" in question, in which was said to lie the "palace of the Asuras;" but if so, the error only tends to make Hiwen Thsang's description still more applicable to Bezavâḍa, because the steep rock at Sîtânagaram does actually lie due south.[3] It is true that the pilgrim omits mention of the river, but this omission cannot alter the applicability of the rest of the passage because it may have been purely accidental.

It will perhaps be argued that the applicability of the whole passage to Bezavâḍa may be accidental. Doubtless; but it is at least an extraordinary coincidence that the pilgrim, writing of a place which must have been at or near Bezavâḍa, should have given a description which so exactly answers to Bezavâḍa itself. Still this is *possible*, and possibly on the hills near Bezavâḍa may, by and bye, be found the remains of the monasteries. But it seems almost beyond question that they could not have been at Amarâvatî.

Everything at present would seem to show that the rock-cut remains to be seen on the Bezavâḍa Hills, or some portion of them at least, are the remains of these monasteries,—were it not that

[2] But the remains in both these cases are not Bauddha, but distinctly Brahmanical.—J. B.

[3] But it contains no 'cavern' so far as we know.—J. B.

Dr. Burgess asserts positively that, after careful examination, he cannot find amongst those remains a trace of anything which would prove them to be Buddhist.[4] So far as it goes this is unanswerable; but the question presents itself whether it is entirely *possible* to determine the creed of the people who cut, for instance, a broad flight of steps on the eastern hill leading to the summit. If there is nothing Buddhist about these, can it be asserted that there is anything distinctively Brahmanical? And similarly with regard to some of the remains on the western hill? If Dr. Burgess, who has had more practical experience in these matters than any man living, can positively declare that *none* of the rock-work could *possibly* be of Buddhist origin,[5] then it follows that we have not yet hit on the true site of the two monasteries,[6] and that they must be looked for elsewhere. But even then, I must be permitted, for the present, to adhere to my belief that they were not situated in an open plain, and consequently cannot be located at Amarâvatî. R. SEWELL.

THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN ALPHABETS.

Many readers of the *Academy*[1] will, no doubt, be glad to hear of a most important discovery, due to Prof. A. H. Sayce, by which new and complete light will be thrown on the difficult question of the origin of the Indian alphabets.

To show the importance of this discovery it is necessary to state, briefly, how the question stands at present.

The numerous alphabets that have been used, or are now in use, in India can all be traced back to two, which may be termed the North and South Aśoka alphabets. The first, of undoubted Phoenician origin, has disappeared, without leaving any successors or developments. To the second can be traced all the alphabets now in use in India, and some in use in other parts of the East. The origin of this alphabet has never been clearly settled, though several hypotheses have been put forward. It is impossible to trace these alphabets farther back than about 250 B.C., or to put their introduction into India earlier than about 300 B.C. A third distinct alphabet was early used by the Tamiḻ people in South India in the early centuries A.D. This has almost disappeared, and, except, perhaps, in Malabar, has left no traces in India proper. For reasons that it would be tedious to give here, though this third alphabet has the same method of marking the vowels *in the middle* of words as the other two alphabets, which, in some ways, recals the Semitic way of effecting the same object, it is impossible to trace its origin to either of the other alphabets, or *vice versa*. It is, however, impossible to doubt that all three are from the same original source, though derived, probably, at different periods.

That we can read these alphabets is due to most illustrious names—the second was deciphered by Prinsep; the first by Edwin Norris; and the third by F. W. Ellis. Mr. Edward Thomas has chiefly created the history of the first, and has shown what may probably be done in the future. But many differences of opinion have arisen.

The discovery of Prof. Sayce has now put the key-stone to the arch that has been so long waiting its completion. It is as follows:—As many will know, there are some Babylonian contract tablets in the British Museum; one of these has a docket by one of the contracting parties in a hitherto unknown character. This person is called Urmanū (Prof. Sayce informs me) in the cuneiform part of the document. This had, no doubt, been seen by others, but to Prof. Sayce is due the suggestion that it might be an Aramaic character subsequently imported into India. With this discovery, he most kindly sent me a specimen in March last; which, directly I examined it, disclosed a character closely resembling the South Aśoka alphabet, with vowels marked as was done in the Indian alphabets. Here at last, then, was the long-wished-for original of these Indian alphabets that had puzzled Orientalists for so many years! I could at once, besides the vowel signs, identify several letters, *k*, *m*, *r*, *s*, &c., but the language does not in any way seem to be Sanskritic or Indian. At the end is what Prof. Sayce identified as a signature, and this appears to me to be Urmanū, which the cuneiform part shows is the writer's name. The document is dated in the

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[4] I go even further and assert that they are distinctly Brahmanical; no one familiar with the remains of the two sects is likely to mistake a Bauddha cave for a Brahmanical or *vice versâ*. In this case there are considerable remains of caves beside the *steps*.—J. B.

[5] Dr. Burgess alludes to two marble statues of Buddha which I found just under the western hill at Bezavâda, on the western side of it. He thinks it improbable that these should have come from the east side of the hill. But is it so improbable? They were lying flat, covered with débris from the hill above, and quite at its base. These are unmistakably Buddhist, and I think it is more natural to assume that they had been carried a few hundred yards round the end of the scarp than that they had been brought from some Buddhist place of worship at a much greater distance. There might have been other marble sculptures, too, at Bezavâda. For, judging from the absolute disappearance within the last century of hundreds of sculptured marbles at Amarâvatî, I think it may be readily understood how every fragment of sculptured marble might, in the course of 12 centuries, have been burned for lime, and otherwise destroyed at Bezavâda.

[6] I think I have been sufficiently emphatic on the character of the rock-excavations in the paper Mr. Sewell is criticising, see *ante*, p. 96.—J. B.

[1] *The Academy*, June 17, 1882, p. 433.

reign of Artaxerxes II. (?). Thus it is earlier than any Indian inscription, but, as the language is not Indian, it cannot, anyhow, be of Indian origin. Everything points to a foreign origin for the Indian alphabets, and it therefore clearly follows that Prof. Sayce has discovered the source.

This brilliant discovery of our leading Orientalist will, I have no doubt, give as much pleasure to others as it did to me. I must apologise for the delay in communicating it to the *Academy*. Though I received it in March, I have been prevented by circumstances out of my power, including long-continued illness and a change of residence, from communicating it earlier.

Prof. Sayce tells me that Mr. Pinches has promised a facsimile of the whole document in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.

As questions of Palaeography now appear to be attracting attention, I would point out that the physiological side remains to be considered. This new branch of science has been founded by Prof. C. Vogt (*La Revue scientifique*, 26 Juin 1880) in an article "L'Ecriture considerée au point de vue physiologique," though Dr. Gaetan Delaunay (somewhat later in the same periodical) has questioned part of Prof. Vogt's conclusions.

A. BURNELL.

PS.—Prof. Sayce has just found in the British Museum some other tablets of an earlier date—viz., before 640 B.C.—inscribed in a similar character. But these seem to be earlier forms, in which the system of marking the vowels was not fully developed, or, at least, is not so evident as in the other tablet.

BOOK NOTICES.

BULLETIN CRITIQUE DES RELIGIONS DE l'INDE, par A. Barth: (Annales du Musée Guimet). Paris, Leroux, 1882.

This number of the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* is occupied entirely by a paper by M. A. Barth, a most accomplished French Sanskritist, which is devoted to brief notices of the publications relative to the history of Indian religions—more especially Brahmanism and Buddhism,—issued in England, India, Germany, America and France during the year 1881. The *Bulletin* is somewhat on the plan of the *Revues Annuelles* for the Hindustani Language and Literature, so long continued by the late M. Garcin de Tassy, but the notices are often fuller and more critical; while the list of books and papers noticed is not quite so exhaustive—though it mentions nearly everything of value on the subject, This bulletin of M. Barth's is calculated to be most useful to the general student of Oriental Religions.

The QUATRAINS OF OMAR KHAYYÂM, translated into English verse by E. H. Whinfield, M.A., late Ben. C.S. London: Trübner's Oriental Series.

The Quatrains of Ghiasu'd-dîn Abu'l-fathah Omar bin Ibrahim al Khayyâm, the fellow student and friend of Nizâmu'l Mulk, (cir. 445-517 A.H.,) have already been introduced to the English reader in Mr. Fitzgerald's brilliant translation of some of the more striking of them. Mr. Whinfield's version supplies us with translations of 253 out of about 800 in all, but it does not include those rendered by his predecessor, which we think is rather to be regretted. The selection, however, is sufficiently extensive to give the English reader a very correct idea of Omar's verses—of which the best specimens only were translated by Mr. Fitzgerald,—and the estimate of the author left on the reader's mind from the perusal of this volume will probably be best summed up in the lines of Mr. Mathew Arnold prefixed to it,—

> "An acting body, and a mind
> Not wholly clear, nor wholly blind,
> Too keen to rest, too weak to find,
> That travails sore, and brings forth wind."

Mr. Whinfield has been very fairly successful in his metrical rendering of his author, and his version embraces a much wider field than the small selection published by his precursor. As samples taken at random, both of the author's matter and the translator's style, we give the following:—

156. Once in a potter's shop a company
Of goodly cups and jars I did espy,
And when they saw me, one cried out and said,
"Who made, who sells, who buys this crockery?"

198. Some look for truth in creeds and rites and rules,
Some grope for doubts or dogmas in the schools;
But from behind the veil a voice proclaims,
"Your road lies neither here nor there, O fools!"

212. Suppose you hold the world in fee, what then?
When life's last page is read and turned, what then?
You may outlive this present century,
And haply see the next, but what comes then?

215. O thou who hast done ill, and ill alone,
Think not to find forgiveness at the throne;
Hope not for mercy, for good left undone
Cannot be done, nor evil done undone.

220. I never would have come had I been asked;
I would as lief not go, if I were asked;
And, to be short, I would annihilate
All coming, being, going, were I asked.

221. O heart! canst thou the darksome riddle read?
When wisest men have failed, will thou succeed?
Quaff wine, and make thy heaven here below,
Who knows if heaven above will be thy meed?

A GRANT OF ARJUNADÊVA OF GUJARAT, DATED 1264 A.D.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., VIENNA.

THE subjoined stone-inscription of Somanâtha Pâṭhaṇ, the original of which is now in the temple of Harsata at Verâval, was first mentioned by Colonel Tod.[1] On Tod's so-called translation, which is in fact nothing but the result of the author's fancy, the account of Arjunadêva's reign in Mr. Forbes' *Rás Mâlâ*[2] is based. The inscription deserves a trustworthy edition for several reasons; especially, because it is dated in four eras, and because it contains a curious mixture of Hindû and Musalmân languages, religions, and customs. An excellent photozincograph—prepared from a rubbing by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indrajî, and made over to me by Professor Bühler, who has also most kindly assisted me during the preparation of this paper—settles most of the difficulties. However, the preservation of the stone is not very good, and a few of the local *termini technici*[3] do not admit of certain explanation.

A few palæographical peculiarities must be noticed. The *jihvâmûlîya* occurs once (य×कोऽपि, line 41). ब is rarely distinguished from व; if so, a dot is placed in the centre of the loop. At the end of lines, the division of words is marked by a vertical stroke, which looks in some cases exactly like the sign for *6*,[4] or by two such strokes.

The inscription is dated in the Hijra year 662, Vikrama S. 1320, Valabhî S. 945, and Siṁha S. 151, Âshâḍha badi 13. As Vikrama S. 1320 begins in the month of Kârttika of 1263 A. D., the end of Âshâḍha of Vikrama S. 1320 falls about the middle of 1264 A. D. According to Wüstenfeld's Tables, the middle of 1264 A. D. falls in the Hijra year 662, which begins on the 4th November of 1263 A.D. Thus the Vikrama and Hijra dates are in perfect harmony.[5] This is not the place to discuss the rather doubtful historical value of the Valabhî era. I shall only remind the reader that, according to the native authorities,[6] the city of Valabhî was destroyed in Vikrama Saṁ. 375 = 318-19 A.D., and that Al-bîrûnî[7] gives Śaka S. 241 and Vikrama Saṁ. 376 = 319-20 A. D. as the starting-point of the 'era of Balab' (تاريخ باب). The date of the inscription corroborates the tradition of the native historians as it leads to Vikrama Saṁ. 375 and 319 A. D. The difference of one year in Al-bîrûnî's statement may be owing to the fact that the New Year of the Valabhî S. fell later than the New Year of the Vikrama S., as the New Year of the Śaka S. begins with Chaitra. The Siṁha era would begin in Vikrama S. 1169 and 1113 A. D. Tod calls it the Śîva-Singa era, and remarks that it was established by the Gohils in the island of Deo (Dîv).

The inscription contains very little about king Arjunadêva, in whose reign it falls. From Professor Bühler's introduction to his edition of eleven Chaulukya inscriptions,[8] I repeat here that Arjunadeva, the second independent king of the Vyâghrapalli or Vâghelâ branch line of the old Chaulukya or Solankî dynasty of Aṇhilvâḍ, ruled, according to Merutuṅga's *Vichâraśreṇî*, from Vik. S. 1318 to 1331, 1261-62 to 1274-75 A. D., and that besides the Somanâtha Pâṭhaṇ grant of S. 1320, there exists a Kachh inscription of Arjunadêva dated Vik. S. 1328. From the situation of the localities where Arjunadêva's two inscriptions are found, it appears that this last Hindû ruler of Aṇhilvâḍ but two, was a worthy successor of the valiant Vîsaladêva, as his kingdom extended also over the provinces of Kâṭhiâvâḍ and Kachh. The northern boundary of his realm must have been Mount Âbû whence an inscription of his successor Sâraṅgadêva is dated. In the following inscription Arjunadêva receives the same titles as had been borne by his predecessors (*samastarâjâvalîsamalaṁkṛita, paramêśvara, paramabhaṭṭâraka, mahârâjâdhirâja*); like these he was a devotee of Śiva (*śrîumâpativara-*

[1] *Annals of Râjasthân*, vol. I, p. 705; *Travels in Western India*, p. 506.

[2] P. 212 of the 2nd edition.

[3] Such are *droṇî, mahâyaṇa, sîkottarî mahâyaṇapâlî, cheluka, dânapala*.

[4] This circumstance renders the two readings मालिम (l. 21f.) and पयपाति (l. 38f.) uncertain.

[5] Professor Oldenberg (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, VIII, p. 303 f.) doubts the correctness of the Vikrama date because he seems to have mistaken the line in Wüstenfeld's *Tables* (Hijra year 663 instead of 662). Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. X, p. 218, note 32, where the mistake is corrected.

[6] Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, p. 16.

[7] Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 142ff.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 180ff. I abbreviate it by *Chaul. Inscr.*

labdhapraudhapratâpa) and resided in Aṇhilvâḍ.[9] The only new attribute given to him (*niḥśaṅkamallaarirâyahṛidayaśalya*) remains ambiguous in the absence of information from other sources. It may mean 'the foe of the hostile king (*arirâja*) Niḥśaṅkamalla or 'the foe of Niḥśaṅkamalla and Arirâya'; finally Niḥśaṅkamalla may also be a *biruda* of Arjunadêva. His prime minister was called Mâladêva. Two other proper names occurring in the 9th line of the subjoined inscription, viz. Gaṇḍaśrî-Paravîrabhadra and Srî-Abhayasiha, are found again in the two *Praśastis* lately published by Mr. Dhruva (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 98ff.). The first Praśasti, which was probably written in the course of the first ten years of Arjunadêva's reign, records in its 29th verse a donation made by Gaṇḍaśri-Vîrabhadra, and the second Praśasti of S. 1328 was according to its colophon engraved with the permission of Śrî-Abhayasiṁha.

The purpose of the inscription is to grant the income from a piece of land covered with houses, from an oil mill, and from two shops to a Masjid built by the donor, a Muhammadan shipowner from Hurmuz, the small island after which the straits leading out of the Persian Gulf are called, and which was then under the sway of the Amîr Ruknu'd-dîn. The grant provides also for the expenses of particular religious festivals to be celebrated by the Shiite sailors of Somanât Pâṭhaṇ. The eventual surplus is to be made over to the holy district of Makka and Madîna (الحرمان). The Musalmân congregations of Somanâtha Pâṭhaṇ are appointed trustees.

The grant is written in very bad Sanskrit. The *Saṁdhi* rules are rarely observed; nouns often remain uninflected (l. 25, 27f.), and are in this state joined together by *tathâ* (l. 21f. 24, 30f.). Other irregularities are: *sthâyinî* for *sthâyi* in a compound (l. 18), *sakhâyatva* for *sahâyatva* or *sakhitva* (l. 20), and the verb *udgarati* (for *udgirati*) used as an intransitive (l. 36). As was to be expected, the grant affords also a few Gujarâtî words: घाणी 'an oil-mill,' चूना 'lime,' छोह 'mortar' (now छो; compare Hindî छूई 'chalk'), and छाद्यक 'thatch' (now छाज; compare Hindî छाजना 'to thatch'). I subjoin a list of the numerons Arabic and Persian words occurring in the grant:

नाखू° नोरदीनपीरोज = ناخدا نورالدین پیروز;
खोजा अबूब्राहिम = خواجه ابو ابراهیم;
अमीर रुकनदीन = امیر رکن الدین;
हुर्मुज or हर्मुज = هرمز or هرموز;
मषामदीना (for मखा°) = مکة مدینة;
रसूलमहंमद = رسول محمد;
शहड = شهید or شهدا;
मुशलमान = مسلمان;
मिजिगिति = مسجد; (= m, s, j, d)
खतीब = خطیب;
मालिम = معلم;
मोदिन = موذن;
जमाथ = جماعة;
चूणकर = منقلر (?).

Of these words मिजिगिति (l. 30) and जमाथ (l. 37f.) are not inflected, while पीरोजेन occurs three times.

Transcript.

[1] ओं ॥ ओं नमः श्रीविश्वनाथाय ॥ नमस्ते विश्वनाथाय विश्वरूप नमोस्तुते । नमस्ते सून्यरूपाय[10]
[2] लक्षालक्ष नमोस्तुते ॥ १ श्रीविश्वनाथप्रातिवद्धतौजनानां वोधकरसूलमहंमदसंवत् ६६२ त-
[3] था श्रीनृप[वि]क्रमसं १३२० तथा श्रीमद्वलभीसं ९४५ तथा श्रीसिंहसं १५१ वर्षे आषाढ वदि १३ र-
[4] वावद्येह श्रीमदणहिल्लपाटकाधिष्टितसमस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक-
[5] श्रीउमापतिवरलब्धप्रौढप्रतापनिःशंकमल्लअरिरायहृदयशल्यश्रीचौलुक्यचक्रवर्त्तिम-
[6] हाराजाधिराजश्रीमत्अर्ज्जुनदेवप्रवर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनि
[7] महामात्यराणकश्रीमाल्लदेवे श्रीश्रीकरणादिसमस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परिपंथयतीत्येवं का-
[8] ले प्रवर्त्तमाने इह श्रीसोमनाथदेवपत्तने परमपाशुपताचार्यमहापंडितमहत्तरधर्म्ममूर्त्ति-
[9] गंडश्रीपरवीरभद्रपारि °महं° श्रीअभयसीहप्रभृतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ तथा हुर्मुजवेला-
[10] कूले अमीरश्रीरुकनदीनराज्ये परिपंथयति सति कार्यवशात् श्रीसोमनाथदेवनगरं स-

[9] Aṇahillapâṭaka, as in *Chaul. Inscr.* Nos. 8 to 11, while the word is spelt with one *l* in the earlier ones.

[10] L. 1, read शून्य°. L. 2, read लक्ष्यालक्ष्य and नौजनानां. L. 3, the ि of वि distinct. L. 4, read °धिष्ठित°. L. 5, read °निःशंकमल्लारिराज°(?). L. 7, °स्तमुद्रा° obliterated.

[11] मायातहर्मुजदेशीयखोजानौ° अनूब्राहिमसुतनाखू° नोरदीनपीरोजेन श्री-
[12] सोमनाथदेवद्रोणीप्रतिबद्धमहायणांतःपातिप्रत्ययवृहत्पुरुषठ° श्रीपलुगिदेव-
[13] वृहत्पुरुषराणकश्रीसोमेश्वरदेववृह[त्पु]रुषठ° श्रीरामदेववृहत्पुरुषठ° श्रीभीम-[11]
[14] सीहवृहत्पुरुषराज° श्रीछाडाप्रभृतिसमस्तमहणलोकप्रत्यक्षं तथा समस्तजमा-
[15] थप्रत्यक्षं च राज° श्रीनानसीहसुतवृह° राज° श्रीछा[डा]प्रभृतीनां पार्श्वात् श्रीसोमनाथ-
[16] देवनगरबाह्ये सीकोत्तर्यां महायणपाल्यां संतिष्टमानभूषंडं नवनिधानसहि-
[17] तं यथेष्टकामकरणीयत्वेन स्पर्शनन्यायेन समुपात्तं ॥ ततः नाखू° पीरोजे-
[18] न स्वधर्म्मशास्त्राभिप्रायेण परमधार्म्मिकेण भूत्वा आचंद्रार्कं स्थायिनीकीर्त्तिप्र-
[19] सिद्धयर्थं आत्मनः श्रेयोऽर्थं उपर्यालापितभूषंडस्य स्थाने पूर्वाभिमखमिजिगिति-
[20] धर्म्मस्थानं वृह° राज° श्रीछाडासखायत्वेन धर्म्मबांधवेन कारितं ॥ नाखू° पीरोजेन
[21] अस्य मिजिगितिधर्म्मस्थानस्य वर्त्तापनार्थं प्रतिदिनं पूजादीपतैलपानीय तथा मा-
[22] लिममोदिनमासपाठक तथा नौवित्तकानां समाचारेण बरातिराविखतमराति-
[23] विशेषपूजामहोत्सवकारापनार्थं तथा प्रतिवर्षं छोहचूनाभग्नविशीर्ण्णसमारच-
[24] नार्थं च श्रीनवघणेश्वरदेवीयस्थानपतिश्रीपरत्रिपुरांतक तथा विनायकभट्टारक-
[25] पररतनेश्वरप्रभृतीनां पार्श्वात् उपात्त श्री[सो]मनाथदेवनगरमध्ये श्रीबउलेश्व-
[26] रदेवीयसमग्रपल्लडिका नानामुखतृणछाद्यकचेलुकाछादितगृहैरुपेता तथा उत्त-
[27] राभिमुखद्विभौममठसमेतापरं अस्या मध्ये सूत्र° कान्हैआसक्त पूर्वाभिमुख गृहे-
[28] क बाह्यं चतुराघाटेषु अव्यग्रप्राकारोपेता उत्तराभिमुखप्रतोलीप्रवेशनिर्गमोपे-
[29] ता यथावस्थितचतुराघाटनविशुद्धा यथाप्रसिद्धपरिभोगा तथा घाणी १ सक्तदानपलं
[30] तथा अस्या मिजिगिति अग्रतः प्रत्यय° निर्म्माल्यछडासोढलसुतकील्हणदेव तथा ठ°
[31] सोहणसुतलूणसीहधरणिमसूमा तथा बाल्यर्थकरेणाधिष्टितराण° आसधरप्रभृ-
[32] तीनां पार्श्वात् स्पर्शनेनोपात्तं हट्टद्वयं एवमेतत् उदकेन प्रदत्तं ॥ अनेन आयपदेन
[33] आचंद्रग्रहतारकं यावत् नौ° पीरोजसक्तमिजिगितिधर्म्मस्थानमिदं नौ° पीरो-
[34] जश्रेयोऽर्थं प्रतिपालनीयं वर्त्तापनीयं भग्नविशीर्णं समारचनीयं च ॥ अनेन आय-
[35] पदेन धर्म्मस्थानमिदं वर्त्तापयतां प्रतिपालयतां तथा विशेषमहोत्सवपर्व्वव्यये
[36] कुर्वतां च यत्किंचित् शेषद्रव्यमुद्गराति तत्सर्वं द्रव्यं मषामदीनाधर्म्मस्थाने प्रस्थाप-
[37] नीयं ॥ अस्य धर्म्मस्थानस्य आयपदं सदैव जमाथमध्ये नाखुयानोरिकजमाथ त-
[38] था खतीबसहितसमस्तशहडसक्तघाट्टिकानां जमाथ तथा चुणकरजमाथ तथा प-
[39] थपतीनां मध्ये [४]मुशलमानजमाथप्रभृतिभिः समस्तैरपि मिलित्वा आयपदमि-
[40] दं पालापनीयं धर्म्मस्थानमिदं वर्त्तापनीयं च ॥ दाता च प्रेरकश्चैव ये धर्म्मप्रति-
[41] पालकाः । ते सर्वे पुण्यकर्म्माणो नियतं स्वर्गगामिनः ॥ य × कोऽपि धर्म्मस्थानमि-
[42] दं तथा आयपिदं च लोपयति लोपाययति स पापात्मा पंचमहापातकदोषेण लि-
[43] प्य[ते] नरकगामी भवति ॥

[11] L. 13, the त of त्पु visible. L. 14, the म of °समस्त° obliterated; the म of °महण° looks almost like ग. L. 15, डा slightly visible. L. 16, read संतिष्ठमानभूखंडं. L. 19, read °खंडस्य and °मुख°. L. 22, नौवि° indistinct. L. 23, read °कारापणार्थं; छोहचूना° doubtful. L. 24, the two middle letters of विनायक° obliterated. L. 25, read उपात्ता. L. 26, the तृ of °तृण° looks like दृ; the छा of °छायक and त of °छादित° indistinct. L. 27, read °द्विभौम° and °सक्तं पूर्वाभिमुखं गृहमेकं. L. 31, °मसूमा may be read °गसूना; बाल्यर्थं° very doubtful; read °धिष्ठित°. L. 32, the य of आयपदेन stands below the line. L. 35, read °व्यये. L. 36, read मखा°. L. 37, read नाखुदा° (?). L. 38 f. पथ° doubtful. L. 41, the second half of the verse partially obliterated. L. 42, read आयपदमिदं L. 43, the right downstroke of ते visible.

Translation.

Oṁ. Oṁ. Adoration to holy Viśvanâtha! Adoration to thee who art the Lord of the Universe, adoration to thee whose form is the universe, adoration to thee whose form is the void, adoration to thee who art visible and invisible (*at the same time*)!

In the year 662 of the Prophet Muḥammad who is the teacher of the sailors living near (*the temple of*) holy Viśvanâtha, and in the year 1320 of the illustrious king Vikrama, and in the year 945 of famous Valabhî, and in the year 151 of the illustrious Siṁha, on Sunday the 13th day of the dark half of Âshâḍha, to-day (*and*) here;—during the prosperous, happy, and victorious reign of the illustrious Arjunadêva, the king of great kings, the wheel-king of the illustrious Chaulukya (*race*), (*who is*) a thorn in the heart of the hostile king Niḥśaṅkamalla, who acquired great majesty (*in consequence of*) a boon (*granted by*) the holy Husband of Umâ, the supreme lord, the supreme ruler, who is adorned by the whole line of kings (*his ancestors*), and who resides in famous Aṇahillapâṭaka, (*and*) while the prime minister Râṇaka Śrî-Mâladêva who lives devoted to his (*Arjunadêva's*) lotus-feet was conducting all the business of the seal, such as the drawing-up of documents,[12] at this period;—with the consent of the Pañchakulas[13] here in the town of Śrî-Somanâthadêva, such as Mahan[*ta*] Śrî-Abhayasîha, the servant (*pâri*[*pârśvika*]) of Mahattara Gaṇḍaśrî-Paravîrabhadra, the great teacher of the Pâśupatas, the great scholar, an incarnation of the god of Justice, and while on the shore of the Hurmuz coast[14] the reign was conducted[15] by the Amîr Śrî-Ruknu'd-dîn;—the shipowner Nûru'd-dîn Pîroz, son of the shipowner[16] Khojâ Abû Ibrâhîm, a native of Hurmuz, who had come for some business to the town of Śrî-Somanâthadeva, bought a piece of land situated in the Sîkottarî Mahâyaṇapâlî outside the town of Śrî-Somanâthadêva, together with the nine treasures,[17] to do with it what he would wish and list, by the manner of touching,[18] in the presence of all the great men[19] living in the Mahâyaṇa adjoining the *Droṇî* of Śrî-Somanâthadêva, (*viz.*) the householder (?) and great man Ṭhakkura Śrî-Palugidêva, the great man Râṇaka Śrî-Somesvaradêva, the great man Ṭhakkura Śrî-Râmadêva, the great man Ṭhakkura Śrî-Bhîmasîha, the great man Râja[*kula*][20] Śrî-Chhâḍâ, etc., and in the presence of all (*Musalmân*) congregations, from the great man Râja[*kula*] Śrî-Chhâḍâ, son of Raja[*kula*] Śrî-Nânasîha, etc.

Then, from the desire that his glory should last as long as moon and sun endure, (*and*) for the sake of his salvation, the ship-owner Pîroz, who was excessively religious in accordance with the code of his religion (the *Kur'ân*) (*and*) who, by his alliance with the great man Râja[*kula*] Śrî-Chhâḍâ, had become his associate in (*this*) meritorious work[21], caused a place of worship (*called*) a *Masjid* facing the east to be erected on the abovementioned piece of land.

For the maintenance of this place of worship (*called*) *Masjid*, for the lamps, oil, and water (*required for*) the daily worship, and for (*the appointment of*) a preceptor, a crier to prayers, and a monthly reader (*of the Kur'ân*), and for the payment of the expenses of the particular

[12] Literally 'the making *śrîśrî* (at the beginning of documents). The whole phrase तत्पार° to पारिपंथयति occurs also in the Âbû inscription of Arjunadêva's successor Sâraṅgadêva, dated S. 1350, and with a slight difference in *Chaul. Inscr.* No. 11, I, 7. The various reading श्रीश्रीकरणादौ is found in the two inscriptions of Kumârapâla dated S. 1213 and of Bhîmadêva II. dated S. 1264, and in a grant of Ajayapâla dated in Vaiśâkha of S. 1229, discovered at Udayapura in the province of Bhâillasvâmi (Bhilsâ), and published in the *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, p. 125 f, by Dr. Hall, who did not recognise it as a Chaulukya grant, and read आमदणहिलपदाङ्क instead of श्रीमदणहिलपाटके.

[13] According to Professor Bühler, *Pañchakula* (*i. e.* 'as clever as five families') is preserved in the modern name Pancholî, which is borne by many distinguished Kâyastha families.

[14] Hereby the coast of the island itself or the neighbouring Persian coast may be understood.

[15] पारिपंथयति is here used as an intransitive, as which it occurs too in the Âbû inscription of Bhîmadêva II, dated S. 1265.

[16] नौ° must be an abbreviation of नौवाह or another synonym of ناخدا.

[17] The expression नवनिधानसहित occurs also in Nos. 4 to 11 of the *Chaul. Inscriptions.*

[18] This seems to allude to some custom observed in making a purchase.

[19] महण seems to be employed in the sense of महाजन and बृहत्पुरुष.

[20] The title *Râjakula* occurs in *Chaul. Inscr.* Nos. 8 and 11.

[21] This implies that Chhâḍâ contributed to Pîroz's donation.

religious festivals of *Barâtirâbikhatamarâti*[22] according to the custom of the sailors, and for the annual white-washing and repairs of rents and defects, (*confirming the gift*) by (*a libation of*) water, the ship-owner Pîroz gave the following (*source of income*).

(*Firstly,*) the whole *Palladikâ*[23] belonging to (*the temple of*) Śrî-Baüleśvara in the centre of the town of Śrî-Somanâthadêva, which he had bought from Śrî-Paratripurântaka, the superior (*of the convent*[24]) of Śrî-Navaghaṇeśvara, and from Vinâyakabhaṭṭâraka, Pararataneśvara, and others. (This *Palladikâ* is) filled with houses, which are turned in various directions and covered with grass, thatch, and *Cheluka*. On its northern side stands a convent of two stories; west of it in the middle (*lies*) the property of the carpenter (*sûtra*-[*dhâra*]) Kânhaiâ; on the eastern side (*stands*) a single house outside; on the boundaries of all four (*sides*) it is enclosed by a continuous wall, and it has (*a door for*) ingress and egress towards the road on the northern side. (*Thus*) it is defined by its four fixed boundaries, and its circuit is known.

(*Secondly,*) the *Dânapala* belonging to 1 (*one*) oil-mill.

(*Thirdly,*) two shops in front of this *Masjid*, which he had bought by (*the manner of*) touching from Kîlhaṇadeva, son of the householder (*and great man*[25]) Nirmâlyachhaḍâsoḍhala, and from Lûṇasîhadharaṇimasûmâ, son of Ṭhakkura Sohaṇa, and from Râṇaka Âsadharâ, who resides in Bâlyarthakareṇa, and from others.

From this source of income, this place of worship (*called*) a *Masjid* belonging to the ship-owner Pîroz is to be kept up and maintained, and the rents and defects have to be repaired, as long as moon, planets, and stars endure, for the salvation of the ship-owner Pîroz.

All the surplus that remains, while from this source of income this place of worship is maintained and kept up, and the expenses on the days of the particular festivals are paid, is to be sent to the holy district of Makka and Madîna.

The source of income of this place of worship is for ever to be guarded, and this place of worship to be maintained by all the following congregations together: the congregation of the ship-owners . . . and the congregation of all the wharf-people[26] who are devoted to the Martyr ('*Alî*),[27] together with their preacher, and the congregation of the (*Persian*) artisans, and the congregation of the Musalmâns among the landholders,[28] and others.

The donor, he who causes (*the donation to be made*), (*and*) those who protect (*the charity*) according to the law, all these will certainly enter heaven for their good deeds.

Whosoever plunders or causes to be plundered this place of worship and this source of income, that bad man will be defiled by (*a guilt as heavy as*) the guilt of the five mortal sins and go to hell.

EXTRACTS FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE JAINAS.

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Dr. Bhâu Dâji in a paper, read before the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch,[1] gave a great deal of information about the early history of the Jainas, which he extracted from Merutuṅga's *Therâvalî* and other works. In the following pages I shall give the most important dates contained in the *Paṭṭâvalîs* of the two chief sects of the Jainas, the Kharatara- and Tapâ-gachha.[2] My sources of information are 22 *MSS.*, 20 from Bombay and 2 of Berlin, for the former of which I am indebted to the kindness of K. M. Chatfield, Esq., Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

I. *Paṭṭâvalî of the Kharataragachha.*

1. Mahâvîra, of the tribe (*kula*) of Ikshvâku and the Kâśyapagotra, son of Siddhârtha, king of Kshatriyakuṇḍagrâma-

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[22] Professor Wahrmund, whom I consulted about this word, considers it the name of a brotherhood: برات راجحهٔ ثمرات 'good deeds gaining fruit.' Although this interpretation fits the letters admirably, the context rather requires a compound of names of festivals; the first may be *Hindî* बराती 'a marriage company.'

[23] *Chaul. Inscr.* Nos. 8 and 11.

[24] मठस्थानपति 'superior of a convent' and various synonyms; *Chaul. Inscr.* Nos. 5 to 11.

[25] Compare line 12 of the inscription.

[26] घट्टिक is probably derived from घट्ट (*Hindî* घाट) 'a landing-place.'

[27] If शहड stands for the plural شهداء, समस्तशहडसक्त would mean 'devoted to all Martyrs.'

[28] The translation of पथपति is conjectural. Compare पथक 'a district;' *Chaul. Inscr.* Nos. 3 to 11.

[1] *Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX, pp. 147 seqq.

[2] Miles, *Transact. R. As. Soc.*, vol. III, pp. 358 seqq.

nagara, and his wife Triśalâ, born *chaitra sudi trayodaśyâṁ*, died (*nirvâṇa*) at the age of 72, *kârttikâmâvâsyâyâṁ*, in the city of Pâpâ, 3 years 8½ months before the end of the 4th spoke of the wheel of time. He had eleven disciples, the *gaṇadharas*.

His first disciple was Gautama, also called Indrabhûti, of the Gautamagotra, son of the Brâhmaṇa Vasubhûti and the Brâhmaṇî Prithvî, born at Govaragrâma in Magadha, died (*nirvâṇa*) at Râjagriha at the age of 92, 12 years after Vîra's *Nirvâṇa*. As the Sâdhus, consecrated by Gautama, died early, and the other nine *gaṇadharas* yielded up their pupils to Sudharman, only the succession of Sudharman, the fifth *gaṇadhara*, is left and will remain till Duḥprasahasûri at the end of the 5th spoke of the wheel of time.

Fourteen years after Vîra, the 1st *Nihnava*, caused by Jamâli, took place, 16 after Vîra, the 2nd *Nihnava*, by Tishyagupta (Prâdeśika).

2. Sudharman, born at Kollâkagrâma, of the Agnivaiśyâyanagotra, son of Dhammilla and Bhaddilâ, lived 50 years as *grihastha*, 42 as *chhadmastha*, 8 as *kevalin*, died (*nirvâṇa*) 20 years after Vîra, at the age of 100.

3. Jambû, from Râjagriha, of the Kâśyapagotra, son of *śreshṭhin* Rishabhadatta and Dhâriṇî, lived 16 years as *grihastha*, 20 as *chhadmastha*, 44 as *kevalin*, and entered *nirvâṇa* at the age of 80, 64 years after Vîra.[3] He was the last *kevalin*.

4. Prabhava, of the Kâtyâyanagotra, son of king Vindhya of Jayapura, lived 30 years in *griha*, 44 (according to others 64) in *sâmânyavrata*, 11 as *âchârya*, and died in 75 V.,[4] at the age of 85 (or 105).

5. Śayyaṁbhava, from Râjagriha, of the Vâtsyagotra, was converted by the appearance of an image of Śânti, composed for his son Manaka the *Daśavaikâlikasûtra*, lived 28 years in *griha*, 11 in *vrata*, 23 as *âchârya*, died 98 V., at the age of 62.

6. Yaśobhadra, of the Tuṅgiyâyanagotra, lived 22 years in *griha*, 14 in *vrata*, 50 as *âchârya*, died 148 V., at the age of 86.

7 and 8. Saṁbhûtivijaya and his *laghugurubhrâtar* Bhadrabâhu; the former, of the Mâtharagotra, lived 42 years in *griha*, 40 in *vrata*, 8 as *yugapradhâna*, died at the age of 90, in 156 V.

Bhadrabâhu, of the Prâchînagotra, composed the *Upasargaharastôtra*, the *Kalpasûtra* and *niryuktis* on ten *śâstras*, viz. *Âvaśyaka*, *Daśavaikâlika*, etc., lived 45 years in *griha*, 17 in *vrata*, 14 as *yugapradhâna*, died in 170 V., at the age of 76.

9. Sthûlabhadra,[5] from Pâṭaliputra, of the Gautamagotra; his father was Śakaḍâla,[6] *mantrin* of the 9th Nanda, his mother Lâchhaladevî.[7] He converted the *Veśyâ Kośâ* and was the last, who knew the 14 *pûrva*, but with this modification:—

दश पूर्वाणि वस्तुद्वये न न्यूनानि सूत्रतो ऽर्थतश्च पपाठ अन्त्यानि चत्वारि पूर्वाणि तु सूत्रत एवाधीतवान्नार्थत इति वृद्धप्रवादः ।

He lived 30 years in *griha*, 20 in *vrata*, 49 as *sûri*, died 219 V., at the age of 99.

214 V. the 3rd *Nihnava*, by name *Avyakta*, was caused by Âshâḍhâchârya, 220 V. the 4th *Nihnava*, by name *Sâmuchchhedika* by Aśvamitra, 228 V. the 5th *Nihnava*, by name *Gaṅga* (Dvikriya).

10 and 11. Ârya-Mahâgiri and his *laghugurubhrâtar* Ârya-Suhastin; the former, of the Elâpatyagotra, lived 30 years in *griha*, 40 in *vrata*, 30 as *sûri*, died at the age of 100, 249 V.[8]

Suhastin, of the Vâsishṭhagotra, lived 30 years in *griha*, 24 in *vrata*, 46 as *sûri*, and died 100 years old, 265 V. By him king Samprati was converted, who began to reign in 235 V.,[9] the 17th successor of Śreṇika, and adorned the *trikhaṇḍâ* with *prâsâdas*, *bimbas* etc., and established a vihâra in the Anâryadeśa. Avantisukumâla and many others besides were converted by Suhastin.

12. Ârya-Susthita,[10] with the birudas

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[3] Cf. Hemachandra, *Pariśishṭap.* IV, v, 61 (Berlin *MS.*, f. 52a):

श्रीवीरमोक्षदिवसादपि हायनानि
चत्वारि षष्टिमपि च्यतिगम्य जम्बू ।
कात्यायनं प्रभवमात्मपदे निवेश्य
कर्मक्षयेण पदमव्ययमाससाद ॥

[4] V. means after Vîra's Nirvâṇa.

[5] Pupil of Saṁbhûtivijaya. The followers of Bhadrabâhu are here omitted.

[6] The *Paṭṭâvalî* of the Tapâgachha has Śakaṭâla.

[7] *Pariśishṭap.* VIII, v., 5 (Berlin MS., f. 69a) Lakshmîvatî.

[8] 245 V., as is generally stated.

[9] Tod, *Rajast'han*, vol. I, p. 207 (2 ed.), gives 202 V.

[10] He was the pupil of Suhastin, Mahâgiri had two pupils, Bahula and Balissaha. The followers of the latter are enumerated in the *Sthavirâvalî* of the Âvaśyaka and *Nandîsûtra*.

Koṭika (*koṭiśaḥ sûrimantrajâpât*) and Kâkandika (*Kâkandyâṁ nagaryâṁ jâtatvât*), of the Vyâghrâpatyagotra, lived 31 years in *gṛiha*, 17 in *vrata*, 48 as *sûri*, died 313 V. at the age of 96. With him originated the Koṭikagachha.—Supratibuddha was his *laghubhrâtar*.

13. Indradinna.

14. Dinna.

15. Siṁhagiri, *jâtismaraṇajñânavân*.

At that time lived Pâdaliptâchârya, Vṛiddhavâdisûri and the pupil of the latter, Siddhasenadivâkara, who received the *dîkshânâman* of Kumudachandra (*Prabhâvakachar.* VIII, v. 57). The last mentioned split the liṅgam of Rudra in the temple of Mahâkâla at Ujjayinî and called forth an image of Pârśvanâtha by the *Kalyâṇamandirastava*. He converted Vikramâditya, 470 after Vîra's *Nirvâṇa*.

16. Vajra, of the Gautamagôtra, son of Dhanagiri and Sunandâ, who dwelt at Tumbavanagrâma, born 496 V., lived 8 years in *gṛiha*, 44 in *vrata*, 36 as *sûri*, died at the age of 88 in 584 V. After Siṁhagiri had taught him the eleven *aṅgas*, Vajra went from Daśapura to Bhadragupta at Avantî (Ujjayinî), to learn the 12th, viz. the *Dṛishṭivâdâṅga*. He was the last, who know the complete ten *pûrvas* (वज्रस्वामितो दशमपूर्वचतुर्थसंहननादिव्युच्छेदः), and he extended the Jaina religion southward in the kingdom of the Bauddhas. From him arose the Vajraśâkhâ.

In 525 V. the Śatruṁjayatîrtha was demolished and in 570 V. it was restored by Jâvaḍa. In 544 V. the 6th *Nihnava*, by name *Trairâśika*, was caused by Rohagupta.

17. Vajrasena, of the Utkôsikagôtra (*sic*), converted at Sôpâraka the four sons of *śreshṭhin* Jinadatta and Îśvarî, by name Nâgendra, Chandra, Nirvṛiti and Vidyâdhara, the founders of four *kulas*.

18. Chandra lived 37 years in *gṛiha*, 23 in *vrata*, 7 as *sûri*, in all 67 years.

At the same time lived Âryarakshita, son of the purohita Somadeva and Rudrasomâ, dwelling at Daśapura. He learnt from Vajra nine *pûrvas* and a fragment of the 10th, and taught them to his pupil Durbalikâpushpamitra.

In 584 V. the 7th *Nihnava*, the *Goshṭhâmâhila*, took place, in 609 V. the Digambaras arose.[11]

19. Samantabhadra, called Vanavâsin.

20. Deva, called Vṛiddha.

21. Pradyotana.

22. Mânadeva, author of a *Śântistava*.

23. Mânatuṅga, author of the *Bhaktâmara-* and *Bhayaharastotras*.

24. Vîra, 980 V., the *Siddhânta* was reduced to writing by Devarddhigaṇikshamâśramaṇa,[12] the pupil of Lohityasûri, at the council of Valabhî. In Devarddhi's time only one *pûrva* remained.

993 V. Kâlaka transferred the Paryushaṇâparvan from *Bhâdrapadaśuklapanchamî* to *chaturthî*. Here the MSS. intercalate, that before him there were two other saints of the same name, of whom the one called Śyâma, author of the *Prajñâpanâ* and interpreter of the *Nigodas*, lived 376 V., the other, the expeller of Gardabhilla, 453 V.

The MSS. quote farther Jinabhadragaṇikshamâśramaṇa, composer of *Viśeshâvaśyakâdibhâshya*,[13] and his pupil Śîlâṅka, called Koṭyâchârya, composer of *vṛittis* on the 1st and 2nd *aṅgas*.[14]

Haribhadra, by birth a Brâhmaṇa, was instructed in the Jaina doctrine by Jinabhaṭa.[15] Two of his pupils, Haṁsa and Paramahaṁsa, were killed by the Bauddhas in Bhoṭadeśa. He wrote 1444[16] works, such as *Ashṭaka*, *Pañchâśaka*.

25. Jayadeva.

26. Devânanda.

27. Vikrama.

28. Narasiṁha.

29. Samudra.

30. Mânadeva.

31. Vibudhaprabha.

32. Jayânanda.

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[11] On the seven *Nihnavas* see Weber, *Über den Kupakshakauçikâditya des Dharmasâgara,—Sitzungsber.* d. *Berlin Acad.* 1882, p. 794; on the Digambaras, *ib*, pp. 796-801.

[12] Otherwise he is called Devavâchaka and pupil of Dûshagaṇi.

[13] Kielhorn, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.* 1880-81, p. 37.

[14] According to *Prabhâvakachar.* XIX, v. 105f, he wrote *vṛittis* on eleven *aṅgas*, which with the exception of two have been lost. The *Âchârâṅgavṛitti* contains the date of its composition, Śâka 798. But as the verse, which contains the date, has been added after the colophon of the MS. it seems to be of no great weight.

[15] Alias Jinabhadra, cf. Kielhorn l. l. p. 24 n. 40 (Jinabhadra) and p. 31 n. 48 (Jinabhaṭa).

[16] According to others 1400. In a commentary upon Jinadatta's *Gaṇadharasârdhaśataka*, v. 55, is a list of about 30 works of H., most of which exist in MSS.

33. Raviprabha.

34. Yaśobhadra.

35. Vimalachandra.

36. Deva, founder of the Suvihitapakshagachha.

37. Nemichandra.

38. Uddyotana,[17] with whose pupils originated the 84 gachhas, now existing. He died on a pilgrimage, which he had undertaken from Mâlavakadêśa to Śatrumjaya, to worship Rishabha.

39. Vardhamâna, the first Sûri, peculiar to the Kharataragachha,[18] was at first the pupil of the Chaityavâsin Jinachandra, but passed over to Uddyotana. He converted the two sons Śiveśvara and Buddhisâgara and the daughter Kalyâṇavatî of the Brâhmaṇa Soma. Śiveśvara received at the *dîkshâ* the name of Jineśvara.

तदा त्रयोदशसुरत्राणछत्रोद्दालकचन्द्रावतीनगरीस्थापकपोरवाडज्ञातीयश्रीविमलमन्त्रिणा श्रीअर्बुदाचले ऋषभदेवप्रासादः कारितः ... तत्राद्यापि विमलवसही इति प्रसिद्धिरस्ति । ततः श्रीवर्धमानसूरिः संवत् १०८८[19] मध्ये प्रतिष्ठां कृत्वा प्रान्ते ऽनशनं गृहीत्वा स्वर्गं गतः ॥

40. Jineśvara went with his brother Buddhisâgara[20] from Marudeśa to Gurjaradeśa. to debate with the Chaityavâsins. In Sam.[21] 1080 in a *râjasabhâ* of Durlabha, king of Aṇahillapura, after the passages on the *sâdhvâchâra* had been read out of the *Daśavaikâlikasûtra*, which was brought forth from the Sarasvatîbhâṇḍâgâra, he overcame the Chaityavâsins and received the *biruda* of Kharatara.

41. Jinachandra, author of *Saṁvegaraṅgaśâlâprakaraṇa*.

42. Abhayadêva, *laghugurubhrâtar* of Jinachandra, was the son of Dhana, a śreshṭhin at Dhârâ, and Dhanadêvî, and was originally called Abhayakumâra. By excessive self-torment he became leprous, his hands fell off, but he was healed by a miracle. By the *Jayatihuyaṇastotra* he called forth an image of Pârśva, near Stambhanaka. He wrote commentaries on nine *aṅgas*[22] and died at Kappaḍavaṇijagrâma in Gurjaradeśa.

43. Jinavallabha, first pupil of Jineśvarasûri, a Chaityavâsin of the Kûrchapuragachha, afterwards became pupil of Abhayadêva. His works are *Piṇḍaviśuddhidviprakaraṇa*,[23] *Gaṇadharasârdhaśataka*, *Shaḍaśîti* etc. In Saṁ. 1167 he was consecrated Sûri by Dêvabhadrâchârya and died 6 months afterwards.

During his spiritual government the Madhukharataraśâkhâ separated, and this was the first *gachhabhêda*.

44. Jinadatta, son of Vâchhigamantrin and Vâhaḍadêvî, of the Humbaḍagôtra, born Saṁ. 1132, originally called Somachandra, received *dîkshâ* Saṁ. 1141 and the *sûrimantra* from Dêvabhadrâchârya at Chitrakûṭa Saṁ. 1169 Vaiśâkha vadi 6. He propagated the Jaina religion by miracles, which he performed in many cities, composed the *Saṁdêhadolâvalî* and many other works,[24] and died at Ajamêru Saṁ. 1211. Âshâḍha sudi 11. In Saṁ. 1204 at Rudrapallî the *Rudrapallîyakharataraśâkhâ*[25] was founded by Jinaśêkharâchârya,—this was the 2nd gachhabheda.

45. Jinachandra, born Saṁ. 1197, Bhâdra. sudi 8, son of Sâha-Râsala and Dêlhaṇadêvî, received *dîkshâ* at Ajamêru Saṁ. 1203 Phâlguna vadi 9, was made *âchârya* by Jinadatta at Vikramapura Saṁ. 1211 Vaiśâkha sudi 6 (at the age of 14!), and died Saṁ. 1223 Bhâdra. vadi 14 at Dillî, where a stûpa was erected to his memory. He is supposed to have had a jewel in his head.

46. Jinapati, born Saṁ. 1210 Chaitra vadi 8, son of Sâha-Yaśovardhana and Sûhavadêvî. Saṁ. 1218 Phâlguna vadi 8 his *dîkshâ* took place at Dillî; Saṁ. 1223 Kârtika sudi 13 his *padasthâpanâ* by Jayadevâchârya; and Saṁ.

[17] The interval of 157 years between Susthita's death and Vikramâditya is filled up by three names (13-15), the interval of 400 years between Vajra's death and Devarddhi by eight (17-24), and the interval of the 550 years between Devarddhi and Uddyotana by fourteen (25-38). There are evidently great gaps here.

[18] In colophons of MSS. of the Kharataragachha therefore the *vidyâvaṁśa* generally begins with Vardhamâna.

[19] This date is confirmed by inscriptions, s. Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* sub. Abu, vol. I, p. 4, from an account furnished by Dr. Burgess.

[20] श्रीबुद्धिसागरसूरिश्चक्रे व्याकरणं नवं ।
सहस्राष्टकमानं तत् श्रीबुद्धिसागराभिधं ॥
Prabhâvakachar, xix. v. 91.

[21] Saṁ. means Vikrama Saṁvat.

[22] That is on the 3rd to the 11th, besides on the 1st *upâṅga*. Prof. Jacobi also mentions a commentary of A.'s on the 2nd *upâṅga*, *Z.D.M.G.* vol. XXXIII, p. 694, but of that I am doubtful. According to colophons of the Berlin *MSS.* he wrote the commentaries on *Sthâna* and *Jñâtâdharmakathâ* in Saṁ. 1120, on *Samavâya* and *Bhagavatî* in Saṁ. 1128, at Aṇahilapâṭaka.

[23] Kielhorn, 1. 1, p. 30.

[24] For instance a *Gaṇadharasârdhaśataka* (a work of the same name was also composed by his predecessor Jinavallabha).

[25] To this gachha belonged Somatilakasûri, writer of a *vritti* on *Śîlopadeśamâlâ*, and his pupil Dêvêndrasûri, who wrote a *vritti* on *Praśnottararatnamâlâ* Saṁ. 1429, see the pedigrees at the end of Berlin *MSS.*

1277 his death at Pâhlaṇapura at the age of 67.

In Saṁ. 1213 originated the *Âṅchalikamatam*, and in Saṁ. 1285 the *Tapâgaṇa* from Jagachchandrasûri of the Chitrâvâlagachha.

47. Jineśvara,[26] born Saṁ. 1245 Mârga° sudi 11 at Maroṭa, son of Bhâṇḍâgârika Nemichandra and Lakshmî, originally called Ambaḍa, received in Saṁ. 1255 at his *dîkshâ* at Kheḍanagara the name of Vîraprabha; Saṁ. 1278 Mâgha sudi 6, *padasthâpanâ* at Jâloranagara from Sarvadevâchârya; died Saṁ. 1331 Âśvina vadi 6.

In the same year the *Laghukharataraśâkhâ* was founded by Jinasiṁhasûri, the 3rd *gachhabhêda*.

48. Jinaprabodha, author of *Durgaprabodhavyâkhyâ*,[27] son of Sâha-Śrîchanda and Siriyâdêvî, born Saṁ. 1285, *mûlanâman* Parvata; received Saṁ. 1296 Phâlguna vadi 5, at Thirâpadranagara the *dîkshâ* and the name of Prabodhamûrti; in Sam. 1331 Âśvina vadi 5, the *paṭṭâbhisheka*, and in the same year Phâlguna vadi 8, the *padamahotsava*. He died Saṁ. 1341.

49. Jinachandra, born Saṁ. 1326 Mârga° sudi 4, at Samiyâṇâgrâma, son of Mantri-Devarâja of the Chhâjahaḍagotra and Kamalâdevî, *mûlanâman* Shambharâya; *dîkshâ* Saṁ. 1332 at Jâlora; *padamahotsava* Saṁ. 1341 Vaiśâkha sudi 3 Somavâre. He converted four kings and went under the *biruda* of Kalikâlakevalin. Died Saṁ. 1376 at Kusumâṇâgrâma.

50. Jinakuśala,[28] famous by the name of Dâdaujî, born Sâṁ. 1337 at Samiyâṇâgrâma, son of Mantri-Jilhâgara of the Chhâjahaḍagotra and Jayatiśrî; received *dîkshâ* Sâṁ. 1347, *sûrimantra* from Râjendrâchârya Saṁ. 1377 Jyêshṭha vadi 11; died at Derâûra Saṁ. 1389 Phâlguna vadi Amâvâsyâm.

51. Jinapadma,[29] of the Chhâjahaḍavaṁśa, born in the Panjâb, received the *sûrimantra* from Taruṇaprabhâchârya and died Saṁ. 1400 Vaiśâkha sudi 14 at Pâṭaṇa.

52. Jinalabdhi, died Saṁ. 1406 at Nâgapura.

53. Jinachandra, died Saṁ. 1415 Âshâdha vadi 13, at Stambhatîrtha.

54. Jinodaya, son of Sâha-Rundapâla, who dwelt at Pâhlaṇapura, and of Dhâraladêvî, born Saṁ. 1375; *mulanâman* Samarau. Saṁ. 1415 Âshâdha sudi 2, his *padasthâpanâ* was made by Taruṇaprabhâchârya at Stambhatîrtha. At the same place he founded a Chaitya to Ajita, and on the Śatruṁjaya he made five *pratishṭhâs*. He died Saṁ. 1432 Bhâdra° vadi 11, at Pâṭaṇa.

In his time, Saṁ. 1422 the *Vegaḍakharataraśâkhâ* took its rise, founded by Dharmavallabhagaṇi, the 4th *gachhabhêda*.

55. Jinarâja received the *sûripadam* Saṁ. 1432 Phâlguna vadi 6, at Pâṭaṇa, and died Saṁ. 1461 at Dêvalavâḍa.

56. Jinabhadra.

At first Jinavardhanasûri[30] had been appointed successor to Jinarâja, Saṁ. 1461, but on account of the breach of the 4th *vrata* he was pronounced unworthy, and his place was given to Jinabhadra Saṁ. 1475 Mâgha sudi 15. Jinabhadra of the Bhaṇasâlikagotra, originally named Bhâdau, set up many images, founded many temples and libraries, and died Saṁ. 1514 Mârga° vadi 9, at Kumbhalamêru.

The abovementioned Jinavardhanasûri founded Saṁ. 1474 the *Pippalakakharataraśâkhâ*,—the 5th *gachhabhêda*.

57. Jinachandra, son of Sâha-Vachharâja of the Chammagotra and Vâhlâdêvî, born Saṁ. 1487 at Jêsalamêru; *dîkshâ* Saṁ. 1492; *sûripada* Saṁ 1514 Vaiśâkha vadi 2, died Saṁ 1530 at Jêsalamêru.

Saṁ. 1508 the Lekhaka Lauṅka—removed statues at Ahmadâvâd, and Saṁ. 1524—originated the *matam*, called after him.[31]

58. Jinasamudra, son of Dekau-sâha of the Pârashagôtra and Dêvaladêvî, born Saṁ. 1506 at Bâhaḍamêru; *dîkshâ* Saṁ. 1521; *padasthâpanâ* Saṁ. 1530 Mâgha sudi 13, died Saṁ. 1555 at Ahmadâvâd.

59. Jinahaṁsa, son of Sâha-Megharâja of the Chôpaḍâgôtra and Kamalâdêvî, born Saṁ. 1524; *dîkshâ* Saṁ. 1535; *padasthâpanâ* Saṁ. 1555 at Ahmadâvâd; died Saṁ. 1582 at Pâṭaṇa.

Saṁ. 1564 the *Âchâryîyakharataraśâkhâ* arose,

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[26] His pupil Dharmatilakagaṇi wrote Saṁ. 1322 a *vṛitti* on Jinavallabha's *Ajitaśântistava*, beginning *Ullâsikkama*,—colophon of a MS.

[27] Cf. Kielhorn l. 1, p. 25, n. 44.

[28] Author of *Chaityavandanakulavṛitti*, Kielhorn l. 1, p. 13, 14.

[29] Kielhorn, l. l, p. 45, l. 5 (Saṁ. 1393).

[30] Kielhorn, l. l, p. 19, n. 28, p. 36; n. 53 (Saṁ. 1471).

[31] तद्वारके सं १५०८ अहमदावादे लौङ्काख्येन लेखकेन प्रतिमा उत्थापिता । Prof. Weber, *l. l.* p. 807, is right in observing, that *utthâpay* must mean here not 'erect,' but 'remove.' Cf. Tod, *Trav. in W. Ind.*, p. 357.

founded by Áchârya-Sântisâgara in Marudeśa,—the 6th *gachhabhêda.*

60. Jinamâṇikya, son of Sâha-Jîvarâja of the Kûkaḍachopaḍâgotra and Padmâdêvî, born Saṁ. 1549; *dîkshâ* Saṁ. 1560; *padasthâpanâ* Sam. 1582 Bhâdra° vadi 9; died Saṁ. 1612 Âshâdha sudi 5.

61. Jinachandra, son of Sâha-śrîvanta of the Rîhaḍagotra and Sirîyâdêvî, born at Vaḍalîgrâma near Timarînagara Saṁ. 1595; *dîkshâ* Saṁ. 1604; *sûripada* at Jêsalamêru Sam. 1612 Bhâdra° sudi 9. He is said to have converted the Emperor Akbar to the Jaina religion. He had 95 pupils,—Samayarâja, Mahimarâja, Dharmanidhâna, Ratnanidhâna, Jñânavimala, etc. and died at Venâtaṭa Saṁ. 1670 Âśvina vadi 2.

S. 1621 originated the *Bhâvaharshîyakharataraśâkhâ,* founded by Bhâvaharshopâdhyâya,—the 7th *gachhabhêda.*

62. Jinasiṁha, son of Sâha-Châmpasî of the Gaṇadharachôpaḍâgôtra and Chaturaṅgadêvî, born at Khetâsaragrâma Saṁ. 1615 Mârga° sudi 15; *mûlanâman* Mânasiṁha; *dîkshâ* at Vîkâner Saṁ. 1623 Mârga° vadi 5; *vâchakapada* at Jêsalamêru Saṁ. 1640 Mâgha sudi 5; *âchâryapada* at Lâhora Sam. 1649 Phâlguna sudi 2; *sûripada* at Venâtaṭa Saṁ. 1670; died at Meḍatâ Saṁ. 1674 Pausha vadi 13.

63. Jinarâja, son of Sâha-Dharmasî of the Bôhittharâgôtra and Dhâraladêvî, born Saṁ. 1647 Vaiśâkha sudi 7; *dîkshâ* at Vîkâner Saṁ. 1656 Mârga° sudi 3; *dikshânâman* Râjasamudra; *vâchakapada* Saṁ. 1668; *sûripada* at Meḍatâ Saṁ. 1674 Phâlguna sudi 7. He made many *pratishṭhâs,*—for example, erected 501 statues of Ṛishabha and other Jinas on the Śatruṁjaya Saṁ. 1675 Vaiśâkha sudi 13 Śukref,[32] composed a *vṛitti* on the *Naishadhîyakâvya,* called *Jainarâjî,* and other *granthas,* and died at Pâttaṇa Saṁ. 1699 Âshâdha sudi 9.

Saṁ. 1686 originated the *Laghvâchâryîyakharataraśâkhâ* from Âchârya-Jinasâgarasûri, occasioned by Harshanandana,[33] pupil of Samayasundara,—this is the 8th *gachhabhêda.*

Saṁ. 1700 originated the *Raṅgavijayakharataraśâkhâ* from Raṅgavijayagaṇi,—this is the 9th *gachhabhêda,* and from this śâkhâ sprung the *Srîsârîyakharataraśâkhâ,* founded by Śrîsâropâdhyâya,—the 10th *gachhabhêda.* एकादशस्तु बृहत्खरतरनामा मूलगच्छ एवमेकादशभेदः खरतरगच्छः

64. Jinaratna, of Serûṇagrâma, son of Sâha-Tilokasî of the Lûṇiyâgotra and Târâdêvî, originally called Rûpachandra, received the *sûrimantra* Saṁ. 1699 Ashâdha sudi 7, died at Akavvarâvâda Saṁ. 1711 Śrâvaṇa vadi 7.

65. Jinachandra, son of Sâha-Âsakaraṇa of the Gaṇadharachôpaḍâgôtra and Supiyâradevî; *mûlanâman* Hêmarâja, *dîkshânâman* Harshalâbha; *padasthâpanâ* Saṁ. 1711 Bhâdra° vadi 10; died at Sûrata Saṁ. 1763.

66. Jinasaukhya, son of Sâha-Rûpasî of the Lechâbuharâgôtra and Surûpâ, born at Phogapattana Saṁ. 1739 Mârga° sudi 15; *dîkshâ* at Puṇyapâlasaragrâma Saṁ. 1751 Mâgha sudi 5; *dîkshânâman* Sukhakîrti; *sûripada* Saṁ. 1763 Âshâdha sudi 11; died at Riṇî Saṁ. 1780 Jyêshṭha vadi 10.

67. Jinabhakti, son of Sâha-Harichandra of the Seṭhagôtra and Harisukhadêvî, born at Indapâlasaragrâma Saṁ. 1770 Jyeshṭha sudi 3; *mûlanâman* Bhîmarâja; *dîkshâ* Saṁ. 1779 Mâgha sudi 7; *dîkshânâman* Bhaktikshema; *sûripada* at Riṇî Saṁ. 1780 Jyeshṭha vadi 3 (at the age of 10!); died at Mâṇḍavî in Kachhadeśa Saṁ. 1804 Jyeshṭha sudi 4.

68. Jinalâbha, son of Sâha-Pachâyaṇadâsa of the Bôhittharâgôtra and Padmâdêvî, who dwelt at Vîkânêr, born at Vâpeûgrâma Saṁ. 1784 Śrâvaṇa sudi 5; *mûlânâman* Lâlachandra; *dîkshâ* at Jêsalamêru Sâṁ. 1796 Jyeshṭha sudi 6; *dîkshânâman* Lakshmîlâbha; *padasthâpanâ* at Mâṇḍavî Saṁ. 1804 Jyeshṭha sudi 5. He made many *yâtrâs* and *pratishṭhâs;* and died at Guḍhâ Saṁ. 1834 Âśvina vadi 10.

69. Jinachandra, son of Rûpachandra of the Vachhâvatamuṁhatâgôtra and Kêsaradêvî, who dwelt at Vîkânêr, born at Kalyâṇasaragrâma Saṁ. 1809; *mûlamâman* Anûpachandra; *dîkshâ* at Maṇḍovara Saṁ. 1822; *dîkshânâman* Udayasâra; *sûripada* at Guḍhâ Saṁ. 1834 Âśvina vadi 13; died at Sûrata Saṁ. 1856 Jyêshṭha sudi 3.

70. Jinaharsha, born at Vâlêvâgrâma, son of Sâha-Tilôkachandra of the Miṭhaḍiyâbuharâgôtra and Târâdêvî; *dîkshâ* at Âûgrâma Saṁ. 1841; *sûripada* at Sûrata Saṁ. 1856 Jyêshṭha sudi 15.

Here the MS., written in Saṁ. 1876, breaks off.

[32] Cf. Tod, *Trav. in W. Ind.*, p. 290.—Another inscription—Colebr. *Misc. Ess.* vol. II, p. 319 (new ed. 279).

[33] Author of a *Rishimaṇḍalaṭîkâ,* Berlin or. fol. 719.

II. *Paṭṭâvalî of the Tapâgachha.*

The *Paṭṭâvalî* of the Tapâgachha enumerates the same old teachers from Mahâvîra to Uddyotana, the 38th sûri of the Kharataragachha, but with some differences. Firstly Mahâvîra is not included, तीर्थकृतो ह्याचार्यपरिपाट्या उत्पत्तिहेतवो भवन्ति । न पुनस्तदन्तर्गताः ॥

1. Sudharman, the first âchârya of the first *udaya.*

2. Jambû. On him the following verses are quoted :—

सत्कृते जम्बुना त्यक्ता नवोढा नव कान्यिकाः ।
तन्मन्ये मुक्तिवध्वान्यो न वृतो भारतो नरः ॥ १
चित्तं न नीतं वनिताविकारैः
चित्तं न नीतं चतुरैश्च चौरैः ।
यद्देहगेहे द्वितयं निशीथे
जम्बूकुमाराय नमो ऽस्तु तस्मै ॥ २
मण १ परमोहि २ पुलाए ३
आहारग ४ खवग ५ उवसमे ६ कप्पे ७ ।
संजमतिग ८ केवल ९ सि-
ज्झणा य १० जंबुंमि वुच्छिन्ना ॥ १

3. Prabhava.

4. Śayyambhava. On him the following ślokas are quoted[34] :

कृतं विकालवेलायां दशाध्ययनगर्भितं ।
दशवैकालिकमिति नाम्ना शास्त्रं बभूव तत् ॥ १
अतःपरं भविष्यन्ति प्राणिनो ह्यल्पमेधसः ।
कृतार्थास्ते मनकवद्भवन्तु त्वत्प्रसादतः ॥ २
श्रुताम्भोजस्य किञ्जल्कं दशवैकालिकं ह्यदः ।
आचम्याचम्य मोदन्तामनगारमधुव्रताः ॥ ३
इति संघोपरोधेन श्रीशय्यंभवसूरिभिः ।
दशवैकालिकग्रन्थो न संवव्रे महात्मभिः ॥ ४

5. Yaśobhadra.

6. Sambhûtavijaya (*sic*) and Bhadrabâhu, उभावपि षष्ठपट्टधरौ ॥

7. Sthûlabhadra. Here we find the following dates, differing a little from those of the *Kharatara-Paṭṭâvalî*: He lived 30 years in *gṛiha*, 24 in *vrata*, and 45 as *yugapradhâna*, and died at 99 in 215 V.[35] But the dates of the *Kharatara-Paṭṭâvalî* are also mentioned.

8. Ârya-Mahâgiri and Ârya-Suhastin, *gurubhrâtarau*: the former lived 30 years in *gṛiha*, 40 in *vrata*, 30 as *yugapradhâna*, in all 100 years, the latter, 30 years in *gṛiha*, 24 in *vrata*, 46 as *yuga°*, in all 100 years, and died in 291 V. The composer of the *Paṭṭâvalî* draws attention to the improbability of this statement :—

यद्यपि श्रीस्थूलभद्रस्य २१५ वर्षे स्वर्गो गुर्वावल्यनुसारेणोक्तः श्रीमहागिरिसुहस्तिनौ तु त्रिंशद्वर्षगृहस्थपर्यायावपि शतवर्षजीविनौ दुष्षमासंघस्तोत्रयन्त्रकानुसारेणोक्तौ तथा च सति श्रीआर्यसुहस्ती श्रीस्थूलभद्रदीक्षितो न संपद्येत तथापि गृहस्थपर्यायवर्षाणि न्यूनानि व्रतवर्षाणि चाधिकानीति विभाव्य घटनीयं । क्वचिज्जीर्णपट्टावल्यां सपादशतद्वये २२५ श्रीस्थूलभद्रस्य स्वर्ग उक्तो दृश्यते । तथा च न किंचिदनुपपन्नं ॥

9. Susthita and Supratibaddha (*sic*), pupils of Suhastin, surnamed Koṭika and Kâkandika. From that time the name of the Nirgranthas was changed to that of the Koṭikagachha.

श्रीसुधर्मस्वामिनो ऽष्टौ सूरीन्यावन्निर्ग्रन्थाः साधवो ऽनगारा इत्यादिसामान्यार्थाभिधायिन्याख्यासीत् । नवमे च पट्टे कोटिका इति विशेषार्थावबोधकं द्वितीयं नाम प्रादुर्भूतं ॥ The MSS. mention, that in the *Sthavirâvalî*[36] of the *Nandî-* and *Âvaśyakasûtra* the twin-brothers Bahula and Balissaha are specified as pupils of Mahâgiri, Svâti, author of the *Tattvârtha* and other *granthas*, as pupil of Balissaha, Śyâmârya,[37] author of the *Prajñâpanâ*, died 376, according to others 386 V., as pupil of Svâti; Sâṇḍilya (*sic*), author of the *Jîtamaryâdâ*, as pupil of Śyâmârya.

10. Indradinna.

Kâlakasûri, the uprooter of Gardabhilla, lived 453 V.; according to other MSS. the same Kâlaka also transferred the *Paryushaṇâparvan*, and as authorities for this fact are mentioned the *Sthânakavṛitti*, *Dharmopadeśamâlâvṛitti*, *Pushpamâlâvṛitti*, *samasta-Kâlakâchâryakathâ* and *Prabhâvakacharitra*.[38]

Ârya-Khapuṭa lived at the same time, 453 V., according to a *Jîrṇa-Paṭṭâvali*, but besides it is said, that the *Prabhâvakacharitra*[39] gives the date as 484 V.

In 467 V. lived Ârya-Maṅgu, Vṛiddhavâdin and Pâdalipta, at the same time Siddhasenadivâkara, author of the *Kalyâṇamandirastava* and converter of Vikramâditya (470 V.) Here follow the three

[34] From Hemachandra's *Pariśishṭap.* V, v. 86, 103—5.

[35] In the same year the 9th Nanda was killed by Chandragupta.

[36] V, 27. 28. Prof. Jacobi, *Z. D. M. G.* XXXIV, p. 252, quotes the verses, read *Bahulassa sarivvayaṁ* (*sadṛigvayasaṁ*) in v. 27, and *cha vaṁdimo* in v. 28.

[37] Cf. Kharatara-Paṭṭâvalî, sub 24.

[38] *Sringa* IV.

[39] It is really so :

श्रीवीरमुक्तितः शतचतुष्टये चतुरशीतिसंयुक्ते ।
वर्षाणां समजायत स श्रीमानार्यखपुटगुरुः ॥ VI, v. 77.

Prâkṛit verses, which Prof. Bühler first published in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. II, p. 362 (in v. 3 read *Nahavâṇa* for *Nahavahaṇa*). In a *Gurvâvalî* of the Vṛihadgachha the following two *gâthâs* are added:

सुन्नमुणिवेयजुत्ता ४७०
जिणकाला विक्कमो वरिससट्ठी ६० ।
धम्माइच्चो चालीस (*sic*) ४०
गाइल पणवीस २५ नाहडे अट्ठ ८ ॥
इक्कंमि ३ वाससए
गयंमि पणतीसवच्छरसदिए १३५ ।
विक्कमकालाउ सागा-
ण वच्छरो पुण वि संजाओ ॥

11. Dinna.
12. Siṁhagiri.
13. Vajra, born 496 V., died 584 V., etc., conf. *Kharatara-Paṭṭâvalî* No. 16.

तत्र श्रीवीरात् ५३३ वर्षे श्रीआर्यरक्षितसूरिणा श्रीभद्रगुप्ताचार्यो निर्यामितः स्वर्गभागिति पट्टावल्यां दृश्यते । परं दुष्यमासंघस्तवयन्त्रकानुसारेण ५४४ वर्षातिक्रमे श्रीआर्यरक्षितसूरीणां दीक्षा विज्ञायते ॥ तथा चोक्तसंवत्सरे निर्यामणं न संभवतीत्येतद्बहुश्रुतगम्यं ॥ तथा ५४८ वर्षान्ते त्रैराशिकजित् श्रीगुप्तसूरिः स्वर्गभाक् ॥

But according to other MSS. the year of Bhadragupta's death is 553 V., that of Âryarakshita's 557 V., and that of Śrî-Gupta's 584 V.

14. Vajrasena lived 9 years in *griha*, 116 (*sic*) in *vrata*, 3 as *yugapradhâna*, and died at 128 in 620 V. (!)

Respecting the year of Âryarakshita's death the following is asserted: श्रीमदार्यरक्षितसूरिः ५९७ वर्षान्ते स्वर्गभागिति पट्टावल्यादौ दृश्यते । परमावश्यकवृत्त्यादौ श्रीमदार्यरक्षितसूरीणां स्वर्गगमनानन्तरं ५८४ वर्षान्ते सप्तमनिह्नवोत्पत्तिरुक्तास्ति ॥ तेनैतद्बहुश्रुतगम्यमिति ॥

Durbalikâpushpa died 616 V., in 617 V. the first *udaya* ends and the second begins. 620 V. *Ujjayantagirau Yâvadyuddhâraḥ.*

15. Chandra. तस्माच्चन्द्रगच्छ इति तृतीयं नाम प्रादुर्भूतं ॥

16. Sâmantabhadra. तस्माच्चतुर्थं नाम वनवासीति प्रादुर्भूतं ॥

17. Vṛiddhadeva, कोरण्टके नाहडमन्त्रिनिर्मापितप्रासादे श्रीमहावीरप्रतिष्ठाकृत् । सा च प्रतिष्ठा विक्रमात्सप्तदशाधिकशतवर्षान्ते गुर्वावल्यामुक्ता । तथा च सति वीरात् ५९५ वर्षाणि संपद्यते । तच्च सम्यग् न विद्मः यतस्तत्रैव वीरात् ६२० वर्षे श्रीवज्रसेनस्य स्वर्गो निगदितः । पश्चाच्च श्रीचन्द्रसूरिः सामन्तभद्रसूरिश्चेति पट्टधरद्वयं संजातं । ततश्च श्रीवृद्धदेवसूरिणा वीरात् ५९५ वर्षे प्रतिष्ठा कृतेति कथं घटते । इति विचारणया भूयान् कालः संपद्यते इति भावः ॥

18. Pradyotana.
19. Mânadeva.
20. Mânatuṅga, मालवेश्वरचौलुक्यवयरसिंहदेवामात्यः, converted the king, who was beguiled by the sorceries of Bâṇa and Mayûra, at Vârâṇasî, by the *Bhaktâmarastavana* and convinced Nâgarâja by the *Bhayaharastavana.* He also composed a *stavana*, beginning *Bhattibhara.*

श्रीप्रभावकचरित्रे [40] प्रथमं श्रीमानतुङ्गचरित्रमुक्तं । पश्चाच्च वृद्धदेवसूरिशिष्यश्रीप्रद्योतनसूरिशिष्यश्रीमानदेवसूरिप्रबन्ध उक्तः । परं न तत्र शङ्का यतस्तत्रान्ये ऽपि प्रबन्धा व्यस्ततयोक्ता दृश्यन्ते ॥

21. Vîra.

नागपुरे नेमिभवनप्रतिष्ठया महितपाणिसौभाग्यः ।
अभवद्वीराचार्यस्त्रिभिः शतैः साधिकै राज्ञः ॥ १ [41]

22. Jayadeva.
23. Devânanda.

श्रीवीरात् ८४५ वलभीभङ्गः । [42] ८२६ क्वचित् ८८६ ब्रह्मद्वीपिकाः । ८८२ चैत्यस्थितिः ॥

24. Vikrama.
25. Narasiṁha.

नरसिंहसूरिरासीदतो ऽखिलग्रन्थपारगो येन ।
यक्षो नरसिंहपुरे मांसरतिं त्याजितः स्वगिरा ॥ १

26. Samudra.

खोमाणराजकुलजो ऽपि समुद्रसूरि
र्गच्छं शशास किल यः प्रवणप्रमाणी ।
जित्वा तदा क्षपणकान् स्ववशं वितेने
नागह्रदे भुजगनाथनमस्यतीर्थं ॥ १

27. Mânadeva.

विद्यासमुद्रहरिभद्रमुनीन्द्रमित्रं
सूरिर्बभूव पुनरेव हि मानदेवः ।
मान्द्यात्प्रयातमपि यो ऽनघसूरिमन्त्रं
लेभे ऽम्बिकामुखगिरा तपसोज्जयन्ते ॥ १

1000 V. the last *Pûrva* was lost together with Satyamitra.

Nâgahastin, Revatîmitra, Brahmadvîpa, Nâgârjuna, Bhûtadinna and the Kâlaka, who transferred the *Paryushaṇâparvan* 993 V., these six *yugapradhânas* lived in the time between Vajrasena (see No. 14) and Satyamitra.

[40] It is really so.

[41] According to the *Kharatara-Paṭṭâvalî* Vîra was a contemporary of Devarddhigaṇi, 980 V. or 510 Saṁ.

[42] Cf. *Prabhâvakacharitra*, v. 79, 80:

श्रीवर्धमानसंवत्सरतो वत्सरशताष्टके ऽतिगते ।
पञ्चाधिकचत्वारिंशताधिके समजनि वलभ्याः ॥
भङ्गस्तुरुष्कविहितः...

1055 V. or Saṁ. 585 Haribhadrasûri, the son of Yâkinî, died.

निशीथबृहत्कल्पभाष्यावश्यकादिचूर्णिकाराः श्रीजिनदासगणिमहत्तराद्यः [43] पूर्वगतश्रुतधरश्रीप्रद्युम्नक्षमाश्रमणादिशिष्यत्वेन श्रीहरिभद्रसूरितः प्राचीना एव यथाकालभाविनो बोध्याः ॥

In 1115 V.[44] lived the *Yugapradhâna* Jinabhadragaṇi, who was looked upon as *bhinna*, on account of his work *Jinabhadrîyadhyânaśataka*; तस्य चतुरुत्तरशतवर्षायुष्कत्वेन श्रीहरिभद्रसूरिकाले ऽपि संभवान्नाशङ्कावकाश इति ॥

28. Vibudhaprabha.

29. Jayânanda.

30. Raviprabha, who erected a temple to Nemînâtha at Naḍḍûlapura 1170 V. or Saṁ. 700.

In 1190. V. lived the *Yugapradhâna* Umâsvâti (श्रावकप्रज्ञप्त्यादिकरणादन्यः).

31. Yaśodeva.

1272 V. or Saṁ. 802 Aṇahillapurapattana was founded by Vanarâja.[45]

1270 V. or Saṁ. 800 Bhâdra° śukla 3, Bappabhaṭṭi,[46] who converted king Âma, was born; died 1365 V. or Saṁ. 895 Bhâdra° śukla 6.

32. Pradyumna.

33. Mânadeva, author of *Upadhânavâchya* and other *granthas*.

34. Vimalachandra.

35. Uddyotana consecrated 1464 V. or Saṁ. 994[47] Sarvadêvasûri, according to others 8 sûris, under a large fig-tree (*vaṭa*) in the boundary of the village Ṭelî on Mount Arbuda. Thence originated the *Vṛihad-* or *Vaḍa-*(*Vaṭa-*) *gachha* (the 5th name).

36. Sarvadêva, अयं च श्रीसुधर्मस्वामिनः पञ्चदशपट्टभृतश्चन्द्रगच्छसंज्ञाहेतोः श्रीचन्द्रसूरेरेकविंशतितमो बृहद्गच्छसंज्ञायाः प्रथम आचार्यः। केचित्तु श्रीसंभूतविजयश्रीभद्रबाहू २ श्री आर्यमहागिरिसुहस्तिनौ २ श्रीसुस्थितसुप्रतिबद्धसूरी २ चेति युगलत्रयाणामप्याचार्याणां पृथक्पृथक् पट्टधरत्वविवक्षया श्रीमहावीरस्यापि गणनापङ्क्तौ प्रक्षेपाच्च श्रीमहावीरत एकोनविंशतितमं श्रीचन्द्रसूरिं वदन्ति। तदिह न विवक्षितं तीर्थकृतः कस्यापि पट्टधरत्वाभावात्। युगलत्रये चैकैकस्यैव संतानस्य प्रवर्तनात्। तस्मात् श्रीसुधर्मस्वामितः श्रीसर्वदेवसूरिः षड्विंशत्तमः पट्टधर इति बोध्यं। केचित् श्रीप्रद्युम्नसूरिमुपधानप्रकरणप्रणेतृश्रीमानदेवसूरिं च पट्टधरतया न मन्यन्ते। तदभिप्रायेण चतुर्विंशत्तम इति ॥

Besides the following verses are quoted:[48]

चरित्रशुद्धिं विधिवज्जिनागमात्
विधाय भव्यानभितः प्रबोधयत्।
चकार जैनेश्वरशासनोन्नतिं
यः शिष्यलब्ध्याभिनवो नु गौतमः ॥ १

नृपाद्दशाग्रे शरदां सहस्रे १०१० यो रामसैन्याह्वपुरे चकार।
नाभेयचैत्ये ऽष्टमतीर्थराजबिम्बप्रतिष्ठां विधिवत्सदर्च्यः॥ २
चन्द्रावती[49])भूपतिनेत्रकल्पं श्रीकुङ्कुणं मन्त्रिणमुच्चऋद्धिं।
निर्मापितोत्तुङ्गविशालचैत्यं
यो ऽदीक्षयच्छुद्धगिरा प्रबोध्य ॥ ३

Saṁ. 1029 Dhanapâla[50] composed the *Deśînâmamâlâ*.

Saṁ. 1096 died Śântisûri, named Vâdivêtâla, of the Thârâpadragachha, who wrote a *ṭîkâ* on the *Uttarâdhyayanasûtra* (conf. *Prabhâvakachar*, śṛiṅga XVI).

37. Dêva, named Rûpaśrî.

38. Sarvadêva.

39. Yaśobhadra and Nêmichandra, *gurubhrâtarau*.

In Saṁ. 1135, according to others 1139, Abhayadêvasûri, composer of *vṛittis* on 9 *aṅgas*, died.

तथा कूर्चपुरगच्छीयचैत्यवासिजिनेश्वरसूरिशिष्यो जिनवल्लभश्चित्रकूटे षट्कल्याणकप्ररूपणया विधिसंघो विधिधर्म इत्यादिनाम्ना निजमतं प्ररूप्य प्रवचनबाह्यो जातः। सा च प्ररूपणा वि० ११४९ तथा ११५० वर्षे संभाव्यते ॥

(Cf. *Kharatara-Paṭṭâvalî* No. 43.)

40. Munichandra, pupil of Vinayachandra, who was a *gurubhrâtar* of Nêmichandra. Upon him the following verses are quoted:[51]

सौवीरपायीति तदेकवारिपानाद्विधिज्ञो बिरुदं बभार।
जिनागमाम्भोनिधिधौतबुद्धिर्यः शुद्धचारित्रिषलब्धरेखः ॥ १
संविग्नमौलिर्विकृतीः समस्तास्तत्याज देहे ऽप्यममः सदा यः।

[43] Cf. Kielhorn, l. l, pp. 22 seqq.

[44] According to another MS. 1150.

[45] Cf. Prinsep, *Usef. Tabl.*, ed. Thomas, p. 255; K. Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I, p. 38; Bird's *Mirat Ahmadi*, p. 140; Gladwin's *Ayin Akbari*, vol. II, p. 74.—ED.

[46] At this time lived Vâkpatirâja at Lakshanâvatî (in Gauḍadeśa), author of *Gauḍavadha*, and king Yaśovarman of Kanyakubja, s. *Prabhâvakachar*, XI.

[47] According to the *Kharatara-Paṭṭâvalî* Vardhamâna, one of the pupils of Uddyotana, died Saṁ. 1088. If this date is correct, the consecration must have been later than Saṁ. 994.

[48] From a *Gurvâvalî* composed Saṁ. 1466 by Munisundarasûri, v. 56—58.

[49] संप्रति भीमपल्ली।

[50] *Prabhâvakacharitra*, XVII, v. 194:

सर्वज्ञपुरतस्तत्रोपविश्य स्तुतिमादधे। (sc. Dhanapâla)
जयजंतुकप्पेत्यादिगाथापञ्चाशतमिमां ॥

The Prâkrit words form the beginning of the *Rishabhapañchâśikâ*, s. *Z. D. M. G.* vol. XXXIII, p. 452.

[51] From Munisundara's *Gurvâvalî*, vv. 66—69 and 72.

विद्वद्विनेयालिवृतः प्रभावप्रभागुणौघैः किल गौतमाभः ॥२
हरिभद्रसूरिरचिताः श्रीमदनेकान्तजयपताकाद्याः ।[52]
ग्रन्थनगा विबुधानामप्यधुना दुर्गमा ये ऽत्र ॥ ३
सत्पञ्जिकादिपद्याविरचनया भगवता कृता येन ।
मन्दधियामपि सुगमास्ते सर्वे विश्वहितबुद्ध्या ॥ ४
अष्टहयेश ११७८ मिते ऽब्दे विक्रमकालाद्दिवं गतो भगवान् ।
श्रीमुनिचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रो ददातु भद्राणि संघाय ॥५

श्रीमुनिचन्द्रसूरिगुरुभ्राता चन्द्रप्रभाचार्यः संविग्नत्वादिगुणगरिष्ठेषु श्रीमुनिचन्द्रसूरिषु बहुमानपरायणस्य कस्यचिन्महर्द्धिकश्राद्धस्य जिनबिम्बप्रतिष्ठामहसि श्रीमुनिचन्द्रसूरिमहिमानं दृष्ट्वा मात्सर्यात् श्राद्धप्रतिष्ठां व्यवस्थाप्य मतभेदकरणाय पूर्णिमापाक्षिकं प्ररूपयन् संघेन निवारितो ऽपि श्राद्धप्रतिष्ठा पूर्णिमापाक्षिकं चेत्युभयमप्यनादिसिद्धं त्वं प्ररूपयेति मम स्वप्ने पद्मावत्योक्तमित्यसद्भाषणपुरस्सरं स्वाभिनिवेशमत्यजन् श्रीसंघेन बहिष्कृतः । ततो वि० ११५९ वर्षे पौर्णिमीयकमतोत्पत्तिः । तत्प्रतिबोधाय च श्रीमुनिचन्द्रसूरिभिः पाक्षिकसप्ततिका कृतेति ॥

By Munichandra his kinsman Ânandasûri[53] and others were initiated.

A pupil of Munichandra was Dêvasûri, who conquered the Digambara Kumudachandrâchârya in a dispute before Jayasiṁhadêva,[54] king of Aṇahillapurapattana, and thereby hindered the entrance of the Digambaras into that town. In Saṁ. 1204 Dêvasûri founded a chaitya and raised a *bimba* at Phalavarddhigrâma (तत्तीर्थं संप्रत्यपि प्रसिद्धं), and made a Nêminâthapratishṭhâ at Ârâsaṇa. He composed *Syâdvâdaratnâkara*, a *pramâṇagrantha*, from whence sprang the *Chaturviṁśatisûriśâkhâ*. Dêvasûri was born Saṁ. 1143; *dîkshâ* 1152; *sûripada* 1174; *svarga* 1226 Śrâvaṇa vadi 7 Gurau.[55]

At the same time lived Hêmachandrasûri, pupil of Dêvachandrasûri, who converted king Kumârapâla, author of *trikoṭigranthas*, born Saṁ. 1145 Kârtika sudi 15; *dîkshâ* 1150; *sûripada* 1166; *svarga* 1229.[56]

41. Ajitadeva.

तत्समये वि० १२०१ वर्षे जिनदत्तेन जिनवल्लभव्यवस्थापितं विधिसंघमेव (cf. *Kharatara-Paṭṭ.* Nos. 43, 44) शरणीकृत्य तद्वृद्धये मिथ्यादृक् चामुण्डाराधिता । ततो विधिसंघस्यैव चामुण्डिक इति नाम । तथा पत्तने[57] स्त्रीजिनपूजोत्थापनेन संघताडनभयादुष्ट्रवाहनो जावलपुरं गतः । ततो लोके स एवौष्ट्रिक इत्युक्तः । तन्नामश्रवणाज्जातक्रोधेन सरोषं भाषमाणः खरतरप्रकृतिकत्वाज्जातः । खरतर इत्याख्यास्यातः । (cf. *Kharatara-Paṭṭ.* No. 40).

बारसवाससएसुं विक्कमकालाउ जलहिअहिएसुं ।
जिणवल्लहकोहाओ कुच्चयरगणाउ खरहरया ॥ १

इति वृद्धसंप्रदायगाथायां जिनवल्लभात्खरतरोत्पत्तिरुक्ता । तच्च जिनवल्लभस्थापितो विधिसंघ एव जिनदत्तदौष्ट्रिकखरतरादिख्यातिभाक् । विधिसंघस्य तु मूलं जिनवल्लभ एवेत्यभिप्रायेणोक्तं बोध्यं ॥

तथा वि० १२१३ वर्षे बिउणपग्रामे पौर्णिमीयकैकाक्षनरसिंहोपाध्यायनाटीश्राविकाभ्यामाञ्चलिकमतोत्पत्तिः ।[58] वि० १२३६ वर्षे पौर्णिमीयकनरसिंहसूरितः सार्धपौर्णिमीयकोत्पत्तिः । वि० १२५० वर्षे पौर्णिमीयकाञ्चलिकमतानिर्गताभ्यां देवभद्रशीलगुणाभ्यां श्रीशत्रुंजयपरिसरे आगमिकमतोत्पत्तिः । यदुक्तं ।

हुं नन्देन्द्रियरुद्रकाल ११५९ जनितः पक्षो ऽस्तिराकाङ्कितो
वेदाभ्रारुणकाल १२०४ औष्ट्रिकभवो विश्वार्ककाले १२१३ ऽञ्चलः ।
षट्त्र्यर्केषु १२३६ च सार्धपौर्णिम इति व्योमेन्द्रियार्के १२५० पुनः
काले त्रिस्तुतिकः कलौ जिनमते जाताः स्वकीयामहात् ॥ (?) [59])

42. Vijayasiṁha, corrected the *Vivêkamañjarî*.

43. Somaprabha and Maṇiratna.

44. Jagachchandra, the well known founder of the Tapâgachha.

क्रियाशिथिलमुनिसमुदायं ज्ञात्वा गुर्वाज्ञया वैराग्यरसैकसमुद्रं चैत्रगच्छीय श्रीदेवभद्रोपाध्यायं सहायमादाय क्रियायामौग्र्याद् हीरलाजगच्चन्द्रसूरिरिति ख्यातिभाग् बभूव । केचित्तु आघाटपुरे द्वात्रिंशता दिगम्बराचार्यैः सह विवादं कुर्वन् हीरकवदभेद्यो जात इति राज्ञा हीरलाजगच्चन्द्रसूरिरिति भणित इत्याहुः । तथा यावज्जीवमाचामाम्ल-

[52] Kielhorn, l. l, p. 76.

[53] Cf. the inscription of Saṁ. 1231, *Ind. Ant.* vol. X, p. 158.

[54] *Alias* Siddharâja, who reigned Saṁ. 1150—99. The dispute took place Saṁ. 1181.

चन्द्राष्टशिववर्षे ऽत्र वैशाखे पूर्णिमादिने ।
आहूतौ वादिशालायां तौ वादिप्रतिवादिनौ ॥
Prabhâvakachar. XXI, v. 95.

[55] Cf. *Prabhâvakachar.* XXI, vv. 287 seqq.

शिखिवेदशिवे जन्म दीक्षा युग्मशरेश्वरे ।
वेदाश्वशंकरे वर्षे सूरित्वमभवत्प्रभोः ॥
रसयुग्मरवौ वर्षे श्रावणे मासि संगते ।
कृष्णपक्षस्य सप्तम्यामपराह्णे गुरोर्दिने ॥
मर्त्यलोकास्थितं लोकं प्रतिबोध्य पुरंदर-
बोधका इव ते जग्मुर्दिवं श्रीदेवसूरयः ॥

[56] Cf. ib. XXII, v. 851 seqq.

शरवेदेश्वरे वर्षे कार्तिके पूर्णिमानिशि ।
जन्माभवत्प्रभोर्व्योमबाणशंभौ व्रतं तथा ॥
रसषडीश्वरे सूरिप्रतिष्ठा समजायत ।
नन्दद्वयरवौ वर्षे ऽवसानमभवत्प्रभोः ॥

[57] *i.e.* Anahillapattana.

[58] Cf. Miles, *Trans. R. As. Soc.* vol. III, pp. 365 seqq.

[59] The *Paṭṭâvalî* of another gachha has: काले त्रिस्तुतिको ऽक्षमङ्गलरवौ १२८५ मोघक्रियास्तापसा: (*i. e.* Tapâgachha). On these five sects see Weber, *l.l.* p. 802-807.

तपोऽभिमही द्वादशवर्षं तपाविरुदमासवान् । ततः षष्ठं नाम वि० १२८५ वर्षे तपा इति प्रसिद्धं । तथा च निर्ग्रन्थ १ कौटिक २ चन्द्र ३ वनवासि ४ वृहद्गच्छ ५ तपा ६ इति षण्णां नाम्नां प्रवृत्तिहेतव आचार्याः क्रमेण श्रीसुधर्मस्वामि १ श्रीसुस्थित २ श्रीचन्द्र ३ श्रीसामन्तभद्र ४ श्रीसर्वदेव ५ श्रीजगच्चन्द्र ६ नामानः षट् सूरयः ॥[60]

45. Dêvendra.

At his time lived Vijayachandra, who had been a *lêkhyakarmakṛin mantrî* in the house of Vastupâla and was made Sûri by Jagachchandra.

लोकैश्च वृद्धशालायां स्थितत्वात् श्रीविजयचन्द्रसमुदायो वृद्धशालिक इत्युक्तः । तथा लघुशालायां स्थितत्वात् श्रीदेवेन्द्रसूरिभिश्रितसमुदायस्य लघुशालिक इति ख्यातिः । यथा पौर्णिमीयकमतोत्पत्त्यनन्तरं तत्प्रतिपक्षभूतस्य तीर्थस्य चतुर्दशीयक इति नाम ॥

In Saṁ. 1302 Dêvendra converted Vîrahavala and Bhîmasiṁha, sons of the Mahebhya Jinachandra at Ujjayinî, and in Saṁ. 1323 (*kvachit* 1304) gave to Vîradhavala the *sûripadam* under the name of Vidyânandasûri and to Bhîmasiṁha the *upâdhyâyapadam* under the name of Dharmakîrti. Vidyânanda composed a *vyâkaraṇa* यदुक्तं ।

विद्यानन्दाभिधं येन कृतं व्याकरणं नवं ।
भाति सर्वोत्तमं स्वल्पसूत्रं बह्वर्थसंग्रहं ॥ [61])

Dêvendra wrote the following works: *Śrâddhadinakṛityasûtravṛitti* 2, *Navyakarmagranthapañchakasûtravṛitti* 2, *Siddhapañchâśikâsûtravṛitti* 2, *Dharmaratnavṛitti* 1, *Sudarśanâcharitraṁ* 1, *trîṇi bhâshyâṇi* 3, *siri Usaha Vaddhamâṇaprabhṛitistavâdayaḥ*. केचित्तु श्रावकदिनकृत्यसूत्रं चिरन्तनाचार्यान्तरकृतमित्याहुः ॥ Dêvendra died Saṁ. 1327 in Mâlava, and his appointed successor Vidyânandasûri 13 days after him at Vidyâpura, therefore the brother of the latter, Dharmakîrtyupâdhyâya received the *sûripadam* under the name Dharmaghosha.

46. Dharmaghosha.

Here the history of the Sâdhu Pṛithivîdhara and his son Jhâñjhaṇa is told. The works of Dharmaghosha are the following: *Saṁghâchârâkhyâ bhâshyavṛitti*, *Suadhammetistava*, *Kâyasthitibhavasthitistavau*, *Chaturviṁśatijinastavâḥ* 24, *Śastâśarmety âdistotraṁ*, *Devendrair aniśam iti śleshastotram*, *Yûyaṁ yuvâ tvam iti śleshastutayaḥ*, *Jaya Vṛishabhety âdistutyâdyâḥ*. He died Saṁ. 1357.

47. Somaprabha, born Saṁ. 1310, took *vrata* 1321, *sûripada* 1332, and died 1373. His works are as follows: *Namiûṇa bhaṇaï evam ity âdy ârâdhanâsûtraṁ*, *savistara-Yatijîtakalpasûtraṁ*, *Yatrâkhilety âdi* 28 *stutayaḥ*, *Jinena yeneti stutayaḥ*, *Śrîmachchharmety âdayaḥ*. He gave the *sûripada* Saṁ. 1357 to his pupil Vimalaprabha, and after the death of the latter to his pupils Paramânanda and Somatilaka, the last mentioned of whom succeeded him.

48. Somatilaka, born Saṁ. 1355 Mâghe; *dîkshâ* 1369; *sûripada* 1373; *svarga* 1424; composed: *Vṛihannavyakshetrasamâsasûtraṁ*, *Sattarisayaṭhâṇaṁ*,[62] *Yatrâkhila° Jaya Vṛishabha° Śastâśarma° vṛittayaḥ*, *Śrîtîrtharâja° chaturarthâ stutis tadvṛittiś cha*, *Śubhabhâvânataḥ° Śrîmad-Vîraṁ stuve ity âdi kamalabandhastava*, *Śivaśirasi° Śrî-Nâbhisaṁbhava° Śrîśaiveya° ity âdîni bahûni stavanâni*. He gave the *sûripada* successively to Padmatilaka, Chandraśêkhara, Jayânanda and Dêvasundara. Padmatilaka died one year after; Chandraśêkhara, born Saṁ. 1373; received *vrata* Saṁ. 1385; *sûripada* Saṁ. 1393, (according to Munisundara's *Gurvâvalî* 1392); died Saṁ. 1423, composed *Ushitabhojanakathâ* (otherwise *Vâsikabhojyakathânaka*), *Yavarâjarshikathâ*, *Śrîmat-Stambhanakahârabandhâdistavanâni* (otherwise *Śatruṁjaya-Raivatastuti*). Jayânanda, born Saṁ. 1380; *vrata* Saṁ. 1392 Âshâdha śudi 7 Śukre, at Dhârâ; *sûripada* Saṁ. 1420 Vaiśâkha śudi 10, at Aṇahillapattana; died Sam. 1441; wrote *Sthûlabhadracharitra*, *Devâḥ prabho yaṁ° prabhṛitîni stavanâni*.

49. Dêvasundara, born Saṁ. 1396; *vrata* 1404 at Mahêśvaragrâma; *sûripada* 1420 at Aṇahillapattana; had five pupils,—Jñânasâgara, Kulamaṇḍana, Guṇaratna, Sâdhuratna and Somasundara.

Jñânasâgara, born Saṁ. 1405; *dîkshâ* 1417; *sûripada* 1441; died 1460; wrote *avachûrṇis* on the *Avaśyaka* and *Oghaniryukti*[63] and on other books, *Śrîmuni-Suvratastava*, *Ghanaughanavakhaṇḍapârśvanâthastava*, etc.

Kulamaṇḍana, born Saṁ. 1409; *vrata* 1417; *sûripada* 1442; died 1455 Chaitre. His works are *Siddhântâlâpakoddhâra*, *Viśvaśrîdharetyâdyashṭâdaśârachakrabandhastava*, *Garîyo° hârabandhastava*, etc.

[60] Weber, *l. l.* p. 805.
[61] From Munisundara's *Gurvâvalî*, v. 171.

[62] Saṁ. 1387, Berlin MS. or. fol. 1046, last verse.
[63] Saṁ. 1439, Berlin MS. or. fol. 1068, coloph.

Guṇaratna wrote *Kriyâratnasamuchchaya*, *Shaḍdarśanasamuchchayavṛihadvṛitti*, etc. Sâdhuratna wrote a *vṛitti* on the *Yatijîtakalpa* (cf. No. 47), etc.

50.[64] Sômasundara, born Saṁ. 1430 Mâghavadi 14 Śukre; *vrata* 1437; *vâchakapada* 1450; *sûripada* 1457; died 1499; wrote *bâlâvabodhas* on *Yogaśâstra*, *Upadêśamâlâ*, *Shaḍâvaśyaka*, *Navatattva*, etc. His pupils were Munisundara, Jayasundara[65] with the *biruda* Kṛishṇasarasvatî, Bhuvanasundara, and Jinasundara, author of *Dîpâlikâkalpa*.

51. Munisundara, (*biruda* Kôlîsarasvati), born Saṁ. 1436; *vrata* 1443; *vâchakapada* 1466; *sûripada* 1478; died 1503 Kârtika sudi 1; composed *Upadêśaratnâkara*, *Saṁtikaram itî samahimaśântistava*, a *Gurvâvali*[66] etc.

52. Ratnaśêkhara, (*biruda* Bâlasarasvatî), born Saṁ. 1457 (*kvachit* 1452); *vrata* 1463; *paṇḍitapada* 1483; *vâchakapada* 1493; *sûripada* 1502; died 1517 Pausha vadi 6; composed *Śrâddhapratikramaṇavṛitti*,[67] *Srâddhavidhivṛitti* and *Achârapradîpa*.

In Saṁ. 1508 the Luṅkâ-[68] or Lumpâkamatam was founded by the Lekhaka Luṅkâ, and from this *mata* the Veshadharâs took their rise Saṁ. 1533.

53. Lakshmisâgara, born Saṁ. 1464 Bhâdra vadi 2; *dîkshâ* 1470; *pannyâsapada* 1496; *vâchakapada* 1501; *sûripada* 1508; *gachhanâyakapada* 1517.

54. Sumatisâdhu.

55. Hêmavimala.

Saṁ. 1562 the Kaṭukamatam separated from the Tristutikamatam,—founder of the Gṛihastha Kaṭuka; Saṁ. 1570 the *Vîjâmatam* from the Luṅkâmatam, influenced by the Vêshadhara Vîjâ; and S. 1572 from the Nâgapurîyatapâgaṇa under the influence of Upâdhyâya Pârśvachandra (or Pâśachandra); the *matam*, called after him.[69]

56. Ânandavimala, born Saṁ. 1547 at Îlâdurga; *vrata* 1552, *sûripada* 1570; died 1596, Chaitra sudi 7, at Ahammadâvâda.

57. Vijayadâna, born Saṁ. 1553 at Jâmalâ; *dîkshâ* 1562; *sûripada* 1587; died 1622 Vaiśâkha sudi 12, at Vaṭapalî.

58. Hîravijaya, who converted the emperor Akbar, (cf. *Kharatara-Paṭṭâvalî*, sub 61), born Saṁ. 1583 Mârga° sudi 9, at Prahlâdanapura; *dîkshâ* 1596 Kârtika vadi 2, at Pâṭaṇa; *vâchakapada* 1608 Mâgha sudi 5, at Nâradapurî, *sûripada* 1610 at Sîrohî; died 1652 Bhâdra° sudi 11, at Uṁnânagara.

59. Vijayasena, born Saṁ. 1604 at Nâradapurî; *dîkshâ* 1613; received from the emperor Akbar the *biruda* Kâlîsarasvatî; died 1671 Jyeshṭha vadi 11, at Stambhatîrtha.

60. Vijayadeva, born Saṁ. 1634; *dîkshâ* 1643, *pannyâsapada* 1655; *sûripada* 1656; received from the emperor Jihâṅgîr the *biruda* Mahâtapâ, died S. 1713 Ashâdha sudi 11, at Uṁnânagara. His appointed successor, who died before him, was Vijayasiṁha, born Saṁ. 1644 at Meḍatâ; *dîkshâ* 1654; *vâchakapada* 1673; *sûripada* 1682; died 1709 Âshâdha sudi 2.

61. Vijayaprabha, born Saṁ. 1677 at Manoharapura in Kachh; *dîkshâ* 1686; *pannyâsapada* 1701; *sûripada* 1710 at Gandhârabandira; appointed S. 1732 at Nâgora Vijayaratna, his successor.

Here ends the MS.

Berlin, March, 1882.

[64] According to others Jñânasâgara is the 50th, Kulamaṇḍana the 51st and Somasundara the 52nd *paṭṭadhara*.

[65] In colophons of MSS. and otherwise called Jayachandra. At this time lived also the well known (*khyâta*) **Kshêmaṁkara** (Munisundara's *Gurv.* v. 424), probably the author of the Jaina-version of the *Siṁhâsanadvâtriṁśikâ*, see Weber, *Ind. Stud.* vol. XV, p. 188.

[66] Saṁ. 1466 according to the Bombay MSS.

[67] Saṁ. 1496 according to the Berlin MS.

[68] Cf. *Kharatara-Paṭṭâvalî*, sub 57.—Weber, *l.l.* p. 807f.

[69] Cf. Miles, *Transact. R. As. Soc.* vol. III, pp. 361, 363, 367; and Weber, *l.l.* p. 808-10.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE STUPA OF JAGGAYYAPEṬṬÂ.

—BY G. BÜHLER.

The subjoined three inscriptions, which are almost identical, were found by Dr. Burgess during his late explorations at the Stûpa near Jaggayyapeṭṭâ, a town in the Kṛishṇâ district (Tâlukâ Nandigâma) of the Madras Presidency. Dr. Burgess sent to me an excellent paper impression of No. II., which unfortunately is mutilated and incomplete, and an eye-copy of No. I. The latter, I think, contains a few mistakes, due to the abraded state of the original, viz., *avesanisa* (l. 2) and *avesanî* (l. 3.) for *âves°*, *apaṇo* (ll. 3 and 6) for *âp°*,

and *hatasukhâya* (l. 6.) for *hit°*. There is also a curious sign for *tu* in *bhâtukaṁ* (l. 4), where a stroke, probably intended to indicate the lengthening of the *u*, has been attached to the top of the *t*. Not one of these points is, however, of any importance for the correct interpretation of the document, as No. II. gives the correct forms. I have, therefore, not corrected them in the Devanâgarî transcript. As regards the transcript of No. II., the letters placed between brackets are indistinct in the original. Owing to the state of the original some of the *anusvâras* are doubtful.

The characters of the two inscriptions are decidedly of the Andhra type which prevails in the inscriptions from Amarâvatî and those from the Western Caves. But it seems to me that they represent a late development of that most ancient among the Southern alphabets. To this conclusion point the notches in the lower horizontal lines of the letters *va*, *ma*, and *la*, and the shape of the letters *ṇa* and *ha*. All these peculiarities are highly characteristic of the *later* Southern alphabets, and occur in many Chalukya inscriptions of the 7th and later centuries. I am, however, not prepared to assign so late a date to these inscriptions, because it happens not unfrequently in Indian epigraphy, that forms and characteristics which are constant in late inscriptions, are found sporadically in older documents. All I mean to say is—that on epigraphical grounds I would place these documents after the inscriptions of Gotamiputra II Siriyaña Sâtakaṇṇi. In the case of No. II. the mason has done his best to show off his skill in making the letters ornamental and their form artistic. The language is perhaps a little more closely allied to those of the literary Pâli than that of the other Buddhist dedicatory inscriptions of the South and West. But the forms âpaṇo (ll. 3. and 6) for Pâli *attano*, the occurrence of the dual *bâlakâ* (l. 4) which the literary Prakrits do not admit, the irregular euphonic change in *nâka* or *naka* (ll. 2. 4.) for *nâga*, as well as the irregular construction of the pass. perf. part., which is taken in the sense of the active and governs the accusative *khaṁbhe*, deserve to be noted.

The chief importance of the inscriptions which record the erection and dedication of some pillars near the Stûpa by a pious Bauddha manufacturer or artisan lies in the date which is given according to the regnal year of a king of the Ikhâku, *i. e.* Ikshvâku or solar race of Râjpûts. He is called Mâḍhariputa, *i. e.*, the son of the queen of the Mâḍhara (in Sanskrit Mâṭhara) family. The same epithet belongs to an Andhra king whose existence Pandit Bhagvânlâl first made known.[1] One is sorely tempted to identify the two individuals. But a careful consideration of the circumstances makes such a view, I fear, untenable. For the Andhra Mâḍhariputa, who, as Pandit Bhagvânlâl has shown, ruled between Vâsithiputa (Puḷumâyi) and Gotamiputa II. (Yañasiri Sâtakaṇṇi) is called in the Kaṇheri inscription, Sirisena (on the facsimile Sakasena) and on the coins Sivalakura, which latter word, I presume, is a title or a *biruda*. The monarch mentioned in the Jaggayyapeṭṭa inscriptions, on the other hand, bears the name Purisadata, *i. e.* Purushadatta, 'given by Purusha or Vishṇu' or 'he whom Purusha may give.' The words Sirivîra (Śrîvîra) which are compounded with Purisadata, contain, I think, a honorific title, similar to *Vedisiri*, *Hakusiri*, *Siriyaña* or *Yañasiri* and *Sirisena*. For if Sirivîrapurisadata were translated by 'the illustrious Vîrapurisadata,' it would be necessary to assume the existence of a deity, called Vîrapurisa, which hitherto is not known. But whether my explanation of the compound Sirivîrapurisadata be right or wrong, it seems to me impossible that the individual, denoted by it, can be the same person as Mâḍhariputa Sirisena Sivalakura. I do not even think it safe to assert positively that king Purisadata belonged to the Andhra dynasty; though the list of the Purâṇas mentions one whose name is variously given as Pravilasena, Purîkasheṇa, Purîndrasena and Purîshabhîru, and somewhat resembles our Mâḍharputra's in its first portion. For the Andhras appear to have belonged to the Sâtavâhana race, while Purisadatta calls himself an Ikshvâku. All I venture to say for the present is—that probably some time after

[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XII, p. 407. Bhagvânlâl's transcript gives the incorrect form *Madhariputa*, but on his facsimile the stroke for the long *â* after the *m* is faintly visible.

Gotamiputra II. Siriyaña Sâtakaṇṇi, a king of northern Râjpût descent, called Purisadata, ruled over the Krishṇâ districts. His rule may have fallen in the 3rd century A. D., and before the accession of the Pallavas to the throne of Veṅgi.

Transcript.

I.

1. सिधं रञो माढरिपुतस इखाकुणं सिरिवीरपुरिसदतस सवछर २० वासापखं ८ दिवसे १०

2. कमकरठे णडतूरे वयवस अवेसणिस नाकचदस पुतो गामे महाकाडुरूरे वयवो

3. अवेसनि सिधथो अपणो मातर नागिलानि पुराता कातून घरणिंच समुदनि बालक च मूलसिरि बा-

4. लिक च [न]कबुधनिकं भातुकं च बुधिनक तस घरणि व कनिकं बालाका च नगसिरिचदसिरि बालिक च

5. सिधथनिकं च एवं नातिमितसं – – वगेन सह गामे वलगिरिय भगवतो बुधस पुवदारे अय-

6. कखं– ५ सवनियुते अपणो देयधंम सवसताण हतसुखाय पतिठपितति ॥

II.

1. – – – – – – – – – – पुतस [इ]खाकुणं सिरिवीरपुरिस[दत]स सं[वछर] – – – – – –

2. दिवस १० कंमकरठे गामे णडतूरे वयवस आवेसणिस नाकचंदस पुतो गामे महा[का]–

3. रूरे वयवो आवेसणि सियथो आपणो [मा]-तरं नागिलानिं पु[राता] का[तू]ण घरणिं च समु – –

4. बालकं च मुलसिरि बालि –

निं च कंणिकं बालका च

5. नगसिरिचंदसिरि बालिक च सिधथनिकं च एवं नातिमितसंबंधिवगेन सहा गामे [व–ि–ि–]

6. – भगवतो बुधस महाचेतिये [पुव]दारे आय[क]खंभे पंच ५ सवनियुते आपणो देयधंमं

Translation.

Success! On the tenth day of the eighth fortnight of the rainy season, in the twentieth year of the king Purisadata [Purushadatta], the glorious hero [Sirivîra] of the Ikhâkus [Ikshvâkus] (and) son of the queen of the Mâḍhara [Mâṭhara][2] race—the manufacturer[3] Sudatha [Siddhârtha] who dwells in the village of Mahâkâḍurûra (and is) the son of the manufacturer Nâkachanda [Nâgachandra] who dwells in the village of Nadatûra in the province (*râshtra*) Kammaka of having associated (with himself) his mother Nâgilâni [Nâgilânî] and his wife Samudani [Samudrânî] and his son Mûlasiri [*Mûlaśrî*] and his daughter Nakabudhanika [Nâgabuddhanikâ] and his brother Budhinaka and the wife of the latter Kaṁnikâ [Karṇikâ or Kanyakâ] and (*their*) two sons Nagasiri [Nâgaśri] and Chandasiri [Chandraśrî] and (*their*) daughter Sidhathanikâ [Siddhârthanikâ], erected, thus, together with the multitude of his blood-relations, friends and connexions, in the village of Valagiri[4] near the eastern gate [of the great Chaitya No. I.] of divine Buddha, five, (5, Ayaka-pillars,[5]) which were dedicated[6]

[2] The Mâḍharas or Mâṭharas are a Brahminical race mentioned in the gaṇas to Pâṇini and elsewhere. It is, of course, to be understood that the queen was not a Brâhmaṇî but a Râjpûtnî using the gotra of her father's Purohit as her family name.

[3] *Âvesani* or *âvesaṇi* translated by 'manufacturer' corresponds to an untraced Sanskrit word *âveśanin*, literally 'the possessor of a workshop.' Perhaps it might be rendered by 'artisan.'

[4] *Valagiri*, 'the hill of Vala,' is apparently the name of the hill on which the ruins of the Stûpa are situated.

[5] I am unable to say at present what is meant by the epithet *ayaka*, or, as No. I. seems to read, *âyaka*. It is possible to connect it either with *âryaka* 'venerable' or with *ayas* 'iron, metal.' But I think it more likely that the word has some technical meaning. [I would suggest 'lofty' or 'frontal': they were pillars about 16 feet high erected on the east front of the stûpa, exactly as represented on the Amarâvati slabs bearing representations of stûpas. (See next note.)—J. B.

[6] *Savaniyute*, which has been taken as an equivalent of *sarvaniyuktân* 'dedicated by all' (the persons named), may also stand for *savyeniyuktân*, 'attached or placed to the left (of the eastern gate).' I have no information regarding the position of the pillars and do not know if the latter translation is really admissible.

by all (the persons named above,—to be) his meritorious gift—for the good and the welfare of all living beings.

P. S.—After sending the above article to the press, I received from Dr. Burgess an excellent impression of a third version of Siddhârtha's inscription, which was also found in the Dhanabodu near Jâgayyapeṭṭa. The execution of this third copy is highly artistic, and its preservation in general very good. The remarks made on the alphabet of the first two apply to this copy also. It may, however, be noted that in *naḍatûre* (l. 2) and *kâtûnaṁ* (l. 3), the long *û* has been marked by attaching a horizontal stroke to the top of the *t*, just as in No. II. The document offers only few variants which have any importance for the interpretation. The most important are: 1, the form of the name of the place where the Stûpa stood, which is given as *Velagiri* (l. 5) instead of *Valagiri*; 2, the reading *saveniyute* (l. 6) for *savaniyute* in Nos. I and II. If this *varia lectio* is not due to a mistake of the mason, it makes the translation, proposed in the note, *savyeniyuktân*, placed to the left (of the eastern gate) the more probable one.

Transcript of the third version.

1. सिधं । रञो माढरिपुतस इ खाकुनं सिरि-[7] विरपुरिदतस संवछरे 20 वासावखं ८ दिवस

2. १० कंमकरठे णाडतूरे आवेनिस नाकचंदस पुतो गामे महाकंडुरूरे आवेसनि

3. सिधयो आवणा मातरं नागिलनिं पुरतो कातूनं घरनिं च समुदानिं बालकं च मूलसिरि

4. वालिकं च नाकंबुधनिक भतुका च बुधिनकं तस घरनिं च कनिकं बालका च नागसिरिचंद

5. निरि बालिकां य सिधथनिकं एव नातिमितसंबधिवगेन सह गामे वेलगिरिय भगवतो

6. बुधस महाचेचियपुवदारे आयकखंभे ॥ सवे नियुते अवणो दयधम सवसतानं हि-

7. तसखाय पतिठवितति ॥

[7] Line 1, Possibly दिवसं. L. 2, Read आवेसानिस; possibly अवेसणि. L. 3, Possibly नागिलणिं or नागिलानिं. L. 4, Possibly वालिक; read भातुकं. L. 5, Read एवं. L. 7, Possibly सुखाये.

FOLKLORE FROM KASHMÎR.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p.* 232.)

No. 2.—FOLKTALE.[1]

Gwâshbrârî and Westarwân.[2]

Ages ago, when the world was young and the mountains had just reared their heads to the heavens, Westarwân was the highest peak in all Kashmîr. Far away in the west Nangâ Parbat stood where it stands now, but its snowy cap only reached to Westarwân's shoulder, while Harâ Mukh looked but a dwarf beside the giant king. But if Westarwân was the tallest, Gwâshbrârî was the most beautiful of mountains. Away in the north-east she glinted and glittered with her sea-green emerald glaciers, and Westarwân gazed and gazed at her loveliness till he fell in love with the beautiful Gwâshbrârî; but her heart was full of envy, and she thought of nothing but how she might humble the pride of the mighty king that reared his head so high above the rest of the world. At last the fire of love grew so hot in Westarwân's heart that he put aside his pride and called aloud to Gwâshbrârî, "Oh beautiful far away mountain, kiss me, or I die."

But Gwâshbrârî answered craftily, "How can I kiss you, oh proud King, when you hold your head so high? Even if I could stand beside you my lips could not reach your lips, and behold how many miles of hill and dale lie between us."

But still Westarwân pleaded for a kiss, till Gwâshbrârî smiled, and said: "Those above must stoop, Sir King. If you would have a kiss forget your pride, reach that long length of yours towards me, and I will bend to kiss you."

Then Westarwân, stretching one great limb over the vale of Kashmîr, reached over hill and dale to Gwâshbrârî's feet, but the glacier-

[1] Told by Pândit Nânâ Beo at Khrû, 29th May 1881.—F. A. S.

[2] All the mountains mentioned in this tale are prominent peaks in Kashmîr, and belong to what Cunningham (*Ladâk*, 1854, Ch. III.) calls the Pîr Panjâl or Mid-Himâlayan Range. Nangâ Parbat (26,629 ft.) is to the N. W., Harâ Mukh (16,905 ft.) to the N., Gwâshbrârî or Kolahoi (17,839 ft.) to the N. E. Westarwân is a long ridge running N. W. to S. E. between Khrû and Sotûr, right into the Kashmîr Valley. Khrû is not far from Srinagar and S. E. of it.—R. C. T.

hearted queen held her flashing head higher than ever and laughed, saying: "Love humbles all."

And this is why Westarwân lies for ever stretched out over hill and dale, till he rests his head on Gwâshbrârî's feet.[3]

No. 3.—FOLKTALE.

How the Springs came to Kashmîr.[4]

Long ago there lived a holy Ṛishi[5] who used every day as an act of charity to give water to all the houses at Khrû. But as there were 1100 houses and only one small stream it was a work of difficulty, and one hot summer there was scarcely any water at all. So the Ṛishi prayed to the Great Mother,[6] and she told him to go to a certain *marg,*[7] and pick a certain flower that grew in a certain place, and taking it to the Lake at Gaṅgâbal,[8] throw it in. "Then return," said she, "and behind you as you walk will flow Gaṅgâ.[9] But remember whatever happens do not look back."[10]

So the Ṛishi went to the *marg,* picked the flower, which he carried to Gaṅgâbal in a cloth, and threw it into the water. Then he turned, and lo! behind him rose the sound of many waters following his footsteps.

But the demons[11] who kept guard were angry, and clapped and beat him on the neck and shoulders, but he took no notice. So two hours passed by till his patience wore out, and at last, when a demon changing itself into a wasp stung him behind the ear, he turned sharply round, saying "Don't, Brother,[12] don't."

And lo! the Gaṅgâ turned too, and flowed back into the Lake.[13] Then the Ṛishi prayed again to the Great Mother, but she was angry. At last after many days she said: "Gaṅgâ you cannot have, but take the cloth in which you carried the flower, and wherever you spread it out a spring of Gaṅgâ water will rise."

So as a penance for his disobedience the pious Ṛishi travelled all over Kashmîr, and wherever water was scarce, he spread out his cloth, and lo! a spring appeared.

No. 4.—SUPERSTITION.

The Yech.

The Yech or Yâch[14] is a sort of woodland demon or sprite which entices men away from the right road at night by calling in a human voice, "Oh brother, oh brother, you are going on the wrong path: come this way." If the unwary traveller follows this advice the Yech eats him.[15]

The original form of the Yech is that of an animal smaller than a cat, of a dark colour, with a white cap on its head. The feet are so small as to be almost invisible. When in this shape it has a peculiar cry described thus—

Chot, chot, chû-û-ot chot.

It has the power of assuming any shape. Very often when coolies are sleeping out at

[3] The Westarwân ridge is the longest spur into the Valley of Kashmîr. This and the remarkably clear tilt of the strata doubtless suggested this extremely fanciful and poetical legend.—F. A. S.

Björnson, writing about Norway (*Life by the Fells and the Fiords*, pp. 1-4) gives a similarly fanciful account of "how the mountain was clad" apparently straight from some old folktale. As a matter of fact Westarwân does not lay his head at Gwâshbrârî's feet or anywhere near them, though he would seem to do so from the Khrû side, where I presume the legend arose. An excellent account of a journey over the country between Khrû and Sesh Nâg traversing most of that lying between Westarwân and Gwâshbrârî, by the late Col. Cuppage, is to be found at pages 206-221 Ince's *Kâshmîr Handbook*, 3rd Ed., 1876.—R. C. T.

[4] Told by Paṇḍit Nânâ Beo at Khrû.—F. A. S.

[5] *Ṛishis*, in the Purânic times the seven inspired sages to whom the *Vedas* were revealed: in the epic times any person of extraordinary piety or austerity: in modern times mythical personages supposed to have been sages who practised unexampled austerities and were possessed of extraordinary piety, and thus attained to supernatural powers.—R. C. T.

[6] *Mahârânî*; this may be Durgâ = devî, the wife of Siva, the Great Goddess, or Mâtṛi = Prithivî, Mother Earth, or again, in modern times, any goddess, through the *mâtaras*, the divine mothers, originally the manifestations of the energies of the deities; now they are local village deities worshipped all over India.—R. C. T.

[7] *Marg* 'a mountain meadow.' They abound in Kashmîr, *vide* Gulmarg, Sonamarg, etc., (?) connected with Sansk. Hindi. and Panj. *mârg*, 'a road,' 'a hunting track.'—R. C. T.

[8] Gangâbal. See *ante*, p. 231.—R. C. T.

[9] Gaṅgâ, the sacred river, the Ganges: in common belief any stream held unusually sacred from any reason.—R. C. T.

[10] This kind of incident is common, see *ante*, *Panjâb Folklore*, the story of the White Hind.—R. C. T.

[11] The demons guarding water are now known as *Baran kedût=Varuṇa-dûta*, messengers of Varuṇa or the Ocean. Varuṇa's messengers are celebrated in the Vedic mythology, not in any way however as demons, but as the spies of the mighty God of Heaven, who numbers the winkings of all men's eyes.

"His spies descending from the sky glide all this world around,
"Their thousand eyes all scanning sweep to earth's remotest bound."—Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*.—R. C. T.

[12] *Bhâi* is the word. Hind. brother, a common term of friendly salutation.—R. C. T.

[13] *i. e.* to the Gaṅgâbal.—R. C. T.

[14] There is no doubt as to the origin of the modern *Yech*, called in the Kângrâ District and in the Panjâb generally *Yeksh*. In classical times the *Yakshas*, Prâk. and Pâli *Yakkhas*, together with the Guhyakas, were attendant on Kuvera, the god of wealth, and were guardians of his gardens and treasures. In ancient days they were variously described as inoffensive, harmless, supernatural beings, and as malignant imps who ate men. The general outline of the ancient belief in the *Yakshas* has been wonderfully preserved to the present day.—R. C. T.

[15] This is the tradition in Kângrâ where the *Yeksh* has been much confounded with the *Churêl*, the malignant ghost of a woman who has died in childbirth.—*Vide* Panjâb Folklore, *ante*, *passim*.—R. C. T.

night it is said to assume the face and figure of a friend, a father, brother, or relative, and waken the sleepers by shaking them on the shoulder, saying, "Brother, give me your *kángri*." If it is given by the unsuspicious, the Yech upsets all the burning coals over the victim, burning him dangerously. The proper thing to do is to say "Yes, brother, yes," and then in giving the *kángri*[16] to upset the coals over the Yech, who will fly, shrieking out curses and abuse. It has a marvellous vocabulary of strange oaths.

The Yech cannot cross running water, and when pursued by one a man is safe if he can step across a stream.[17]

The white cap which the Yech wears is shell-shaped, and is endowed with magical powers. If a man is brave enough to snatch one from a Yech's head, he becomes the man's faithful servant as long as the cap is in the man's possession, but the only place where it can be kept safely is under a mill-stone, or a fragment of a mill-stone.[18] By hook or crook the Yech will recover it if placed elsewhere. The Yech is immensely powerful, and at his human master's bidding will move whole mountains and towns, but he cannot lift the least fragment of a mill-stone, as if he does his fingers will be pinched.

The Yech's cap also renders the wearer invisible. Five out of the six men from whom I first heard of this demon had *seen* Yechs, and its existence is evidently an undoubted fact to nine out of every ten people in the Kashmîr Valley.[19]

The people are not much afraid of the Yech, and seem to think that it and its tricks are too well known to be dangerous, and that any one taken in by a Yech rather deserves his fate than otherwise for his gross ignorance.[20]

At Sopûr I met a man whose great-grandfather, a *mullah*, had possession of a Yech's cap. He ordered all the gold, jewellery,[21] etc., he wanted on a liberal scale, and then, having as he thought, enough for himself and his heirs for ever, in a moment of mistaken generosity he returned the cap to the Yech, when all his treasure disappeared. The result is that the Mullah's great-grandson trotted after my pony for 12 miles, and was rendered immensely pleased by two annas "*bakhshish*."[22]

THE COSMOGONIC HYMN, RIG-VEDA X, 129.

BY PROF. W. D. WHITNEY, OF NEW HAVEN.

(Extracted from the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.)

The prevailing belief of the Hindus of the Vedic period as to the origin of the world is that it was made by the gods. They have no detailed and generally accepted theory of the creation, and, in the absence of a supreme divinity in their Pantheon, and the lack of consistent system among their

[16] *Kángrí*, a small earthenware pot of peculiar make, often covered with wicker work, used for warming the stomach in the Himâlayan districts. It is filled with live charcoal and then placed in front of the stomach under the clothes for warmth. It gets its name from Kángrâ, the district where it is mostly manufactured. The best are made at Kángrâ itself and in Nûrpûr,—once an important place in the district. The facts on which the superstition in the text is based are usually these. The people frequently go to sleep with the *kángrí* on, and in turning in their sleep upset it, and are in consequence severely burnt; this burning, with their usual simplicity they put down to the *Yech*.—R. C. T.

[17] In the Panjâb the *Yeksh* is confined to certain limits by the large rivers, as the Jamnâ, the Satlaj, and so on, but not by the small streams. Thus if a man is made ill by a *Yeksh* in the Bâri Doâb, he will be saved by crossing the Râvî or the Biyâs.—R. C. T.

[18] The Kángrâ belief is similar, but no one has ever been known to get the cap.—R. C. T.

[19] In the Kángrâ Valley every tract, cave, stream, or vale has its special demon of the *Yech* description to whom everything mischievous or unfortunate is attributed. This has given rise to a race of professional exorcists called *chêlas* (*lit.* pupils), who affect a kind of frenzy, beating themselves with chains called *sanguls* (= Hind. *sangkal*, a chain, fetter).—R. C. T.

[20] This evidently refers back to the classical notion of the *Yaksha* being a humorous and harmless sprite, see note 1.—R. C. T.

[21] The reference here is to the *Yakshas* being the guardian of Kuvêra's treasures. In Kângrâ the *Yeksh* can make money to disappear.—R. C. T.

[22] In Kângrâ and apparently also in Kashmîr there is a demon called *Mahâyeksh* (Mâyech) or Great-Yech, which is more powerful than a Yech, and can bring at pleasure immediately costly and valued things from a distance, especially delicacies, as green cloves, cocoanuts, etc. In Kashmîr near Kârkarpûr is a celebrated temple called *Pôyech*, which has probably some connection with the *Yakshas* of classical times. The Mahâyeksh seems now to be confounded with the Yekshinî, who is a dreaded demon, and represents most probably the attendants on Durgâ, the terrible: Yakshinî was however the name of Kuvêra's wife. In Kângrâ there is yet another demon *Sindhubîr*, with like powers to the *Yeksh*, to whom all kinds of personal injuries are attributed. He has the power of removing women to a distance: the wanton ones sometimes take advantage of this, and after some escapade will assert that Sindhubîr took them away into the jangals. Sindhubîr seems to have no direct classical origin, but his name Sindhu-vîra would mean river-warrior or river-demon, and he now probably represents the epic conception of Varuṇa who then sank to the level of a Nâga or Asura. Another derivation and the native one for him is Sîndubîr or Sindhubîr, the Whistling Demon. In the Hill dialect *Sind* or *Sindh*-Hindi *sîṭî* or *sîṭhî*, a whistle. He is said to be known by the peculiar whistling noise he makes, but his cult seems to be confined to the Kângrâ Hills and is not known in the Panjâb generally. It is to be noted here that the Kashmîr Musalmân believes in his Hindu neighbour's superstitions just as the Panjâbî Musalmân does.—R. C. T.

beliefs, now one and now another of their gods is credited with the production of heaven and earth, of men and animals, and even of the other gods themselves. Here and there, however, are found signs of more advanced thought on these subjects, beginnings of the speculations which rise to greater and greater importance in the *Brâhmaṇas*, the *Upanishads*, and the philosophical systems. The most interesting of these, and the most noted, is a hymn in the tenth or supplementary book of the *Ṛig-Veda*, evidently to be reckoned among the most modern constituents of that great collection. It has been repeatedly translated, or more or less loosely paraphrased, and accompanied with laudatory comments, often of a greatly exaggerated character. Hence a simple version and brief exposition may seem not superfluous.

The point of view of the author of the hymn is given most plainly in the two concluding verses, which, in the metre of the original, run thus:

6. Who truly knoweth? Who can here proclaim it?
Whence hither born, whence cometh this creation?
Hitherward are the gods from its creating;
Who knoweth, then, from whence it came to being?
7. This creation—from whence it came to being,
Whether it made itself, or whether not—
Who is its overseer in highest heaven,
He surely knoweth: or if he does not know?

One or two points here are questionable. In 6c, we have the instrumental instead of the more regular ablative; hence Ludwig translates: "the gods have arrived hither by the sending of this one" (the pronoun, namely, may be masculine as well as neuter; it is not feminine, referring directly to *visṛishṭi*, 'creation'). But the denial of prior existence to the gods, which is the main point, comes from either interpretation. Again, in 7b, the subject and meaning of the verb *dadhe* are unclear; it must be either 'it set (or made) itself,' or 'he set (or made) it for himself;' i. e. the "overseer" of the next line. I have thought the former more acceptable; but whether the middle can have so pregnantly reflexive a sense admits of doubt.

To the apprehension of the poet, as is seen, the gods themselves are only a part of the present order of things, and their existence to be accounted for along with the rest, while no competent knowledge of its origination is to be expected from them. He rejects the old faith and its simple solution of the problem; to be sure, he has not so cast it out of his mind as to deny the existence of a general manager of the universe, located in the old heaven, but even his power to satisfy our curiosity is questioned. The rest of the hymn is the poet's own solution, which, after all, he is not afraid to venture to put forth, drawn from the depths of his consciousness.

In the first verse and a half, then, he attempts to depict the chaos negatively, by telling what was not then in existence. And he commits the rhetorical fault of beginning with a denial so absolute that what follows in the way of detail can only dilute it and weaken its force. Thus: 1. "Not the non-existent existed, nor did the existent exist, at that time:" i. e. in that indefinable past which preceded the present order of things there was neither existence nor non-existence. Surely, then, there can be nothing more to say about it; yet he goes on: "not the room of air existed, nor the firmament that is beyond." Then follows in the second line a series of questions (not entirely clear, since *kim* may either mean 'what' or be mere interrogative particle): "what enveloped? where? in whose protection? what was the ocean, the abyss profound?" The next verse proceeds: 2. "Not death existed, nor what is immortal, then" —a very unnecessary amplification; since if there was, as already declared, neither existence nor even non-existence, there evidently could occur no cessation of existence, nor could there be anything that prolonged an existence without cessation. Finally, "there was no distinction of night from day;" and so the negative description ends with a mere denial of the existence of light—a conception that is further enlarged upon in the fourth verse.

Now comes something positive; and it appears that there was in existence, after all, a certain indefinite It, or That, or This (for *tad* might mean any one of the three; probably "It" is our best rendering): "Breathed, without wind, by inner power, It only: than It, truly, nothing whatever else existed besides." Of course, if there is a *tad*, the attribute of existence cannot be denied it: and the poet by this time is content merely to assert that nothing except this existed (*āsa*: the verb is the same with that used at the beginning of the first verse). He deludes himself with the belief that by first denying absolutely everything, and then denying all but an indefinable something, he has bridged over the abyss between non-existence and existence, and given a start to the development of the universe. And he anthropomorphizes his "It" by making it breathe, as if a living being; though he adds, by way of saving clause, that such breathing occasioned no perceptible motion of air.

The third verse is in good part a repetition of the second, in slightly different terms. It reads thus: 3. "Darkness existed, hidden by darkness, at the beginning; an undistinguished sea was this all; the void that was covered with emptiness —that alone was born by the might of fervor." The first half-verse presents a familiar and widely-spread conception; an unillumined ocean is one

of the most naturally suggested figures for the Chaos; but its inconsistency with the first verse is manifest. "A void covered (literally, as a vessel is covered with its lid) with emptiness" is a not particularly unsuccessful attempt to express the inconceivable; about as good as the old popular definition of Chaos, "a great pile of nothing, and nowhere to put it." Whether "fervor" (*tapas*), in the last quarter-verse, means physical heat or devotional ardor, penance, according to the later prevalent meaning of the word, admits of a question; but it is doubtless to be understood in the latter sense. For no such physical element as heat plays any part in the Hindu cosmogonies, while penance, the practice of religious austerities, is a constant factor in their theories. In the stories of their *Brâhmaṇas*, it is told times innumerable how the Creator, desiring to accomplish or attain something, performed penance (*tapo 'tapyata*), and so succeeded. It is a grossly anthropomorphic trait; yet hardly more so than that with which the next verse begins: 4. "Desire arose in the beginning upon It, which was the first seed of mind (thought, intention)." That is, since desire precedes and leads to action in man, it must have done so in the creation likewise; *so 'kâmayata*, 'he felt desire,' is the introduction to most of the acts of Prajâpati, the Creator, in the *Brâhmaṇas* and *Upanishads*. The remaining line of the verse is obscure: "The sages (or poets) by devotion, found the tie of the existent in the non-existent, seeking it in the heart." The verb here is in the same tense with those used in describing the processes of creation above; and so the verse seems to project, without any preparation, certain wise persons into the midst of the nonentity or its development; if something later, within our period, were intended, the tense should be the aorist. And wherever *sat* and *asat*, 'existence and non-existence,' are brought together, it is a mere juggle of words, an affectation of profundity.

But the next verse is still more unintelligible; no one has ever succeeded in putting any sense into it, and it seems so unconnected with the rest of the hymn that its absence is heartily to be wished. A mechanical translation runs as follows: 5, "Crosswise [was] stretched out the ray (line) of them: was it forsooth below? was it forsooth above? impregnators were, greatnesses were; *svadhâ* below, offering beyond." The word rendered 'offering' is literally 'forth-reaching,' and has sometimes also, as perhaps here, the signification 'straining, intentness;' which of its senses *svadhâ* has in the line, I have not ventured to determine. Who the 'they' are, unless the sages of the preceding verse, it is hard to guess. The second quarter-verse gives an indication of lateness, much more important than any other in the hymn; it has protraction (*pluti*) of the final syllable of each of the two clauses, signifying a balancing of the mind between two alternatives (*mîmâṅsâ*). There is no other case of it in the *Ṛig-Veda*; but half-a-dozen occur in the *Atharvan*, and it is by no means uncommon in the *Brâhmaṇas*.

The general character and value of the hymn are very clear. It is of the highest historical interest as the earliest known beginning of such speculation in India, or probably anywhere among Indo-European races. The attitude of its author and the audacity of his attempt are exceedingly noteworthy. But nothing is to be said in absolute commendation of the success of the attempt. On the contrary, it exhibits the characteristic weaknesses of all Hindu theosophy; a disposition to deal with words as if they were things, to put forth paradox and insoluble contradiction as profundity, and to get rid of anthropomorphic divinities by attributing an anthropomorphic personality to the universe itself. The unlimited praises which have been bestowed upon it, as philosophy and as poetry, are well-nigh nauseating.

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF ŚAṀKARÂCHÂRYA.

With reference to Mr. Pathak's paper (*ante*, p. 174) on the date of Śaṁkarâchârya, I had sent a footnote—which however was too late to be printed with the paper—pointing out that, whilst Prof. Weber (*Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 51, note) places the great philosophical reformer in the 8th century, it is to be noted that Prof. Teile (*Outlines of the Hist. of Anç. Religions*, p. 140) had, in 1877, given A.D. 788 as the date of the birth of Śaṁkara. If he died in Ś. 742 or A.D. 820-21, he could only have been 32 years of age: an exceedingly short life for the work ascribed to him;—may it not be that the one date or other is in error, or else that they do not relate to his birth and death, but to the commencement and end of his active career?

EDITOR.

ON THE TRANSLITERATION OF SANSKRIT.

BY PROF. WHITNEY.

In this paper, the subject was presented substantially as below.

The question of the transliteration of Sanskrit is not merely a part of the vast and difficult one of representing alphabetic sounds in general by Roman letters; it has a quite specific and practical aspect: namely, how are the native Indian char-

acters best to be turned into European ones, in view of the very great use made of the latter by Sanskrit scholars and by philologists generally. Not only are Sanskṛit words and forms constantly needing to be quoted in philological works, where the intricacy of the *devanágarí* alphabet and the difficulty of setting it along with our ordinary types make transliteration necessary; whole volumes, and of every class, are published in the transliterated form, even such texts as the *Ṛig-Veda* (Aufrecht), the *Táittiríya-Samhitá* (Weber), the *Aitareya-Bráhmaṇa* (Aufrecht), etc. There is nothing illegitimate about this; the language is written in India, to no small extent, in whatever alphabet the writers are accustomed to employ for other purposes; and there is no reason why we may not allow ourselves to do the same.

The systems of transliteration employed are in detail very various, almost every leading scholar and periodical having a peculiar one, more or less different from every other. Respecting only a small minority of letters is there entire agreement: these are *a, i, u, k, g, t, d, p, b, n, m, r, l, s*; although also *ṭ, ḍ, ḥ, h,* are used nearly universally. It is true that this variety causes little practical difficulty, since he who employs one system is but slightly embarrassed to understand any of the rest; and hence scholars need not be strongly urged to abandon methods long employed by them and take up new ones; yet it is evidently desirable that usage should at any rate be made to tend gradually toward unity. The points of discordance are of every kind and degree: in some cases, choice is a matter of indifference, and must be arbitrarily made, merely for the sake of unity; but there are also signs current whose use is decidedly to be reprobated, and, if possible, put down.

In reference to the vowels, in the first place, the leading question is, how long quantity shall be marked. The usual English (and hence also Indian) method has long been to write an acute accent over the long vowel: thus, *á*. This is wholly to be disapproved; both because there is no adaptedness in such a mark to such a purpose, and because it thus becomes impossible to accentuate a vowel at all. Continental usage is divided between the *macron* and the circumflex accent: thus *ā* or *â*. The choice between these two is comparatively indifferent; yet the former (*ā*) must be allowed to be on the whole preferable, for the reasons that the *macron* was devised for this particular purpose and has no other, and that it is more easily combined with the accent-marks (a consideration of prime importance): there is, in fact, a degree of incongruity in writing two accent-marks, a circumflex and an acute or grave over the same letter. Grassmann's device, of using the *macron* for simple long and the circumflex for long acute, is ingenious, and obviates a certain difficulty as regards type; but it is hardly worthy of general adoption, since it involves an inconsistency, and also leaves the case of a long circumflex (*svarita*) unprovided for. For these reasons, after employing the circumflex-sign for thirty years, I have myself recently adopted the *macron* instead.

The question of representation of the *r*-vowel is of quite another kind. Two signs divide between them general usage: namely, *ṛ* and *ṛi* (and to the former of these Lepsius's sign, with little circle instead of dot beneath the *r*, may be regarded as practically equivalent, being theoretically preferable). Here the choice is not a matter of indifference, but involves an obviously important principle: not to give unnecessarily to a single element a double sign involving a false utterance. All who understand Sanskṛit phonetics know that the sound represented is a pure *r*-sound, and that *ri* is a later Hindu mispronunciation; there is no reason, theoretical or practical, why we should adopt and perpetuate the error. Simple *ṛ*, with marks of quantity and of accent to be added as in the case of the other short vowel signs, is the only acceptable representative. It follows, of course, that *ḷ*, and not *ḷi*, and *à fortiori* not that monstrous absurdity *lṛi*, should be written for the *l*-vowel.

The representation of the diphthongs has its minor difficulties. For the *guṇa*-diphthongs, there is almost universal acceptance of the signs *e, o,* with the corresponding pronunciation; and this pronunciation has been so long the custom in India, and hence also without exception in Europe, that no scruple need be felt as to admitting the *e*- and *o*-signs. Yet the value of those diphthongs was so evidently *ai, au* at the beginning, and even in earliest Sanskṛit, that we cannot help wishing it were possible to introduce the corresponding written forms—as indeed has been done, though without further imitation, by one or two French scholars, the usages of their own language favoring the substitution. The heavier diphthongs are written either *ai, au* or *āi, āu*: the latter are more etymologically correct, but the former are easier, and sufficiently well suited to *e, o*; there is not much to choose between them. To make evident the diphthongal quantity, *ē* and *ō* are written by some; it is well enough, yet seems a needless trouble; Grassmann's *ē, ō* for the heavier diphthongs has found no imitation, and is not to be commended.

The designation of the acute (*udátta*) accent by our ordinary acute mark is universal: and nearly or quite so is likewise that of the circumflex

(*svarita*) by our so-called grave accent (thus, *yà*). No more suitable sign than the latter could be devised, since the tone signified by it is in fact a downward slide forward.

Passing now to the consonants, the first question concerns the mode of writing the aspirate mutes. And here, the addition of an *h* to the non-aspirate is well nigh universal; Bopp's added reversed apostrophe—as *t'* etc.—is hardly any longer in use. In this there is nothing to be regretted; the element by which the aspirate differs from the non-aspirate may be sufficiently well signified by *h*, nor does the distinction of surd and sonant in regard to it need to be insisted on. As to the mute-classes, the marking of the linguals (or by whatever other name we may call the *mûrdhanya* class) with a dot beneath—thus, *ṭ*, *ḍ*—is also nearly without exception, and unobjectionable. But the treatment of the palatals is a harder question, and embarrassed moreover by the doubt concerning the precise phonetic value of the sounds at a given period. To me, *c* and *j* (with, of course, *ch* and *jh* as aspirates) seem on the whole to be preferred: accented gutturals (as *k'* *g'*) are more burdensome, and also interfere with the clearness of the actual accent; nor should, on theoretical grounds, any diacritical mark be employed with so diverse values. This last reason is conclusive also against the common English use of *ch* and *chh*—in which, moreover, is involved a needless waste of time and labor.

Of the nasals, *n* and *m* pass without question; and *ṇ*, for the lingual, goes by constraint of analogy with *ṭ*, *ḍ*; as regards the two others, considerations of convenience must determine. One of them will naturally be written *ñ*, because that sign is widely found already provided in fonts of type; and, in accordance with its general value, this is best assigned to the palatal nasal. For the remaining guttural is oftenest met with an *n* with short horizontal line above it—which line ought, by its length or otherwise, to be well distinguished from the *macron*.

In connection with the nasals may be considered the representation of the *anusvâra*, difficult both on account of the variety of methods employed, and because, with the Hindu phonetists as well as with their modern successors, there has been question as to the phonetic value of the sound: whether and how far it was a nasalization of the vowel, or a nasal element following the vowel. Since, however, the Hindu texts in general use the same sign for all the different classes of cases, and whatever their theoretic estimate of the sound, there appears to be no good reason why we should not do the same thing with the same unanimity: writing, for example, *haṅsa*, and allowing its *ṅ* to be viewed as having either the one character or the other. For it would be as good as impossible to provide a complete set of vowel-signs, unaccented and accented, with a mark of nasality added. Whether *n* or *m* shall be used as basis, and what and where the diacritical mark applied, must be mainly a matter of arbitrary selection: I prefer a dot above rather than below, because the dot below is already in full use as lingual mark, and because the dot above seems like a reproduction of the corresponding *devanâgarî* sign; and further the adoption of the latter allows us to write *ṅ* for a more independent *anusvâra*, and *ṁ* for an *m* assimilated to a following consonant—a distinction which has a high practical convenience.

Of the semivowels, only the palatal and labial call for discussion. For the latter of these, too, *v* is so generally current as representative that it may almost pass for universal; a few Germans use *w* instead, but for no good and defensible reason. Historically best, to be sure, would be a *w* in the English sense and having the English utterance. Yet the English sound is also originally represented by *v*; and as we write both Latin *vinum* and French *vin*, recognizing the *w*-sound as belonging to the earlier word and the *v*-sound to the later, we may properly enough do the same in the Sanskrit. For the palatal semivowel are widely used both *y* and *j*. The latter has much in its favor, being in all respects related to *i* as *v* to *u*; and it is to the Germans the natural sign for the sound, as is *y* to the English and French. The choice of designation has to be made in connection with that for the sonant palatal mute; and there is, it may fairly be claimed, a gain of convenience and economy in adopting for the two sounds *j* and *y*, rather than in taking *g'* and *j*, and so leaving *y* out of use altogether.

Among the sibilants we have only one fixed point, the dental *s*; in regard to the other two usage is very fluctuating, and the prevailing practice not altogether to be approved. It was apparently by some mishap that at the outset *sh* came to be used by the English for the lingual instead of the palatal sibilant, the two being regarded as practically undistinguished in utterance (for the definition of the lingual as like *sh* in *shun*, and the palatal as like *ss* in *session*, though servilely copied from one grammar to another down to the latest, really means this, since the sounds in the two words are precisely the same); the impression was thus given that the lingual was the normal *sh*-sound, and the error has been perpetuated in a great variety of ways. There is one wholly unobjectionable mode of correcting

it: namely, by letting the lingual point below the letter do for the sibilant what it does for the mutes and nasal, and so writing ṣ. This Grassmann (as perhaps some before him) has done, and others are doing—myself, for example, after reluctantly writing *sh* for a generation. The sign *sh*, or anything else involving the same implication, should be banished from general use. For the palatal sibilant, the customary English sign *ś* is very bad, as again using an accent mark to signify what is not accent, and embarrassing the designation of the real accent. On the continent is most widely employed the sign *ç*, which answers the purpose quite sufficiently well, although nothing very positive is to be said in its favor save that it includes a palatal letter as basis, and is found provided and ready for use in many fonts. In an alphabet of wider bearing, whatever sign stands for the *sh*-sound would be the most suitable representative of this sibilant.[1]

Bopp's addition of a diacritical point to our *h* as sign of the Sanskrit aspiration has, so far as observed, found no imitators, and is not to be commended. The character *ḥ* for *visarga* is too firmly rooted in general usage to be displaced; nor is there pressing need for seeking a better representative for the sound.

To sum up briefly: the items to be most strongly urged, as involving important principles, are the use of ṛ and ṣ for the lingual vowel and the lingual sibilant respectively; of next consequence, for the sake of uniformity, is the adoption of the signs *c*, *j*, *y*, *ç* for the palatal sounds; the designations of long vowels, of the diphthongs, of the nasals, are minor matters, which will doubtless settle themselves by degrees in the right manner.

A remark or two may be added as to the division of words. As every one knows, there is in the manuscripts no division at all; the whole text is written solid, and prose and verse alike. The European rule is to make in *devanâgarî* writing or printing a separation between words, whenever it can be done without any alteration of the written form; and it is so reasonable and so universally practiced, that no suggestion of a change appears called for. In transliterated text, now, the natural adaptation of this rule would evidently be, to separate wherever the transliterated form suffers no alteration: thus, for example, *tát savitúr váreṇyam*. To write *tátsavitúrváreṇyam* because in *devanâgarî* the words would have to be so connected is certainly the height of unpractical bad logic—not to say of pedantry. The Boppian method of dividing also words whose final and initial vowels are fused into one sound, putting a single or double apostrophe before the second word, will naturally be followed only where the convenience of earliest beginners has to be consulted; but too anxiously to avoid it there seems to me to savour of the pedantic. Certainly its application in transliterated texts (e. g. *táthâi 'vá ''sît*) is not only unobjectionable, but to be recommended; and it is even as good as imperative where the authoritative form of a word (as determined, for example, by a *pada*-text or by a commentary) is to be briefly signified.[2]

ON THE RUDE TRIBES OF NORTH-EASTERN INDIA,

BY PROF. J. AVERY, OF BRUNSWICK, ME.

The old province of Asâm, which was coterminous with the valley of the Brahmaputra, is bordered on three sides by a rugged mountain tract, which has been, in most cases from time immemorial, the home of numerous savage tribes. The great diversity of speech among these tribes, and the primitive manners and customs which they have stubbornly retained in spite of Aryan civilization, present an interesting, but as yet little-worked, field for the linguist and anthropologist.

Beginning in the extreme east of the province, we find the settlements of the Khamtis and Singphos, the most intelligent of the Hill tribes. The former are a branch of the Shân race, and came into Asâm from Burma in the last century. The Singphos, who are allied to the rude tribes of northern Burma, reached their present abodes at about the same time.

Following the border-land northward, we come first to the Mishmis, whose villages extend from the Namlang, a branch of the Irawaddy, to the Digâm, a tributary of the Brahmaputrâ, or approximately between 96°–97° 30′ E. long. and 27° 40′-28° 40′ N. lat. Next to the Mishmis, and between the Digâm and Dibang rivers, is found an allied tribe calling themselves Midhis, but known to the Asamese as Crop-haired Mishmis. These two tribes are very savage, and are known only from the scanty accounts of a few venturesome travellers and occasional visits to the Asâm markets.

West of the Dibang a line of tribes stretches along the foot-hills of the Himâlayas as far as the confines of Bhutan. In order of location they are the Abars or Padam, Hill Miris, Daphlas, and Akas. As we approach Bhutan, the tribes show an increasing likeness to the Tibetans in features and customs. Returning to south-

[1] A recent isolated case of the introduction of ṣ as sign of the palatal sibilant is against every analogy, and altogether to be condemned.

[2] *Proceedings, American Orient. Soc.*, Oct. 1880.

eastern Asâm, we first enter the extensive territory of the Nâga people, who are said to number not less than thirty tribes, and whose villages are found as far west as the Doyang river, or between 93° and 97° E. long. The Nâgas are the most savage of all the mountain tribes, and their country has never been completely explored. Adjoining the Nâgas on the west are the Mikirs and Kukis, the latter being immigrants from a large and powerful tribe lying farther south in Manipur and Kachâr. The remaining border land is occupied by the Jayntias or Syntengs, the Khâsias, and the Gâros. These tribes probably represent the true aborigines of Asâm, and have preserved marked traces of affinity to a similar population in Central India. The rude tribes, whose location we have hastily traced, differ considerably in details of physical appearance and customs, but have certain characteristics in common, only one or two of which can be noted in this abstract. Physically, they exhibit in a marked degree the type called Mongoloid—the oblique eyes, high cheek-bones, square jaws, scanty beard, and color varying from tawny yellow to dark brown. They live in long, narrow houses, one end of which is usually supported upon posts, so as to secure in their rough country a level floor with the least trouble. Many families and even a whole village sometimes crowd into one of these houses. Their skill in the arts is very limited, not all of the tribes being able to make iron implements or weave their own clothing. They practice the rude sort of agriculture known all over India as *jhum*. Each tribe is usually divided into clans, at the head of which are hereditary chiefs, whose authority is in some cases real, in others merely nominal. In the latter case the fear of private revenge is the only restraint to crime. The Abars are governed by a council of elders, who daily convene in the *morang* or town hall, and regulate the affairs of the community even to the details of daily labour. The religion of all the tribes except the Khamtis, who have embraced Buddhism, is at a rude, animistic stage, and consists chiefly in propitiating the mischievous spirits of their forests by offerings of fowls and other animals. Divination and magic are universally practiced. Traces of Aryan influence can be detected in some of their ideas of a future life. The languages of these tribes have never been carefully studied, and with exception of a grammar of Garo, a grammar and dictionary of Khâsia, and a few other missionary publications, are known only by brief vocabularies. Any classification is therefore provisional. The Khamti is located with the Siamese in the Tai group; the Khâsia and Jayntia form a group by themselves at present; and the other languages, or dialects, as shall appear hereafter, not less than two score in number, are classed with the Tibeto-Burman subfamily. The prevailing type of all these languages is monosyllabic with a tendency to agglutination.[1]

PUṆÂ SANSKṚIT MSS.

Professor Keilhorn has submitted to the Government of Bombay a proposal for the cataloguing of the valuable collection of Sanskṛit manuscripts in possession of the Dekhan College at Puṇâ. These manuscripts have been mostly purchased for Government since the inauguration in 1868 of Mr. Whitley Stokes's admirable scheme for searching out and purchasing or copying rare manuscripts. The result has been that since then the Dekhan College Library has obtained 3111 MSS., which, with about 550 received from the old Sanskṛit College, makes a total of about 3660 MSS. "Considering that the Bodleian and the Berlin Libraries contain each about 1,500, and that even the Library of the India Office owns only about 3000 manuscripts," Dr. Keilhorn says he "cannot be wrong in stating that the Dekhan College possesses the largest collection of Sanskṛit manuscripts which is generally accessible to scholars of all parts of the world. Nor is this collection inferior to any other in point of quality; as regards the literature of the Jainas it is admittedly unrivalled; its palm-leaf and Bhûrjapatra manuscripts are unique; and the daily increasing applications from European and native scholars prove that no important work can be published to-day either in Europe or in India without consulting the manuscripts of the Dekhan College."

Such a collection is well deserving of a thoroughly good catalogue, and Prof. Keilhorn proposes "that a certain number of manuscripts should, from time to time and for a limited period, be sent to Europe through the India Office, and that scholars who might be willing to assist in the undertaking" should be invited to do so. "Certain branches of Sanskṛit literature should be assigned to such scholars as are known to excel in them, and every scholar should be made individually responsible for his share of the work, and his own name should be given on the title page of the part of the catalogue prepared by him." Dr. Keilhorn places his own services at the disposal of Government to assist in the work, and expresses the hope that, within five or six years an excellent catalogue of all the manuscripts hitherto collected will be completed, and at very little expense.

[1] *Proceedings, American Orient. Soc.,* May 1882.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN ALPHABET AND NUMERALS.

MEMORANDUM BY PROF. G. BÜHLER, PH.D., C.I.E.[1]

The Southern Indian Alphabet, the oldest form of which we possess in the Maurya and Andhra (Nânaghât and Nâsik Kârlê and Amarâvatî inscriptions), no doubt comes before us as a fully developed system about 300 B.C., and is accompanied both in certain Maurya and in certain Andhra inscriptions, by an equally developed system of numeral figures, which are clearly syllables.

As far as I can see, there can be no doubt that this alphabet was an old institution in India about 300 B.C., and that it owed its development to the grammatical schools of the Brâhmans.

The arguments proving its great age are—

1. The enormous extent of territory over which it occurs, from Kâṭhiâvâḍ to Orissa and the Eastern Coast, and from the Himâlayas down to the Sahyâdris.

2. The fact that it must have been generally known among the higher classes (and even the lower classes) of this enormous territory; as is shown—(*a*) By the circumstance that Aśoka could hope to improve the morals of his subjects by official placards; (*b*) by the exquisite execution of the inscriptions, which excels (*e.g.* on the Dehli and Allahâbâd pillars) all the best work of the Roman and Greek stonemasons; (*c*) by the fact that the stonemasons, a low caste in India, used (as Cunningham has lately discovered) the letters (*e.g.* at Buddha Gayâ) to mark the pillars, and that the order in which they gave the letters reveals the existence of a *Bârâ Khaḍî*, or table of the alphabet, which closely resembles that still in use in our indigenous schools, and proves that the system of instruction now followed was already elaborated 2000 years ago.

3. The fact that both the Maurya and the Andhra alphabets are sister-alphabets derived from a common source. It is wrong to say that the Andhra is derived from the Maurya alphabet; a comparison of the two alphabets, for example, in Burgess's tables, shows the contrary.

Take the *ḍa* and *ḍha*; in the Maurya alphabet we have ┛ *ḍa*, ፘ *ḍha*; in the Andhra ፘ *ḍa* and ፘ *ḍha*.

There cannot be any doubt that the *ḍha* was developed from *ḍa* by the addition of a little hook or curve added at the right of the *ḍa*, just as in ᑯ *cha* and ᑯ *chha*, ᒐ *pa* and ᒐ *pha*. Now it is utterly impossible to derive the ፘ of the Maurya alphabet from the ┛; but its connection with the Andhra ፘ is very clear. Hence, I say, it is probable that the latter sign is the older one, and that the Maurya ┛ is not the parent of the Andhra sign. It may either be itself a development of the Andhra sign (by a change of the curves into angles), or an older alphabet may have had both the angular and curved signs. But, however that may be, the South Vindhyan Pâli alphabet is not a daughter of the North Vindhyan alphabet. The bearing of this point on the age of the South Vindhyan alphabet is clear.

4. The fact that the Brâhmanical grammarians have developed the Maurya and Andhra alphabets, and brought them into the shape in which we first find them. This point is proved by the following circumstances:—

(*a*) Nobody but a native grammarian (who, indeed, wanted the distinctions for his school lore) would have invented five or six separate signs to indicate various shades of the nasal sounds. We have in the Maurya inscriptions ⊥, ⌶, ħ, 8, as a numeral ϛ, and the same signs occur again in the Andhra inscriptions. There is a clear tendency to have separate signs for the nasal of each of the five *Vargas*, or classes of the consonants as arranged by the grammarians: gutturals, palatals, linguals, dentals; and there is besides the ˙, which is used both as a conjunct nasal for all classes and the curious nasal *g* sound at the end of words, which corresponds to the French final *n*.

Now there is no other alphabet in the world which has developed such a number of signs for nasals; most alphabets have only two; some, like the Greek, three. If the Indian alphabet is derived from a Semitic source, these nasals must be mostly an Indian invention. It is also quite clear from the forms, that three at least are only differentiations of one fundamental form. Nobody has ever doubted that the ⌶ is derived from the ⊥; it seems to be also highly probable that the ħ goes back to the same type, for there is another rare form of the ⊥ in the Andhra inscriptions L, looking very much like the Maurya *u* L. The ħ arose out of this by the introduction below of two bands ⊔, and the addition of the top horizontal stroke, or we might also say that the ħ was derived from the ⌶ in its Andhra form, *viz.* Ƶ, by prolonging vertically the two ends of the lower horizontal line.

Now who would have fallen on such a cumbrous system of nasals (which by the way in the Prâkṛit inscriptions serves no useful purpose, because at least ⊥ and ⌶ are used promiscuously)? Certainly not a merchant, for a merchant would only care for brevity, not for phonetic accuracy, and as a matter of fact the merchants·

[1] From a paper by Sir E. Clive Bayley in *Jour. R. Asiat. Soc.* N. S. vol. XIV, pp. 339–346.

in their books never used all the signs of the alphabet, and certainly no vowel signs, till compelled to do so by the English Courts. Again no Prâkṛit-speaking official or writer would dream of distinguishing between ⊥ and ⊤; because to him the two letters were interchangeable and meant the same thing, *ṇa* or *na*, according to the country to which he belonged, or according to the dialect which he spoke. But all these forms would be necessary to a Brâhmanical Grammarian who had in his fine polished school-language carefully to distinguish between *ṅg*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *ṁ*, the *anusvára* °, and the *anunâsikâ* ᒐ, and who according to his belief gained heaven, or went to another place—as he pronounced his sacred texts rightly, or wrongly. Hence I say the differentiation of the nasals shows the influence of the Brâhmanical grammatical schools.

(*b*) The same inference may be drawn from the existence of the three sibilants ⅃, ⋒, and ℰ (Khâlsi and Pantaleon's coin); all three go back to one original form, which consists of two little semi-circles, and differ only in the arrangement of these elements. Now Semitic alphabets have two sibilants: whose interest was it to have three? Of course it was necessary for the Sanskrit grammarians and for nobody else. In Prâkṛit only two sibilants exist, and they are used very promiscuously, according to dialects. A merchant would not be such a fool as to burden himself with such useless ballast.

(*c*) A similar inference may be drawn from the careful system of short and long vowels.

(*d*) Likewise from the invention of the *ḷa* ℰ, which is peculiar to the Andhra inscription, because the sound occurs only south of the Vindhya range.

But if it be granted that the Maurya and Andhra alphabets have been developed by Brâhmans, does not that show that they must have been long in use before the time when we first find them?

This inference as to a very early cultivation of the art of writing in India, at a time indeed much anterior to 300 B.C., is strengthened by the consideration of the Northern (Baktro-Arian) alphabet, which was clearly worked up by the same class of people who fashioned the southern system of characters. Take, for example, the system of vowel notation, and the system of compound letters, which follow exactly the same principles as those of the Southern alphabet.

As regards the Indian numerals, my views are as follows:

I. The Indian numerals, consisting of separate signs for the units, the tens, the hundreds, and the thousands, are all *syllables*, which are pronounced as such, not signs for which the numerals were pronounced. The reading of these syllables has in general been given correctly by Bhagwânlâl, except for the signs —, =, ≡, ϸ; the former three must be read *u*, *û*, and *û-u*, and the last *nu* (Fleet's discovery).[2] As regards the reading of ℘, ๅ (ვ), ა (ᒪᒋ), it is doubtful as yet whether the pronunciation was *phu*, *gu*, *hu*, or *phra*, *gra*, *hra*. I now incline to the latter view (though I cannot find any distinct proof of it), because the *u* certainly appears in the hundreds. The proofs are:

(1) The most certain evidence for the ancient times is furnished by the Rûpnâth and Sahasrâm Edicts. In the former 200 is clearly ⅄, while in the latter is Ⴘ used. It is impossible to see in the first sign anything else but the syllable *sû* (not *su*), as the elongation of the right-hand stroke of the *s* shows that something else than the simple *su* is intended, and the natural explanation is that the second *u* sign, which makes the vowel long, has been attached at the top instead of below, ⅄ instead of ⅄. A similar plan for the expression of long *û* is adopted in Dr. Burgess's new inscriptions of Purushadatta from the Stûpa at Jagayyapeṭṭâ. There *tû* is several times written ⅄ and the stroke indicating the length of the vowel attached to the top of the *t*. The cause of this proceeding, as well as the uncouth appearance of the *s* in Ⴘ (Sahasrâm), is the desire to distinguish by the form of the syllables, the cases where they have numeral values, from those where they have merely an etymological value as parts of numerals.

(2) The second proof is the fact that several syllables change their shapes according to the change of the letters in the various alphabets (Bhagwânlâl),[3] always with this proviso, that mostly some slight difference is allowed to remain between the form of the syllables as numerals, and those used as parts of words. The change shows that the people pronounced the syllables as syllables, and the differences which frequently occur are due to the reason above given.

(3) The third proof is that a few signs show such variation as can be explained by phonetic changes, which in the language, too, are of very frequent occurrence. The clearest case is that of the syllable for 100. In the Aśoka edicts we have *su*, and the same occurs in the Andhra, and a great many other inscriptions; but the Western Kshatrapas and others use ℸ, which is clearly *śu* ℸ. Now in all Indian languages there

[2] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 241.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 44.

occurs a wonderful confusion of the sibilants, and in ancient times *sa* and *śa* are in Prâkṛit equivalents. The one occurs constantly for the other. If we therefore find [glyph] and [glyph] in the numerals for 100, the conclusion is that the people were in that case as careless as in others, and pronounced indiscriminately *su* and *śu*, because they were accustomed to do this in common life. The same was probably the case for the numeral syllable for five, where side by side with forms which clearly are *nu*, others occur which must be read *ṇo* (णो)—Bhagwânlâl's tables.

(4) Fourthly, there are other cases where certain sects, or the Paṇḍits of certain countries, have misread the ancient signs, and have substituted wrong syllables for them. The best cases are: (*a*) that of the numeral syllable for 10, which in the oldest forms is *ḷa* [glyph] in the south, and *ḍa*[4] [glyph] in the north. This has been rendered by ऌ and ॡ (*lṛi* and *lṝ*).

(*b*) That of the numeral syllable for 100. The Nepalese have misread (as has sometimes been done by modern epigraphists also) the सु=*su*, as अ=*a*.

In these cases the important point, which shows that the people pronounced syllables, and not the numerals when reading the signs, is that they always made a new syllable of the old sign, not a mere unintelligible symbol. Had they pronounced *sata* for सु they would have left it, and not have written a clear अ for it.

(5) The fifth argument is that down to the present day the numeral syllables are called *aksharapalli*, viz. 'letter table,' by the Jainas, and are known to represent syllables. Mallinâtha (*circa* 1150 A.D.) speaks distinctly of such a syllable as a *śabda* 'a word.'

II. The system of numeral syllables as we find it in the oldest inscriptions was settled by the Brâhmanical schools. The proof of this assertion lies in the use of the signs [glyph] (*ḷa*) *gñ*, θ (*p*) *ph*, ⊕ (*a*) *kh*, which occur in Brâhmanical books, and speak alone. Nobody but a Brâhman could have dreamt of making the *Anunâsikâ* [glyph], the *Jihvâmûlîya* ⊕, and *Upadhmânîya* θ, serve for numerals. The circumstance that the three strokes —, =, ≡, are intended for *u, û, û-u*, (*hrasva, dîrgha, pluta*) points to the grammatical schools being the originators of the system. The proof for the assertion that the strokes too have a vowel value lies in the manner in which they are used with the hundreds and thousands—100 being expressed by [glyph] (*śu*), 200 [glyph] and 300 [glyph]; 1000 by [glyph] (*dhu*), 2000 by [glyph], and 3000 by [glyph]. If the strokes had a mere numerical value, the marking would be wrong and unintelligible. We should then require for 200 [glyph], and for 300 [glyph]. If we pronounce *śu, śû, śû-u*, the difficulty disappears. Hence, I conclude that wherever we find the strokes —, =, ≡, these, too, are intended as symbols for a vowel, and for the vowel *u*, because in all grammars the vowel *u* is used to illustrate the three stages, short, long and treble (pluta). Pâṇini's *sûtra* is '*u, û, û-ŭ—hrasvadîrghaplutâḥ*,' *i.e.* 'vowels having the duration of *u, û, û-u* are called long, short and *pluta*.' The origin and meaning of these marks seems to have been forgotten very early, and in the Bauddha and Jaina books, *eka, dvi, tri*, or *sva, sti, śrî, om, na, mo* (the latter being the usual initial three syllables of books), are substituted.

III. Though I claim for the Brâhmans the oldest form of the *Aksharapalli*,[5] *I do not claim for them its invention*. We constantly find in India that something foreign imported into the country is made to assume native Indian forms, and disguised so cleverly that one would swear it was a native invention. As I believe that the Indian alphabets are foreign inventions introduced into India long before the historical times, I think it probable that the numerical system too came from a foreign country. I believe the Southern Indian alphabet came to India from Arabia or from the Persian Gulf, *viâ* Suppârâ (Sopheir) or Bharoch, and that the Southern Indian numerals came by the same road. But I think that, in spite of the resemblances pointed out by Deecke[6] between the Himyaritic and Maurya letters, we have not yet found the alphabet from which the Southern Indian characters are derived. I think that there is much less chance of making out anything about the numerals, and of saying from what other system they are immediately descended. But it is not at all clear that originally they may not have come from Egypt, but probably through some Arabian traders either from the Arabian Coast or from the Gulf.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

8. DIAMONDS AND PRECIOUS STONES.—Since my *Economic Geology of India* was published I have found in several old travels references to the localities where diamonds and other precious stones were found. Some of these I am unable to identify, but I think it possible

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[4] *ḍa* is the northern equivalent for *ḷa* in the language also.

[5] Dr. Bühler is convinced that the *Aksharapalli* is of an origin extraneous to India, though he still finds it difficult to believe that its signs are borrowed from four or five different sources.—E. C. B.

[6] *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen gesellschaft* for 1877, vol. XXXI, p. 598.

that some of your correspondents who possess local knowledge may be able to help me:—

Nicolo Conti, who wrote in the 15th century, mentions Albenigaras 15 days' journey north of Bizengulia (=Bisnagar) as a diamond locality.

Lewes Vertomannus (1503) refers to a diamond mine 6 miles distant from the city of Dechan (=Bisnagar?).

Garcias ab Horto (1565) mentions besides localities in Bisnagar another not far from Imadixa, (Imad Shah) or Imad Moluco or Madremaluco. A mart, where diamonds were sold, is called Lispor in the Deccan.

John Ogilvy (1673), states that diamonds are found by Deccan on the mountain called Rocca Velha, or the old rock, by the Portuguese.

Dutens (1777). This authority on precious stones besides Tavernier's localities, mentions Latawar, can this be intended for Kâṭhiâvâḍ? It is not referred to by any other authority so far as I know, and Kâṭhiâvâḍ is not likely to have produced diamonds.

V. Ball.

BOOK NOTICE.

Chronological Tables for Southern India, from the Sixth Century A.D., by Robert Sewell, Madras Civil Service. (Printed by Authority.) Madras: 1881.

These Tables, the author informs us, "are published in order to enable those at work on the inscriptions of Southern India readily to ascertain the date of any document, or record on stone." They give the years of the Kaliyuga, Cycle of Bṛihaspati and Christian Era, corresponding to each Śaka year from Ś. 500 to 1822 (A.D. 1900), the Kollam Âṇḍu or Quilon era from A.D. 825, and the commencement of each Hijra year from the epoch. With the already existing Tables of Warren, Jervis, Prinsep, Brown, Playfair, Gumpach, Wüstenfeld, Cowasjee Patell, &c., we should hardly have thought there was a call for another publication of the kind, unless to supply ampler details than any of these. And, if we mistake not, Indian scholars find it easier to use the well known constants for the mere conversion of the Hindu and Christian dates in years, than to refer to any such Tables. For the determination of the *saṁvatsara* date in the 60 year cycle, if a table is wanted, Brown's *Cyclic Tables* in his *Carnatic Chronology* (1863) are much more convenient from the column containing a complete cycle, whereas Mr. Sewell's contains only 38 years and without the numeral order of the cycle names. But even here some will prefer adding 11 to the Śaka year or 12 to the Kaliyuga and dividing by 60, when the remainder gives the expired year of the cycle, according to the Southern system, here employed, and reckoned from *Prabhava*.

Mr. Sewell does not give the initial day of any of the Hindu years, nor any means by which to compute the corresponding month and day for any date, which ought to be an essential feature in any Tables of the sort.

For the Hijra years he gives the European dates of commencement, but unfortunately he does not seem to have followed Prinsep's *Tables*, which he describes as "constituting the most critically accurate information yet published on the subject,"—for if we compare say the dates for 1st Muharram with the corresponding ones in any trustworthy Table, we find these dates in the following cases wrongly given:—page iii, after A. H. 19, we should have 'Jan. 2, 640' instead of "Dec. 31, 639"; so on p. ix read '256. Dec. 9, 869'; on p. xi,—'321. Jan. 1, 933;' and '338. July 1, 949'; on p. xvi,—'503. July 31, 1109'; and '530. Oct. 11, 1135'; p. xviii,—'612. May 2, 1215'; p. xix,—'625. Dec. 12, 1227'; p. xx,—'662. Nov. 4, 1263': p. xxi,—'698. Oct. 9, 1298'; p. xxii,—'743. June 6, 1342'; p. xxv,—'876. June 20, 1471'; and on p. xxix,—'1020. March 1, 1611'. Between A.D. 1752 and 1862 (pp. xxxiii-xxxv) there are 53 errors of the above sort, several of them amounting to several days, *e. g.* for the commencement of A.H. 1184 he gives "April 21, 1770," while the correct date was 27th April, and for A. H. 1200 he gives "Nov. 1, 1785" instead of Nov. 4; and on p. xxxvi, —read '1292. Feb. 7, 1875.' These errors occur elsewhere only in Cowasjee Patell's *Tables*, and we must infer that Mr. Sewell simply copied this column from the Pârsî's book without verification or comparison with other and trustworthy tables.

A more serious error has been made by Mr. Sewell in the Kollam Âṇḍu dates, which are one year in error throughout; thus Śaka 748 corresponds to the latter half of the 1st and first half of the 2nd year of the Kollam era, and should have been marked '1-2' and not 2-3 as he has it, and so Ś. 938 corresponds to 191-192, and not to 192-193. The Kollam era began 25th August 825 A.D., that is in the Śaka year 747,[1] and not in 824.

In the names of the years of Jupiter's cycle he has generally copied from Brown, but gives *Bhava, Pramâdhi*, and *Manmadha*, instead of the proper forms *Bhâva*, *Pramâthi* or *Pramâdi*, and *Manmatha*; while he follows Brown in *Vishu* (Tamiḷ), *Vikṛiti, Hêvilaṁbi, Śârvari* (Tamiḷ). *Virôdhikṛit, Pramâdî*-

[1] Dr. Burnell, *S. I. Palæography*, p. 73, is in error when he says "it began in September 824," but he gives the equation rightly enough as + 824¾. Cawasjee Patell's *Tables* are correct for this era except in the initial *day*.—J. B.

cha, Nala, Prajotpatti, Pramódûta, &c., instead of the more usual *Vṛisha, Vikṛita, Hêmalamba, Śarvarî, Virôdhakṛit, Pramâdi, Anala, Prajâpati, Pramôda,* &c. Both forms may be used, and there seems to be some confusion between the 13th and 47th; and *Bṛihat Saṁhitá*, viii, 41, where the 36th is Śôbhakṛit and the 37th Śubhakṛit,[2] but it would have been well had Mr. Sewell prefixed a list of all the correct forms of each name, and then, throughout his table, used the correct or most prevalent forms only.

As these *Tables* are for the use of those working on documents and inscriptions, they ought to have contained some indication at least, such as Brown gives (*Car. Chron.* pp. ii, iii, and 16-19), of the differences obtaining in different parts of the country in the use of this cycle. Thus, a document dated "Ś. 1719, Śukla saṁvatsara," if referred to Mr. Sewell's *Tables*, might be supposed to be far wrong, either in the date or cyclic year; but on a reference to Brown's (p. 18) we find that the 3rd year (*Śukla*) of the cycle corresponded to Ś. 1720 in the northern mode of reckoning, and is *found attached sometimes even to* Ś. 1718; thus supporting the accuracy of the date within the limits usual in inscriptions, &c. Brown's *Tables* would have been all the more useful had he carried this additional column through the whole of his second Table: but Mr. Sewell's is still more defective in wanting it altogether; and this want is the more felt as the differences between the two modes of reckoning is not constant. About A.D. 850 they agreed, but the difference is now 12 years,[3] and the rules for determining the cycle years in the different astronomical treatises are not generally known and vary slightly. That given by Prinsep from the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* (*Us. Tab.* p. 160) is scarcely intelligible, and Warren's rule (*Kalasaṁkalita*, pp. 147, 211) is not always to be depended on; but the following formulæ, not previously published, represent correctly the usual rules, and may be found useful:—

Let K represent the year of the Kaliyuga, Ś that of the Śaka era, and w—the integers only in the expression to which it is attached, then—

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \left\{ K + 26 + \left(\frac{211\,K}{18000}\right)_w \right\} \div 60, \\ \text{or} \left\{ \acute{S} + \left(\frac{211\,\acute{S} + 40769}{18000}\right)_w \right\} \div 60, \end{array}\right\} (a)$$

will give, as the *remainder*, the *expired* year of the cycle, according to the rule of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. If 1 be added to that remainder it will give the *current* year of the cycle corresponding to K or Ś. The *Sûrya-Siddhânta* rule with the *bîjya* or correction is similarly represented by—

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \left\{ K + 26 + \left(\frac{117K}{10000}\right)_w \right\} \div 60, \\ \text{or} \left\{ \acute{S} + \left(\frac{117\,\acute{S} + 21943}{10000}\right)_w \right\} \div 60, \end{array}\right\} (b)$$

And the *Jyôtistattva* rule, by—

$$\left\{ \acute{S} + \left(\frac{22\,\acute{S} + 4291}{1875}\right)_w \right\} \div 60, \qquad (c)$$

or, put S = Ś − 828, then the expression becomes—

$$\left\{ \acute{S} + \left(\frac{22\,S + 7}{1875}\right)_w \div 60. \right.$$

These formulæ give generally the same results, the differences arising from the positions they assign to the year which they expunge once in about 86 years.

Thus for K = 4864 or Ś = 1685, we have by the first formula—

$$\left(4864 + 26 + 57 \right) \div 60 = \frac{4947}{60} = 82,$$

and remainder = 27 for the expired years of the cycle; so that the Kaliyuga year 4864 or Ś. 1685 corresponds to the 28th year or *Jaya* saṁvatsara.

By the second rule (used in Bengal) we have—

$$\left(4864 + 26 + 56\right) \div 60 = \frac{4946}{60}, \text{ or only } 26$$

years of the cycle expired, and *Vijaya* current.

And by the *Jyôtistattva* rule—

$$\left(1685 + 22\right) \div 60 = \frac{1707}{60}, \text{ or } 28 \text{ cycles,}$$

and remainder 27—the same year as given by the first rule. But it is only at those points where expunged names occur that they differ, and then only by a single year, as between Ś. 1680 and 1693,—after which the three rules give the same results for fully 70 years. This arises from the *Jyôtistattva* rule placing the expunged *saṁvatsara* about 4 years earlier than the first rule and 12 or 13 earlier than the second does.

A well arranged set of chronological tables for Indian dates, with easy methods for finding the month and day corresponding to any Hindu date, and with a table of eclipses from the period of the earliest inscriptions, is a *desideratum* that many scholars feel, but Mr. Sewell's *Tables* do not help in any way to supply the want.

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[2] Conf. M. Williams, *Sansk. Dict.*, s. vv. *Pramâthin* and *Pramâdin*. Dr. Burnell remarks that he "is not aware that any old list exists" of the 60-year cycle (*S. I. Palæog.* p. 74); but he seems to have overlooked Varâha Mihira's list, from which the one Davis gives (*Asiat. Res.* vol. III, p. 220) was probably extracted.

[3] Between A.D. 830 and 905 the names of the *saṁvatsaras*, both according to the Southern system and that of the Astronomical Treatises—as found by *any* of the rules given below,—were in perfect accord, and it is not likely that the cycle as now used in the north of India, was in general use for dates much before that period, though Varâhamihira (A.D. 505) gives a rule, almost identical with that of the *Jyôtistattva* cited below, for determining the year of the cycle. See *Bṛihat-saṁhitâ*, viii, 20, 21, in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N.S. vol. V, p. 48; *Asiat. Res.* vol. III, pp. 215, 219.—The earliest known instance of the use of the cycle in inscriptions is Sir Walter Elliot's copper-plate grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III. (p. 125 above), which is dated in Śaka 726 (according to Brown's *Tables*, for 725), the Subhânu (or Svabhânu) *saṁvatsara*.

A KÂDAMBA INSCRIPTION AT SIDDÂPUR.

BY K. B. PÂṬHAK, B.A., BELGAUM.

SIDDÂPUR is a village two miles to the west of Veṅkaṭâpur, on the road from Belgaum to Dhârwâḍ. In a ruined temple of Śiva at Siddâpur, there is a stone-tablet 3′ 6″ high by 1′ 11″ broad, containing a Kâdamba inscription. It records a grant to the god Prabhuliṅga by the people of the surrounding villages, in Śaka 1080, in the time of the *Yuvarâja* Vijayâditya, who was associated in the government of Palasige Twelve-thousand, with his brother Śivachitta. The name of the family seems to have been written indifferently, as Kaḍamba, Kadamba or Kâdamba. In the fourth line of the present inscription, we read Kaḍamba. Lower down in the 15th line the word appears as Kâdamba. The inscription at Uṇakal, of the time of the Châlukya king Tribhuvanamalla, and another at Baḍrasiṅgi, near Râyara-Hubḷi, read Kadamba. A Jaina poet says of his hero :

Kâdamba kula dîpa Tirumala Sâmaṁta
sâdi(dhi)si page râyaranu ||

Another word in this inscription deserving of notice is *ruṁdra* (l. 10) : in Jaina Prâkṛit the word was written रु○द, and was pronounced *rudda*.[1] The sign before द, which indicated that the following consonant was to be doubled in pronouncing the word, was in course of time mistaken for *anusvâra*. Hence the form *ruṁda*, and then *ruṁdra*, which frequently occurs in Old Canarese literature :

......Jaya jaya sadguṇa *ruṁdrâ*. ||
Rôhiṇîcharitra.

Ruṁdra guṇâbdhi vâdîṁdran enipa dêvêṁdra kiritiya tanujâ | Chaṁdra kîrtipa yatîṁdrana charaṇakke *ruṁdra* bhaktiyôḷ eraguvenu ||
Gurudattacharitra.

Transliteration.

(1.) Svasti samadhigata paṁcha mahâśabda mahâmaṇḍaḷeśva-

(2.) raṁ Banavâsî puravarâdhiśvaraṁ[2] samasta bhuvana saṁ-

(3.) stûyamâna Hara dharaṇa[3] prasûta Triḷachana Ka-

(4.) ḍaṁba vaṁsa mahôdaya mahîdharê[ṁ] dra sikharâbhyuda-

(5.) yamâna mahâ prachaṁḍa mârtaṇḍa mârtaṇḍa karâti-

(6.) tîbra nija pratâpa vaśîkri[4]ta sakaḷa mahimaṇḍala-

(7.) nuttuṁga siṁhalâṁchhanaṁ vânara mahâdhvajaṁ permaṭṭi tû-

(8.) ryya nirgghôśaṇaṁ chaturâśiti nagarâdhishṭhitâshṭada-

(9.) sâśvamêdha yajña dikshâ dîkshita kuḷa prasûta Hima-

(10.) vadgirîṁdra ruṁdra śikhara sthâpita mahâśakti prabhâ-

(11.) va tyâga jaga jhaṁpa jhaṁpaṇâ chârya niśśaṁka Râma

(12.) subhaṭe kaṅaka nikaśôpa[ḷa] śaraṇâgata vajra prâkâraṁ

(13.) lôkaika kalpadrumaṁ saṁkrânti dhavaḷa mûrti Nârâya-

(14.) ṇa kirtti mârtaṇḍa maṇḍaḷika lalâṭa paṭṭa vairigha-

(15.) raṭṭa śubhaṭa râja śikhâmaṇi Kâdaṁba chûḍâmaṇîtya-

(16.) khiḷa nâmâvaḷi samâḷaṁkritar appa śrimaumahâma-

(17.) ṇḍaḷeśvara śri Śivachitta vîra Permmâḍidêvarasaru nâ-

(18.) mâdyuva[5]râja kumâraṁ śrî Vijayâdityadêvara-

(19.) saruṁ Saṁpagâḍiya nelevîḍinoḷirddu Palasige panni-

(20.) chchhâsiramumaṁ Koṁkaṇa [oṁbha]-ynûrumaṁ dushṭa ni-

(21.) graha śishṭa pratipâḷa [nadinâ]ḷdu sukha saṁkathâ vinô-

(22.) dadiṁ râjyaṁ geyyuttamire svasti yama niyama svâ-

(23.) dhyâya dhyâna dhyâraṇa[6] maunânushṭhâna japa samâ-

[1] The Canarese words, *piṁchha* and *vaṁki*, may be quoted as additional illustrations of the rule according to which *ruṁdra* is formed :—

पिच्छं is written पि ○ छ, whence we got पिंछ, "a bundle of feathers carried about by a jain ascetic."

वक्र becomes वक्क, which is written व ○ क, whence we get वंक, "to bend, incline ;" and वंकि "a golden fimbriated armlet."

To give the reader some idea as to how the word रुद्द is spelt in the *Gâthâ-bhâshâ* of the Karnâṭaka Jains, I cite below a passage, the accuracy of which, however, I cannot guarantee; the original is written in Old-Canarese characters.

पिंचे स ○ तप्पे पि ○ चासु लोहेण फुणइ ममयारं यात ○ थ व ○ ट रु ○ दं तावण सु ○ चंति णहु सौ ○ खं || १४४ ||
Rayanasâra.

[2] *i* and *î*, *e* and *ê*, and *o* and *ô* are not distinguished in the original by any mark. [3] *na* should be *ni*.

[4] This should be *kri*; there are many other mistakes in the text, which I do not notice here.

[5] No saṁdhi can be formed between *nâmâdi* and *yuvarâja*. [6] *dhyâ* should be *dhâ*.

(24.) dhi śîḷa sampannar appa Hosavaḷala prabhumukha-

(25.) Dâmodara bhaṭṭôpâdyâyaru Anamta-bhaṭṭôpâ-

(26.) dhyâyaroḷagâgi nâluvi rudrama mukhya dhidâ-

(27.) va todaluṁ toṁdiraruv ainûṟvvaru-mirddu viṭṭa dha-

(28.) rmmamemtemdaḍe Śakavarśaṁ 1080 neya bahudhânya saṁ-

(29.) vatsarada âśâḍadamavâsya sômavâradamdu da-

(30.) kshiṇâyana saṁkrâmti vyatîpâtada puṇya tithiyoḷu-

(31.) Kittûru mûvattaṟa baḷiya bâḍa Hosavaḷala śri

(32.) Pabha[7] limga dêvaramga bhôga nivêdyakka khamda sphuṭita . . . . . .

(33.) yâddhârakkaṁ[8] aṟuvattokkalu okkala[lli] eṇṇigo gâ-

(34.) ḍage 1 omdu hoṟeni tomṭigaru okkalalli chaitrakke pâ-

(35.) ga 1 pavitrakke pâga 1 aynuṟa nâluvaru oka-

(36.) lalli chaitrakke pâga 1 pavitrakke pâga 1 avaralli

(37.) gâtrake pâga 1 ugura mumnurvvaru okkalalli

(38.) [chai]trakke pâga 1 pavitrakke pâga 1

Translation.

Hail, while the prosperous Śivachitta, who was a *Mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvara*, possessed of the five great sounds; the lord of the excellent city of Banavâsî; who was a very brilliant sun, shining on the summit of the lordly mountain, which was the great prosperity of the family of Trilôchana-Kadamba sprung from Śiva and the earth, and extolled by the whole world; who had conquered the whole earth with his prowess fiercer than the rays of the sun; who possessed the signet of a majestic lion; who had, on his large banner, the device of a monkey; who possessed the sound of the musical instrument *permaṭṭi*; he who presided over eighty-four cities; he who was descended from a family consecrated[9] by the performance of eighteen horse-sacrifices; the supremacy of whose great power was firmly established like the lofty peaks of the lordly Himâlaya mountain; who was unsurpassed in the world in liberality; who was a fearless Râma in bravery; who was the stone on which gold is rubbed, in respect of auspiciousness; who was an adamantine enclosure to those who took refuge with him; who was like the matchless tree which gave whatever was wished for; who was a very Nârâyaṇa whose form is white at *saṁkranti*, a very sun in fame, a diadem on the brows of petty kings, a handmill to his foes; the supreme lord of warriors and kings, and the crest-jewel of the Kâdambas; adorned with all these titles the prosperous Mahâmaṇḍaḷeśvara Śivachitta Vîra Permâdi and the Yuvarâja prince Vijayâditya adorned with similar titles,—abiding in the vicinity of Sampagâdi, and ruling over Palasige Twelve-thousand and Komkaṇa Nine-hundred, protecting the virtuous and punishing the wicked,—were reigning with the delight of pleasing conversation.

Hail the leading Brâhmans of Hosavaḷal endowed with the characteristics of *yama, niyama, svâdhyâya, dhyâna, dhâraṇa, maunânushṭhâna, japa* and *samâdhi*—among whom were Dâmôdara Bhaṭṭôpâdhyâya and Ananta Bhaṭṭôpâdhyâya, with Nâluvirudrama and others to the number of 500, performed this act of religion. To describe it; in the Śaka year 1080 being the Bahudhânya *saṁvatsara*, on Monday the 30th of Âshâḍha, being the auspicious day Vyatipâta, on the occasion of the sun's commencing his progress to the south for the *aṁgabhôga*[10] and oblation of the god Śrî Prabhuliṁga of Hosavaḷal in the vicinity of Kittûru Thirty, and for the purpose of repairing whatever might be broken or torn,—From a body of 60 tenants, (*is to be collected*) 1 set of earthen pots for oil; from the gardening tenants, (*is to be collected*) 1 *pâga*[11] for chaitra[12] and 1 *pâga* for *pavitra*;[13] from a body of 504[14] tenants, (*is to be collected*) 1 *pâga* for chaitra and 1 *pâga* for *pavitra*. From these (*is also to be collected*) 1 *pâga* for *gâtra*.[15] From the 300 tenants Ugura 1 *pâga* (*is to be collected*) for chaitra and 1 *pâga* for *pavitra*.

[7] *Prabhu.*

[8] The correct expression is *khamḍa sphuṭita jîrṇôddhârakkaṁ.*

[9] The inscription at Budraśiṅgi reads *dîpita kuḷam*, and separates all these compounds by a vertical line.

[10] *Aṁgabhôga* means washing the idol and anointing it with sandal-powder, &c. daily.

[11] *Pâga* means ¼ (of the revenue collected).

[12] The ceremony of *damanârôpaṇa* which takes place in Chaitra.

[13] The ceremony of *pavitrarôpaṇa* takes place in Śrâvana.

[14] Are Aruvattokkalu and Aynûṟa nâluvaru the names of villages? I have no good map at hand to refer to.

[15] The same as *aṁgabhôga.*

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p. 196.*)

XVII.

We will now resume our narrative of Chinghiz Khân's more martial doings. In part IX. of these papers I described the death of Buirukh Khân of the Naimans as having taken place near lake Kizilbash in the year 1202. This is the story as told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. The *Yuan-shi* with which Rashidu'd-dîn and other authorities agree make him survive till 1206, which is more probable, and tell us how Chinghiz marched against him and his Naimans after the holding of the famous Kuriltai whose administrative and legislative acts I have described. He is called Bu-lu-yu in the Manchu translation of the *Yuan-shi* and Polo by Mr. Douglas; De Mailla calls him Pu-lu-yu-han. Hyacinthe has followed Kienlung's sophisticated text and corrupted the name into Boro.[1] He was surprised, we are told, while hunting in the mountains Oluda, a name corrupted in Kienlung's text into Urtu-ola, and was captured and doubtless put to death, although this is not expressly stated. His nephew Kiu-chu-lei, *i.e.* Kushluk, who is called his son in the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen*, who was with him, was elected their chief by the Naimans. He fled with Tokhtu, the leader of the Merkit, to the Irtish.[2] The *Huang-yuan* calls Buirukh Bei lu, and tells us he was captured near the mountain Uluta, and on the river Sokhe[3]—Rashidu'd-dîn says on the river Suja near the Ulugh-tagh mountain. He says that Buirukh was hunting there when Chinghiz ordered one of the famous hunts[4] to be held in the neighbourhood. Buirukh and his party were enclosed by the hunters. He was killed with his followers while his family, herds and wealth fell into the Mongols' hands.[5] Abulghâzi says Buirukh was hunting the kik or wild hind when captured.[6] Klaproth identifies the mountains mentioned in these notices with the Altai. D'Ohsson urges that the name still survives exactly as recorded by Rashidu'd-dîn in the Ulugh-Tagh or Great Mountain which is a continuation of the little Altai, west of lake Balkhash. This is however quite an impossible locality. It was not until some years after this that Chinghiz Khân's generals found their way so far west as the Ulugh-Tagh range, and the locality where Buirukh was defeated was doubtless in some place not far from the Kizilbash lake, a view which is amply confirmed by the fact that his nephew Kushluk and Toktu, the leader of the Merkits who were with him, fled after the battle to the Irtish; which is an immense distance from the Ulugh-Tagh, but only separated from the basin of the Kizilbash lake by a short distance.

In the autumn of 1207 Chinghiz Khân had a second campaign in Si Hia or Tangut, the excuse for which was, that the King of Hia had failed to pay the promised tribute. In the *Yuan-shi* we are told he captured a stronghold whose name is written Hwun-lo-hai by Douglas. De Mailla calls it Oualuhai. The *Huang-yuan* Olokhai. Hyacinthe following Kienlung's text of the *Yuan-shi* calls it Ui-ra-ka. On this occasion, as on many others, the editors of that text seem to have been right, for Rashidu'd-dîn expressly calls the place Erika. The other forms of the name are probably Chinese corruptions due to the difficulty of representing the letter *r* in Chinese. Now in the vocabulary attached to Hyacinthe's work we are told Ui-ra-ka meant in the language of Tangut "the passage through the wall," from *Ui* in the midst of, *ra* wall, and *ka* passage.[7] Wu-la-hai, according to Pauthier's orthography I-la-hai, is mentioned in Chinese geographical works as one of the seven *lu* or circumscriptions forming the later Government of Kansuh, which corresponded to the kingdom of Tangut. The name is also written U-liang-hai,[8] and when the town is again mentioned in the *Yuan-shi*, namely, in 1209 it is expressly called "the Wuleanghai pass through the wall,"[9]

[1] Douglas, p. 54; Hyacinthe, p. 36; Klaproth, *Journ. Asiat.* ser. 1 tome II, p. 199; DeMailla, tome IX, p. 41; Gaubil, p. 12.
[2] Klaproth, *loc cit.* Hyacinthe and Douglas, *id.*
[3] *Op cit.*, p. 180.
[4] In which a cordon of men enclosed a great space and gradually drew towards the centre.
[5] Erdmann, p. 310.
[6] *Op cit.*, p. 92.
[7] Hyacinthe, pp. 40 and 379; D'Ohsson, p. 106 note.
[8] Pauthier's *Marco Polo*, pp. 206 and 207, notes.
[9] Douglas, p. 58.

thus confirming its identification with Ui-ra-ka. Rashidu'd-dîn tells us it was called Eyirkai in the language of Tangut and Eyirkaya in Mongol.[10] Ssanang Setzen calls it Irghai.[11] As we have seen it gave its name to one of the *lu* or circuits of Kan-suh or Tangut, and there can be no doubt it was the Egrigaia of Marco Polo who calls it a province containing numerous cities and villages and belonging to Tangut. He says the people there were chiefly idolators,[12] but there were also fine churches belonging to the Nestorian Christians. He tells us also that in this city they made great quantities of camlets of camels' wool, the finest in the world, some of which were made from the wool of white camels, and were deemed the best.[13] Colonel Yule says that among the Buriats and Chinese at Kiakhta snow-white camels without albino character are still often seen. "Philostratus tells us that the king of Taxila furnished white camels to Apollonius."[14]

We have now reached a point where the order of events and general chronology becomes confused; a confusion in the present case, caused as I believe by the frailty of the chronological cycle used by the Mongols. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* condenses into *the year of the hare* 1207 what all the other authorities, with more reason as I think, distribute between this year of the hare and another year of the hare 12 years later, namely 1219. I shall here follow the story as told in the other authorities. The *Yuan-shi* says that, after his attack on Hia Chinghiz despatched an embassy to the Kirghiz[15] consisting of Alertan and Powla (read Boru by Hyacinthe). The tribes Eternale and Alertan (called Idir nere and Aldar by Hyacinthe) sent envoys in turn with famous falcons.[16] De Mailla calls the envoys of Chinghiz Andan and Punla, and the tribes which sent envoys Yetie Ynali and Alitier.[17]

In the *Huang-yuan* we read that in the year 1207 Chinghiz sent Andan and Buula to the tribe of the Kiligisi and their chiefs Olosi Inan and Atelula, who thereupon came back with the envoys and brought a white falcon as a present.[18] Rashidu'd-dîn calls the envoys Altan and Bughra or Burah. Only one of the names of the Kirghiz chieftains is legible in the MSS. consulted by Erdmann and D'Ohsson, and this reads Urus Inal. I may say that according to the readings in these MSS. the two sections of the Kirghiz were respectively called Jines an Bede or Jenin an Bede and Bede Urun or Biti Afrun.[19] The difficulty in reading one name in Rashidu'd-dîn's story must have arisen early, for Abulghazi only mentions one of the chiefs of the Kirghiz, and calls him Urus Inal. He describes the falcon sent as a present as being white with red claws, beak and eyes,[20] but red here ought surely to be yellow, for these famous falcons were no doubt gerfalcons. Let us now shortly consider who these Kirghises were. For a long time there was a profound confusion about the connotation of the term Kirghiz, two very distinct branches of the Turkish race having been confounded under it—1, the so called Kirghiz Kazaks of the Great, Middle and Little Hordes; the Hakaz of the Chinese writers who live in the plains north of the sea of Aral and between the Volga and Sungaria, and who were for a long time improperly called Kirghiz; and 2, the Kirghiz proper, also called Buruts, Rock Kirghiz and Black Kirghiz. The latter have been supposed by previous writers to have been known in the West at least as early as the year 569, when we are told by the Byzantine authors that Zemarchus, the envoy of the emperor, was presented by the chief of the Turks with a young Kergis slave girl. But this was clearly a reference to a Cherkes or Circassian maiden, a race whose attractions are still proverbial, and not an ugly flat-faced typical Turanian. Carpini calls the Circassians Kergis.[21] For the earliest notices of the Kirghiz we must turn to the Chinese writers, who tell us the Ki-li-gi-si as they call them submitted to China in the 7th century. In the year 759 they became subject to the Uighurs, whose power they, a century later, overthrew. By this victory they became for a while the masters of Central Asia, and several of their embassies are mentioned by the Chinese writers. After the fall of the

[10] *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.*, tome XI, p. 463.
[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 163, etc.
[12] *i. e.* Buddhists.
[13] *Op. cit.*, Yule's ed., vol. I, p. 272.
[14] Id., p. 274 note 3; Erdmann, *Travels*, vol. II, p. 261.
[15] Ke-leih-keih-sze is Mr. Douglas' transcript of the name.
[16] Douglas, p. 56; Hyacinthe, p. 40.
[17] *Op. cit.*, tome IX, p. 42.
[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 180.
[19] Abulghazi, p. 92 note 4; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 113 note; Erdmann, pp. 246 and 311.
[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 43.
[21] D'Avezac, p. 678.

Tang dynasty the Chinese virtually ceased to have intercourse with the country west of Mongolia, and we do not again meet with notices of the Kirghiz until the Mongol historians speak of them. In the *Yuan-shi* we are told the Ki-li-gi-si lived along the Yenissei.[22] In a Chinese geographical work of the Yuan period laid under contribution by De Guignes and others, we are told that the country of the Ki-li-gi-si was originally peopled by 40 men of the race of the Usu,[23] who married 40 Chinese wives. It was 10,000 *li* from the Mongol capital Ta-tu. Some tribes of the Naimans had lived there. Their country was 1400 *li* in length and 700 in breadth. Through its midst ran the river Kian,[24] which flowed towards the N.W. South-west was the river O-pu, *i.e.* the Obi, and north-east another river named Yü-siu, (*i. e.* the Iyus which joins the Chulym and then falls into the Obi). The *Chinese Geography* wrongly makes the Yüsiu join the Kian. The language of the Kirghiz was the same as that of the Uïghurs; their customs differed from those of the neighbouring peoples.[25] In some manuscript notes of Gaubil's quoted by Quatrèmere we are told that the Kie-kia-zi lived to north and north-west of the great sandy desert towards lake Baikal and on the bank of the Yenissei, the Selinga, the Obi, and the Irtish; that their king was styled Koban, and that they used alphabetic characters like those of the Hoei-hu[26] and a cycle of 12 years, each one named after an animal.[27] These facts are confirmed by Visdelou and De Guignes from Chinese sources and also by Mirkhavend, who tells us when the Kuri and Kirghiz merchants went to Khubilai's court with presents the vizier named Senkah who was a Uïghur acted as interpreter.[28]

In the notice of the journey of Ch'ang Te to visit Khulagu Khân in 1259, a narrative known as the Si-shi-ki, we have this sentence: "It is reported that the Ke-li-ki-sze instead of horses use dogs" (for drawing sledges).[29] Turning to the great Persian historian Rashidu'd-dîn we read that the country of the Kirghiz and that of the Kemkemchiut were adjoining but distinct. Kemkemchiut was the name of a considerable river. The country to which it gave its name was bounded on one side by Mongolistan, on another by the river Selenga, on the banks of which dwelt the Taijiut, on another side it bordered on the great river Angara, where ended the bounds of Abir u Sibir, and lastly, it touched the mountains where the Naimans dwelt. The land of Kemkemchiut contained a great number of towns and nomade tribes. All the kings of the country, whatever their name, bore the title of Inal.[30] The river Kemkemchiut of this notice is no doubt the Kham-kan-ho of Visdelou's notice as stated by Quatrèmere, the tributary of the Yenissei called the Kemchik, which is called Khem in D'Anville's map, and Ulu Kem, *i. e.* the Great Kem, in Pallas's map. A place at the outfall of the Kemchik into the Yenissei is still called *Kem-kem-chek Bom*, Bom merely meaning the cliff of a high mountain overhanging a river.[31] In another of his works Klaproth says the pillars marking the frontier between the Russian and Manchu empires were placed at the place called Kem Kemchik Bom.[32] When the Russians first conquered Siberia, the Kirghiz were still living on the Upper Yenissei, the Iyus and the Abakan. In the year 1606 they acknowledged the Russian supremacy in conjunction with the Barabinski, and were at this time divided in allegiance between the Russians and the Kalmuks. Pressed by their neighbours they moved hence, and eventually, at the beginning of the 18th century, had altogether left Siberia. They are now found in the mountains of Chinese Turkestan and about lake Issikul, etc. and wander from the neighbourhood of Kashgar to the Upper Irtish, being among the most unsophisticated of the Turkish races. Traces of their occupancy are still found in their old country, thus a lake Kirgis is found south of the Altai and further away, a river which the Manchus call Chalikissabira.[33] To return to

[22] Palladius, note 498 to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi.*
[23] Kirghiz is made a son of Oghuz Khan by the Muhammadans.
[24] *i. e.* the Yenissei.
[25] De Guignes, tome II, p. lx; Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 233.
[26] *i. e.* the Uighurs.
[27] Quatrèmere, *op. cit.* p. 412, note.
[28] Id., p. 413.
[29] Bretschneider, *Notices of Med. Travellers*, p. 74.
[30] Quatrèmere's Rashidu'd-dîn, p. 411 note; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, etc., p. 246; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 103 note.
[31] Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, pp. 231 and 232.
[32] *Memoires relatifs a l'Asiie*, tome I, p. 21; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 104 note.
[33] Quatrèmere, *op. cit.*, p. 413, note; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, note 9.

our narrative. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says when Jochi the son of Chinghiz arrived among the Kirghiz, Yedi-inal and others yielded and presented him with a white falcon, a white net and black sables.[34] As we have seen the various authorities except the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* date the submission of the Kirghiz in the year 1207. The *Yuan-shi* tells us that in the spring of the next year Chinghiz Khân made another attack upon Si Hia or Tangut,[35] and when the extreme heat came on he retired to Lungting.[36] The *Huang-yuan* also mentions this, and in a note Palladius tells us Lung-ting is a general phrase for the Khan's own country.[37] All the authorities except the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* now describe a campaign by Chinghiz against the two Chiefs, the Merkit Tokhtu and the Naiman Kushluk, who, we have seen, had fled to the river Irtish. That authority dates the campaign four years earlier, namely, in the year 1204. We shall as to this date side with the majority of the authorities, and turn to the details of the campaign itself. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that Chinghiz Khân having spent the winter at the Golden Hills, *i. e.* the Altai, set out the following spring over the Arai chain.[38] Meanwhile his two opponents had set their army in order at the very source of the Erdishi Bukhdurma, *i. e.* no doubt on the tributary of the Black Irtish still called the Bukhtarmi.[39] There a battle followed in which Tokhtu fell under Chinghiz Khân's arrows. His children being unable to carry off his body cut off his head and took it with them; his routed soldiers fled, and more than half of them were drowned in crossing the Irtish, the rest dispersed.[40] According to the *Yuan-shi* news reached Chinghiz that Tokhtu and Kushluk were preparing for war, while he was at his summer quarters in 1208, and when winter came on he marched against them. The Uïrats submitted to his advanced guard, and volunteered to guide the army. The enemy was found encamped on the Ardashi gol, *i. e.* the river Irtish. A great fight ensued in which Tokhtu the Merkit chief was killed.[41] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* says Tokhtu was killed by Chinghiz with his own hand. The *Huang-yuan* makes out that it was the Uïrat chief Khudukhua Beki who acted as the Mongols' guide on this occasion, having submitted to Chinghiz Khân's advance guard without fighting.[42] Rashidu'd-dîn adds nothing to this account. As a reward for Khudukhuabeki's submission Chinghiz Khân gave his daughter Checheigian in marriage to that chief's son Inalchi, while he gave another daughter named Alakhai to the chief of the Ongut.[43] The *Yuan-shi* says Alakhai's husband was Boiaokhi, the son of Alakhushidigitkhuri (*i. e.* the Ongut chief) who followed Chinghiz Khân in his Western expedition. She is said to have been wise and to have governed the empire during her father's absence, all reports being taken to her, and in another passage of the same work she is styled "the Ruler of the empire," but as Palladius says this seems to be a mistake. Chinghiz left his brother Ochegin as his vicegerent in Mongolia when he went westwards, and it is probable that Alakhai's authority was limited to her husband's own people the Ongut.[44] Rashidu'd-dîn calls Khudukhua's son abovenamed Turalji, and says Alakhai Beki was married to Jingui or Shengui the son of the Ongut chief,[45] who is no doubt to be identified with the Boaiokhi of the *Yuan-shi*. Rashid says that when Chinghiz offered his daughter to Alakush the latter said he was an old man, but that he had a nephew Shengui, the son of his brother, who had been Padishah whom he suggested as a more likely match for her. He sent for his nephew. When he reached the place called Kaiduk the amirs of his father and brother went to him, said Alakush intended to kill him, and bade him wait there till they went and killed his uncle. This having been done, Shengui went to the court of Chinghiz, and married his daughter Alakhai, who was younger than her brother Ogatai and older than Tulni. Rashid says this happened after Chinghiz's campaign in China.[46] The prowess and success of the great conqueror were having

[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 131.
[35] The French and our own writers write the name Si Hia, the Russians who adopt the Peking pronunciation call it Se Sia.
[36] Douglas, p. 56; Hyacinthe, p. 40.
[37] *Op. cit.*, p. 180 note 6.
[38] No doubt that part of the Altai separating the basins of lakes Kizilbash and Ikhe Aral.
[39] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 406 by Palladius.
[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 110.
[41] Douglas, pp. 56 and 57; Hyacinthe, pp. 40 and 41; Gaubil, p. 12.
[42] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.
[43] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* 132.
[44] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 501.
[45] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 445.
[46] Erdmann, pp. 242-243.

their natural result, and attracting to his banners princes who either had their own quarrels to revenge or had some good reason or other to place themselves under the ægis of a rising power. We now read that the chief of the famous race of the Uïghurs made his submission. The Uïghurs had a distinguished history. They once lived in Mongolia about Karakorum which seems to have been their capital, and the country in its neighbourhood was apparently known as Uïghur.[47] In the 9th century their power was broken by the Kirghiz, and they were forced to emigrate and moved to Bishbalik[48] in the Eastern Tienshan. The modern Urumtsi, which according to Bretschneider is a Kalmuk name and first appears in the Chinese annals in 1717, is probably situated on the site of their capital; another of their towns, namely Karakhojo, still retains the name it bore in the 13th century. The power of these Uïghurs was greatly curtailed after their migration, and like the Karluks they became subject in the early part of the 12th century to the empire of Kara Khitai, of which I shall have more to say presently. At the time we are now writing about, their chief was named Barjuk, or as the Chinese give his name in full, Ba-r-ju a-r-té di-gin, and like the other rulers of the Uïghurs, he was styled Idikut. We are told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that he sent Atgilakh and others as envoys to Chinghiz with these words. Having heard of your Glory, oh King, we were overjoyed, as if we had seen the sun rising when the clouds are dispersed on the water after the ice has melted. If I am worthy of your favour I would wish to be your fifth son, and to serve you zealously. Chinghiz answered,—Come, and I will give you my daughter, and make you my fifth son.[49]

In the text of the *Yuan-shi* we are merely told that in the spring of 1209 the Uïghur ruler submitted to Chinghiz,[50] but in the special biography of the Uïghur chief we read how when he heard that Chinghiz was contemplating an expedition against So-fang, (*i. e.* the Northern Regions of China,) he ordered the officers of the Khitans who were in his country to be slain and then sent to Chinghiz with his submission. The latter thereupon sent envoys to him, which greatly delighted him, and he sent another embassy to the Mongol chief with the answer following: "Your servant has heard of your Majesty. I hate the Khitai and for a long time I have entertained the desire to submit to your power. Now that the message of your Highness has reached me, I am happy to have an opportunity of accomplishing my desire, and I shall rejoice to hear that all nations have acknowledged your Majesty's supremacy."[51]

After Toktu the Merkit chief had been slain, his four sons fled with their father's head. Their names are given from the *Su-khung kian-lu* by Klaproth as Khodu, Chirawen,[52] Majar, and Tossagan.[53] The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* only names two of them whom it calls Khutu and Chilaun.[54] Of the other two Tossagan is doubtless the Tuseh of Rashidu'd-dîn. Majar I cannot identify with any of the six sons as given by the Persian historian.[55] Perhaps he is the Jiyukh of that author who tells us that Tuseh, Chilaun and Jiyukh fell in the fight with Chinghiz while Khudu was put to death when fleeing. Majar is named by Abulghazi.[56] I may say also that Khudu is elsewhere called the brother and not the son of Tokhtu.[57] To continue our story: we are told in the *Yuan-shi* that Ba-r-ju a-r-té di-gin attacked and killed the four brothers on the river Ts'an or Ch'er.[58] In the biography of Subutai in the same work the river is called Shen.[59] The *Huang-yuan* calls the envoys sent by Chinghiz to the Idikut, Anlienu and Nutabai. The Idikut was delighted and sent in return Begusi and Alinti mur (Alun Timur) to say—Our subject kingdom hearing of your famous name, O Emperor, discontinued its ancient alliance with the Khitan, and was on the point of sending envoys to express our sincere submission before thee, and to show our good will towards thee, when suddenly the great envoy honoured our subject kingdom. We were unspeakably glad as when the sunshine disperses the clouds or the rain when it melts

[47] Wei w'ur as the *Chuien* wrote it. Bretschneider, *Notices*, &c., p. 120.
[48] *i. e.* the five towns.
[49] *Op. cit.*, p. 131.
[50] Hyacinthe, p. 41; Douglas, p. 57.
[51] Bretschneider, *Notices*, etc., pp. 122 and 123.
[52] *i.e.* Chilaun.
[53] *Beleuchtung und Widerlegung der Forschungen. des herrn*, J. J. Schmidt, p. 47.
[54] *Op. cit.*, p. 131.
[55] See Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 187.
[56] *Op. cit.*, p. 92. [57] *Id.*, p. 312.
[58] Bretschneider, pp. 122-123.
[59] *Id.*, p. 39 note 64.

the snow. My subjects and I will be thy servants and children, and we will exhaust in thy service our hounds and horses.

The sons of Tokhtu, after their defeat on the Irtish, went southwards to try and escape to the Uïghur country. They sent messengers to the Idikut, who put them to death, and then fought with the Merkit princes on the river Tsan. The Idikut sent his officers Asilangianki, Bolodi gin, Inan Khaiya and Chanchi to inform Chinghiz of this battle, who was greatly pleased, and in turn sent Anlubuinyi and Darban to him. The Idikut thereupon sent him precious gifts and local products.[60] This account as usual is very like that given by Rashidu'd-dîn, who furnishes us however with one or two more details. According to him the deputy of the Karakhitai, who was killed by the Idikut, was called Shavagum or Shukem. Abulghazi calls him the darugha Shadkem, who had rendered himself odious by his exactions. He was put to death in the town of Kara-Khojo. The Idikut's first envoys who reported his revolt from the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai he calls Khatalmish Khia, Omar Ughul and Tatari. He tells us that the Merkit princes, who were defeated and killed by him, were Jilaun, Jiyukh and Khultukhun and Khudu the brother of Tokhtu, the envoy whom these princes sent on to the Idikut to ask his aid, after their defeat on the Irtish he calls Turgan. After killing the latter Rashidu'd-dîn makes the Uïghur chief attack them on the Jem Muran. He calls the envoys of Chinghiz, Alp Utug and Durbai, the ambassadors sent by the Idikut in return he calls Bugush Ais Aighuji and Alain Timur Khutukh. The message they conveyed is reported by him almost exactly as in the *Huang-yuan*. Erdmann seems in some way to have misunderstood his text, for he tells us that when these envoys went from the Idikut, others, namely, Arslan Uga, Bulad Tegin, Jarukh Uga, and Inal Kia Sungji were despatched by the sons of Tokhtu with their submission.[61] There can be no doubt that the statement in the *Yuan-shi* that Tokhtu's four sons were killed by the Idikut is a mistake, as to two of them at least, the mention of the river Shen or Tsan at this time seems also to be a mistake. The fact is that finding they were not welcome among the Uïghurs the Merkit leaders fled westwards. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says Khudu and Chilaun went to the Kanlis and Kincha,[62] *i.e.* the Kankalis and Kipchaks, that is to the country west of lake Balkhash, where we shall hear of them again. I may add that Rashidu'd-dîn explains *idikut* as meaning Lord of the country.[63] Abulghazi says it means happy, rich, powerful (*devlet-lik.*)[64] According to the *Yuan-shi* the same year in which the Uïghur chief sent in his submission, *i.e.*, in 1209, Chinghiz marched once more against Hia or Tangut. Ling an tsuen (called Legan by Douglas), the ruler of Hia, sent his son Chuin to oppose him, but he was defeated, and the Tangutan General Kao ling kong was made prisoner. The Mongols then captured Uriankhai (the Wuleanghai pass through the great wall of Douglas and the U la hai of De Mailla). There the Imperial tutor Sebe or Sepeshe (De Mailla calls him Sipi sse) was made prisoner. They then fell upon and took the fortress of Imin or Emun, (*i.e.* the Barbarian's gate). There Wei ming ling kong was made prisoner. The Mongols now crossed the Yellow river and laid siege to Chun Sing, now called Ning hia, the capital of Tangut, and probably the Calatia of Marco Polo already named. Finding the place too strong to take by assault, Chinghiz tried to turn the waters of the river into the town, but the artificial banks he had made for the purpose burst and flooded his own camp. Hyacinthe makes the Tangutans break the dykes, which obliged him to raise the siege. He thereupon sent an envoy into the town to offer terms. These were accepted, and the king agreed to give one of his daughters in marriage to the Mongol chief.[65] In the *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* we are told that in this campaign Chinghiz Khân forced several posts near the great wall west of Ninghia, took the town of Ling-chau,[66] and was determined to attack the capital of Hia, when the king Ligantsuen submitted and gave him a princess in marriage, whereupon the Mongols made

[60] *Op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.

[61] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, pp. 312-314; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 109-110; Abulghazi, pp. 93 and 94.

[62] *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

[63] D'Ohsson, vol. I., p. 438.

[64] *Op. cit.* ed. Desmaisons, p. 94.

[65] Douglas, p. 58; Hyacinthe, pp. 41 and 42; De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 42 and 43; D'Ohsson vol. II, pp. 105 and 106, notes.

[66] In M. Biot's *Dictionary of Chinese Names* this is named as an arrondissement to the south-east of Ning hia. *Op. cit.* p. 109.

peace with him, and withdrew.[67] In the *Huang-yuan* this campaign is dated in the autumn of 1210, and the only town named as captured by the Mongols is called Bei-van-miao. The ruler of Hia is called Shidurkhu.[68] This is the name by which he is known to Western writers, and taken together with the habitual correspondence in details between the *Huang-yuan* and Rashid's narrative makes it not improbable that the former is a translation of or derived from the narrative of the great Persian historian. Rashid adds nothing to these accounts. He calls the captured town Erica, otherwise read Erlaka and Arlekhi,[69] *i.e.* the Uiraka previously named. On his return from this campaign Chinghiz Khân was met at his camp by the Idikut of the Uïghurs and the chief of the Karluks. It seems that he had not been contented with the submissive attitude of the former, but had sent him a yarligh or order to go to him in person with a present of some rare object from his Treasury.[70] The *Yuan-cha'o-pi-shi* states that he took with him gold and silver and precious stones and rich stuffs, and went to do homage to Chinghiz, who gave him his daughter Alchaltun in marriage.[71] The *Yuan-shi* tells us that Chinghiz was encamped on the river K'ie-lu-lien, *i.e.* the Kerulon, in the spring of 1211, when the Idikut arrived at his camp, and requested permission to present some horses and dogs to his sons. Chinghiz was pleased with him, and gave him his daughter, Ye-li-andun, and received him as a son.[72] Rashidu'd-dîn calls this princess Altun-bigui.[73] It seems she was only betrothed and died before the marriage could be consummated.[74] In another place Erdmann, apparently on the authority of Rashidu'd-dîn, makes Altalun or Altalukhan, as he also calls her, marry Javer Sajan, the son of Thaiju Gurkan, the chief of Olkhonud, who was the brother of Chinghiz Khân's mother.[75] Nor is the Idikut named as the wife of any of his daughters in the tabulated account of Chinghiz Khân's family given by Rashidu'd-dîn,[76] but there seems to be some confusion in the MSS. of Rashid about the marriage of Altalun.[77] The princess who married the Idikut was perhaps one of his natural daughters, or perhaps again merely a princess of his house. The Idikut's descendants reigned for a long time over the Uïghurs as subordinates to the Mongol Khakans and to the rulers of the Chagatai ulus. When the Idikut of the Uïghurs went to Chinghiz Khan's camp to pay his devotions in person, there also went another feudatory of the ruler of Karakhitai, namely, Arslan Khân of the Karluks. The Karluks were the Western neighbours of the Uïghurs of Bishbalik. Their name, according to Rashid-u'd-dîn, means in Turkish "inhabitants of the snow,"[78] and they doubtless derived it from living in the mountain district of the western Tian shan. They filled a notable role in Asiatic history in the 10th and 11th century, and were then doubtless the most powerful community in Central Asia. They are generally referred to by the Chinese writers as the Lion Hoei-hu, *i.e.* the Lion Uïghurs. This points to their having been a section of the Uïghurs, a view confirmed by the name they bear in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, where they are called Veiu Kharlu, *i. e.* the Uïghur Karluks.[79] Rashidu'd-dîn also expressly calls them a branch of the Uïghurs.[80] Their conversion to Muhammedanism in the beginning of the 10th century created a marked distinction between them and their Eastern neighbours the Uïghurs properly so called, who remained Buddhists. Their chiefs occur frequently in the history of the 10th century as invading Mavera-un-nehr, their dynasty being sometimes known as that of the Khâns of Turkestan. Gregorief referred to them as the Kara Khanids from Kara Khân who was the first of them to be converted to Muhammedanism. He also identified the Kara Khanids and their subjects with the Karluks of the days of Chinghiz Khân. The Karluks apparently dominated over Kashgar and the surrounding country and also over Almalik and Kaialik and the country about lake Issikul, being feudally subject to the Chief of Kara Khitai. They had their capital, according to Rashidu'd-dîn, at Almalik. At the time we

[67] Gaubil, pp. 12 and 13. [68] *Op. cit.*, p. 182.
[69] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 106 and 107, notes; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, note 195.
[70] Erdmann, p. 314.
[71] *Op. cit.*, p. 131.
[72] Bretschneider, *Notices*, etc. p. 123; Hyacinthe, p. 45; Douglas, p. 60; DeMailla, tome. IX, p. 44.
[73] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 111; Erdmann, p. 315.
[74] Bretschneider, p. 131.
[75] *Temudschin*, etc. p. 445.
[76] See Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 445.
[77] See Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 201 note; Berezine, vol. I, p. 153 and side 312.
[78] Bretschneider, *Notices*, etc., p. 145.
[79] *Op. cit.*, p. 110 and note 407.
[80] Erdmann, p. 246.

are writing about their Chief was called Arslan.[81]

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Chinghiz Khân ordered Khubilai[82] to wage war against the Kharluut. Thereupon their Chief submitted and went in person to him. He gave him a daughter in marriage.[83] The *Yuan-shi* tells us merely that A-si-lan, Chief of the Ha-la-lu, submitted with all his followers. He was made a prince in possession (*tsiun van*), and was entrusted with the government of his people.[84] The *Huang-yuan* agrees with the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that this submission took place after Chinghiz Khân had sent Khubilai Noyan against the Karluks.[85] In this Rashidu'd-dîn also agrees, adding that Khubilai belonged to the tribe of the Berulas. He adds that Chinghiz gave Arslan a princess of his house in marriage and also the title of Sart,[86] "that is," says Rashid, "the Tajik," for, said the Mongol Chief, "we cannot give him the title of Khân."[87] Sartol was the name applied by the Mongols to the Muhammadans. They are always so called in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*.[88] Ssanang Setzen uses the form Sartaghol in a similar way, thus he applies it to the empire of the Khuarezm Shahs which he also calls "the five districts of the Sara Sartaghol." He also calls Chagatai the Khan of Sartaghol.[89] Ssanang Setzen has an account of the subjection of the Karluks which is quite at issue with the other notices, he says Arslan Khakan of the Kharligod was a very haughty man and a great boaster. He is said to have remarked—They say of this Chief and Bogda called Temujin that he has vanquished people here and there, and subdued them, but he has not ventured to come against me. "A hero is born in a house, but dies in a field," says the proverb. Chinghiz marched against Arslan in the Ga mouse year, *i. e.*, 1204. A battle ensued at Sara Kegul (? corruption of Issikul). Mukhuli Noyan of the Jelairs, Siki Khütuk of the Tartars, Chambar Darkhan of the Sultes (*i. e.* Suldus), Setzen Beki who commanded 10,000 of the Khorlas or Kurulas and Jamuka of the Wajirad (*i. e.* Chamukha of the Jajirad) led the Mongol army. Arslan was killed and his people subdued.[90] It would be curious to know whence Ssanang Setzen derived this account. As we have seen, one of the chief towns of the Karluks was probably Kayalik. Kayalik, as Colonel Yule and others have urged, was situated not far from the modern Kopal, and it is curious to find that in a kurgan or tumulus at Kopal a Tartar in 1857 found a gold ring and some precious stones, the ring bore the inscription Arslan.[91]

I ought to add that although the authorities state that Arslan married Chinghiz Khân's daughter I cannot avoid thinking that it was rather some princess of his house, or perhaps one of his natural daughters. He is certainly not named as the husband of any of the five daughters Chinghiz Khân had by his wife Burte Fujin.[92] The *Yuan-shi* in chapter CIX. containing a table of the princesses says Arslan married a Mongol princess.[93] It is possible that he has been confused with his grandson Arslan who did marry a daughter of Juchi, Chinghiz Khân's eldest son.[94]

[81] Erdmann, *Vollstaendige Uebersicht*, etc. p. 70; *Temudschin*, etc. p. 246.

[82] That is Khubilai Noyan mentioned on a previous occasion.

[83] *Op. cit.*, pp. 130 and 131.

[84] *Id.* note 490 by Palladius; Douglas. p: 60; Hyacinthe, p. 45.

[85] *Op cit.*, p. 182.

[86] Not Seriaki as D'Ohsson has misread the word.

[87] Bretschneider, *op. cit.* pp. 145 and 146; D'Ohsson, vol. I., pp. 217 and 218, note.

[88] Bretschneider, *op. cit.* note 275.

[89] *Op. cit.*, pp. 85, 87 and 111.

[90] *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

[91] *Trans. of the Russian Geog. Soc.* 1867, vol. I, p. 290; Bretschneider, *Notices*, etc. p. 145 note.

[92] See Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 445.

[93] Bretschneider, p. 145 note 272.

[94] *Temudschin*, p. 246.

FOLKLORE FROM KASHMÎR.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p. 261.*)

No. 5.—Folk-Tale.

Fatteh Khân, the Valiant Weaver.[1]

Once upon a time there lived a little weaver, with a big head and thin legs, by name Fatteh Khân: but because he was so small and weak and ridiculous, the people called him Fattu, little Fattu the weaver.[2]

But for all his small size Fattu was brave,

[1] Told by a Muhammadan at Sopûr whose great-grand-father, grand-father and father had been *mullahs*.

Compare with the common English story of "The Valiant Little Tailor," in which the hero kills seven flies at one blow.—F. A. S.

[2] In common practice every *full* Hindu and Musalman name has two diminutives ending in *â* and *u*. Persons of no social standing, but of respectability, are addressed by the one ending in *â*, the poor and insignificant by that in *u*, *e.g.* Shiv Râm or Shiv Dyâl or Shiv

very brave, and would talk for hours of the heroic acts he would have done if Fate had only given him opportunity. Fate however was not kind, and so Fattu remained little Fattu the weaver, laughed at by all for his boasting.

Now one day as Fattu was weaving cloth a musquito settled on his left hand just as he was throwing the shuttle with his right hand. By chance the shuttle sliding swiftly through the warp came into his hand just where the musquito had settled and squashed it. At this Fattu became desperately excited. "That is what I always said," exclaimed he, "if I only had the chance I'd show my mettle. Now, how many people could have done that, I'd like to know? Killing a musquito is easy and throwing a shuttle is easy, but to do both at one time is a very different affair. It is easy to shoot a man, oh very easy: he is a good mark, something to see: besides bows and cross-bows are made for shooting, but to shoot a *musquito* with a *shuttle* is quite a different pair of boots."

The more he thought about it the more elated he became over his own skill and bravery, till he came to the conclusion that he would no longer be called Fattu. Now that he had shown his spirit he would be called in full Fatteh Khân: Fatteh Khân and nothing else.

When he announced this determination to the neighbours they laughed loudly, and though some did call him Fatteh Khân, it was with such sniggling and giggling and sly jesting that he went home in a rage. But he found his wife worse than his friends, for she, tired of her little husband's whims, sharply bid him hold his tongue and not make a fool of himself. On this, beside himself with pride and mortification, he seized her by the hair and beat her unmercifully, and then resolving to stay no longer where he was so slighted, he bid her make him some bread for his journey, and set about packing his bundle. "I will go into the world," said he to himself. "The man who can shoot a musquito with a shuttle ought not to hide his light under a bushel." So off he set with his bundle, his shuttle, and a huge loaf of bread tied up in a kerchief.

Now as he journeyed he came to a city where a dreadful elephant came daily to make a meal of some of the inhabitants. Many mighty warriors had gone out against it, but none had returned. Hearing this the valiant little man said to himself—"Now is my chance: to a man who has killed a musquito with one blow of a shuttle, an elephant is mere child's play."

So he went to the king, and announced that he was ready single-handed to slay the elephant. The king naturally thought he was mad, but when he persisted in his offer, he told him he was free to try his luck.

So at the hour when the elephant usually appeared Fatteh Khân went out to meet it armed with his shuttle. "It is a weapon I understand," said he valiantly to those who urged him to take a spear or a bow, "and it has done work in its time, I assure you."

It was a fine sight to see Fattu strutting out to kill the elephant, whilst the townspeople gathered in crowds on the walls: but alas for the valiant little weaver! No sooner did he see the elephant charging down on him, than all his courage oozed away. He forgot he was Fatteh Khân, dropped his bundle, his bread and his shuttle, and bolted away as hard as Fattu's little legs could carry him.

Now it so happened that Fattu's wife had made the bread sweet and had put spices into it, as she wanted to hide the taste of the poison she had used with it: for she was a wicked revengeful woman, and wished to get rid of her tiresome whimsical little husband.

The elephant as he charged past smelt the spices, and catching up the bread with his trunk gobbled it down without stopping a moment. Poor Fattu scuttled away ever so fast, but the elephant soon overtook him. Then the little weaver in sheer desperation tried to double, and in doing so ran full tilt against the great beast. As luck would have it, just at that

Nârâyan become Shibbâ and Shibbu: Fatteh Râm or Fatteh Khân = Fattâ and Fattu. Muhamdâ and Muhamdu = Muhammad Bakhsh or Khân; Wazîrâ and Wazîru = Wazîr 'Ali or Wazîr Khân: Nihâlâ and Nihâlu = Nihâl Chand, and so on. Persons also rising in life from very small beginnings assume the more honorific or full name as their prosperity increases in a way that often excites the amusement of their neighbours. No one can be long in a Panjâb District without being personally acquainted with such changes of name. The natives have a proverb about them:—

Is daulat ke tîn nâm:
Parsu, Parsâ, Paras Râm.

According to his wealth he has three names;
Parsu, Parsâ, Paras Râm.—R. C. T.

moment the poison took effect, and the elephant fell to the ground dead.

Now when the spectators who thronged the city walls saw the monster fall, they could scarcely believe their eyes, but they were more astonished still when they ran up and found little Fattu sitting quietly on the elephant's dead body, and mopping his face with his handkerchief—"I just gave him a push," said he modestly, "and he fell down. Elephants are big brutes, but they have no strength to speak of."

The good folk were amazed at the light way in which Fattu spoke, and as they had been too far off to see distinctly what had happened, they believed what he said, and went and told the king that the little weaver was a fearful wee man, and just knocked the elephant over like a ninepin. Then the king said to himself "None of my warriors and wrestlers, no, not even the heroes[3] of old could have done this. I must secure this little man for my service." So he asked Fatteh Khân why he was wandering about the world.

"For pleasure, or for service, or for conquest," answered the little man, laying such stress on the last word, and looking so fierce that the king in a great hurry made him Commander-in-Chief of his whole army, for fear he should take service elsewhere.

Now some time after this a terribly savage tiger came ravaging the country. No one could kill it, and at last the city folk petitioned the king to send Fatteh Khân out against it. So Fatteh Khân went out in armour with sword and shield and ever so many cavalry and infantry behind him, for he was Commander-in-Chief now, and had quite forgotten all about weaving-looms and shuttles. But before he went he made the king promise that as a reward he would give him his daughter in marriage.

Fattu went out as gay as a lark, for he said to himself—"If I knocked over the elephant with one blow, the tiger won't have a chance against me. I really am invincible." But alas for the valiant little weaver! No sooner did he see the tiger lashing its tail and charging down on him than he bolted away as hard as he could for the nearest tree and scrambled into the branches. There he sat like a monkey, while the tiger glowered at him from below. Now when the army saw their Commander-in-Chief bolt like a rabbit, they bolted away too, and came and told the king how the little hero had fled up a tree and was there still, while the tiger kept watch below. "There let him stay," said the king, secretly relieved.

All this time Fattu sat cowering in the tree while the tiger below sharpened his teeth and curled his whiskers and lashed his tail, and looked so fierce that Fattu very nearly tumbled down with fright at the sight. So one day, two days, three days, six days, seven days past: on the seventh the tiger was fiercer and more hungry than ever. As for poor little Fattu, he was nearly starving, and so hungry that hunger made him brave, and he determined to try and slip past while the tiger took his midday snooze. So he crept stealthily down till his foot was within a yard of the ground, when suddenly the tiger jumped up with a roar. Fattu shrieked with fear, and, making a tremendous effort, swung himself into a branch, and cocked his legs over it to keep them out of reach, for the tiger's red panting mouth and white gleaming teeth were within half an inch of his toes. In doing so his dagger tumbled out of its sheath and fell right into the tiger's mouth which was wide open, went down its throat and into its stomach, so that it died. Fattu could scarcely believe his good luck, but after prodding the body with a branch, and finding it didn't move, he thought it really must be dead and ventured down. Then he cut off the head, wrapped it up in a kerchief, and went straight to the king.

"You and your army are all a nice lot of cowards," said he wrathfully. "Here have I been fighting that tiger for seven days and seven nights without bite or sup, while you've been snoozing at home. However, I forgive you: one can't expect every one to be brave." So Fatteh Khân married the king's daughter and was a greater hero than ever.

Now, after a time a neighbouring prince, who bore a grudge against the king, came with a huge army, and encamped outside the city, swearing to put every man, woman and child within it to the sword.

Hearing this all the inhabitants cried out,

[3] *Pahlwâns*, the word used is Persian—*bîr* or *jodhâ* would be the word one would expect.—R. C. T.

with one accord, "Fatteh Khân, Fatteh Khân, to the rescue!" So the king ordered Fatteh Khân to destroy the invading army, promising him half the kingdom as a reward.

Now Fatteh Khân with all his boasting was not a fool, and he said to himself "This is altogether a different affair. A man may kill a musquito, an elephant, and a tiger, and yet be killed by another man. What is one against a thousand? Under the circumstances I'd rather be Fattu the weaver than Fatteh Khân the hero."

So in the night he bid his wife rise, pack up her golden dishes, and follow him. "I've plenty of golden dishes at home," said he, "but these you have we'll want for the journey." Then he crept outside the city followed by his wife with the bundle, and began to steal through the enemy's camp.

Just as they were in the middle a cockchafer flew into Fattu's face. "Run, run," cried he to his wife in a terrible fright, and set off as hard as he could, never stopping till he had reached his room and bolted the door. The poor woman set off to run too, dropping her bundle of golden dishes with a clang. This roused the enemy, who, fancying they were attacked, flew to arms, but being half asleep and the night being pitch-dark, they could not distinguish friend from foe, and fell on each other with such fierceness that before morning there was not one left alive.

Great were the rejoicings at Fatteh Khân's victory, as the reward of which he received half the kingdom.

After this he refused to fight any more, saying truly "that kings did not fight for themselves, but paid others to fight for them." So he lived in peace, and when he died every one said that he was the greatest hero that had ever lived.

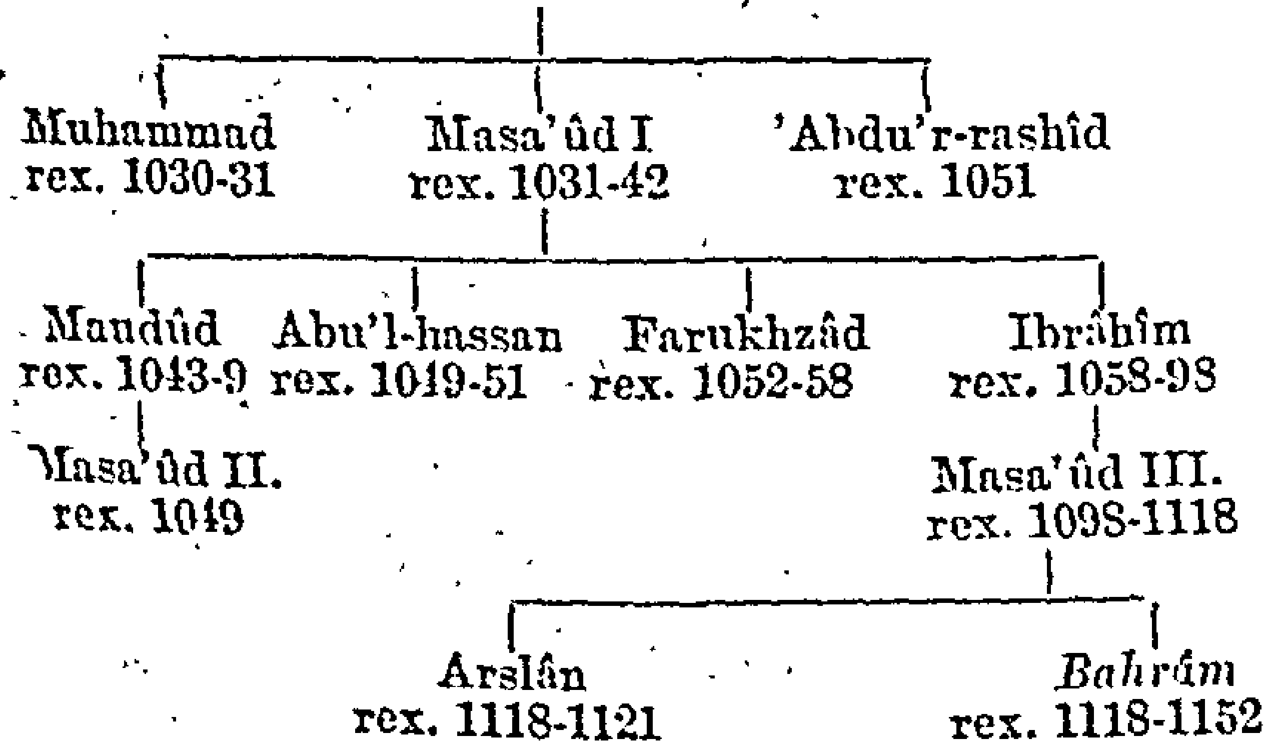
NO. 6.—FOLKTALE.

Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor and the Fairy Shâhpasand.

Once on a time there lived a king, who had one son, the Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor,[1] as beautiful as the sun. One day the Prince went out shooting, and hunted to the north and the south and the east, but found no game. Then he hunted towards the west, and suddenly out of a thicket flashed a golden deer. Gold were its hoofs and horns and legs, and gold its body. The Prince, astonished at the sight, bade his retainers form a large circle, and so gradually enclose the beautiful strange creature, saying—"Remember, I hold him accountable for its escape or capture towards whom the beast may run."

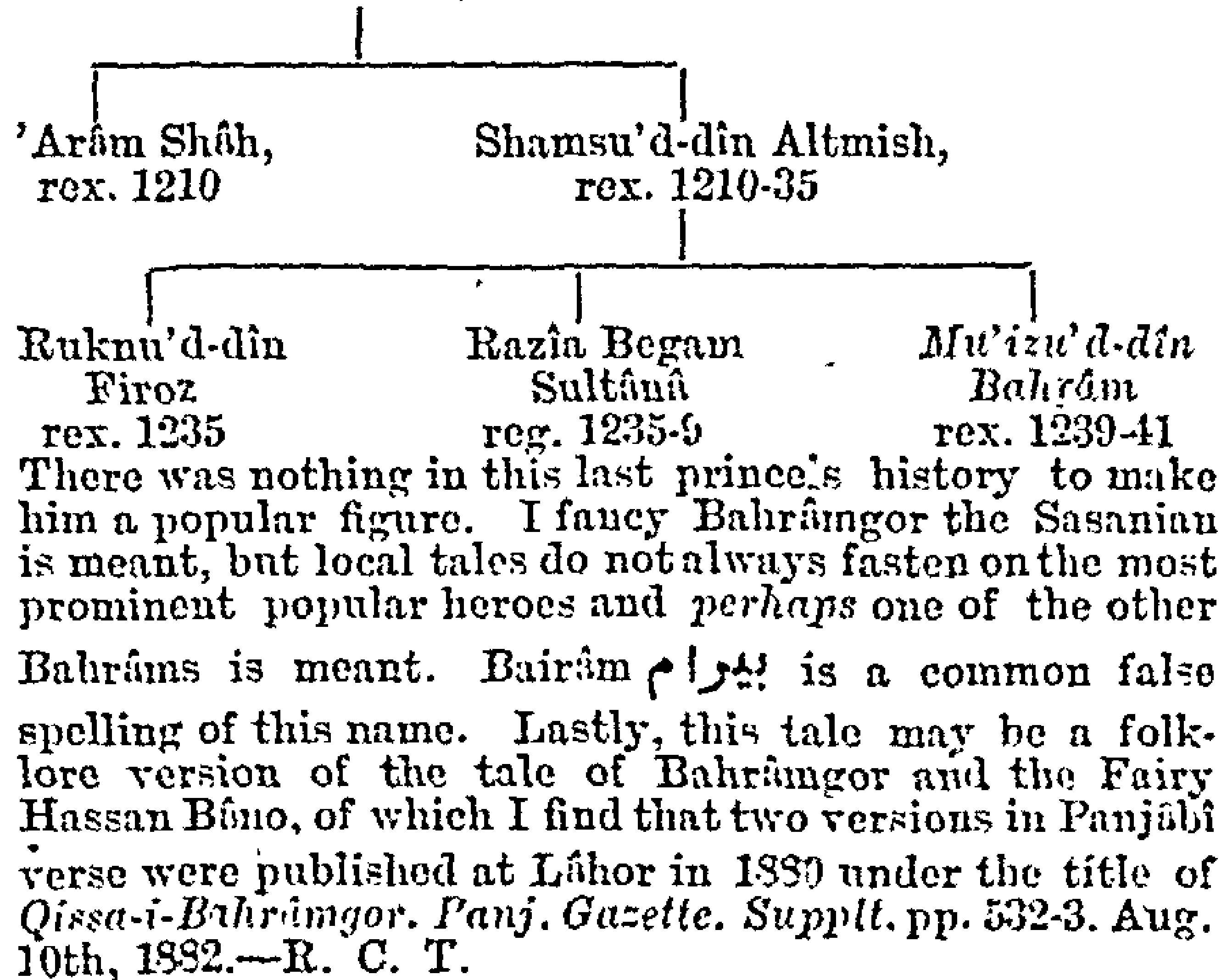
Closer and closer drew the circle, when

[1] I give the name as it came to me; it should, however, probably be Bahrâm Gor, in which case the tale should be referred to the celebrated Sasanian monarch Bahrâmgor, the hunter of the wild-ass (*gor*). Bahrâm is the Greek Varanes. The name Bahrâm-i-Ghor would, however, point to an Indian, or, rather Pathân origin. In India there have been three prominent Bahrâms. First and greatest Akbar's uncle and general Bahrâm Khân Turkmân, the Khân Khânân, who spent part of his time in the Himâlayas after his defeat by Akbar at Mâchiwârâ in 1559, and before the reconciliation in 1560. He would hardly, however, ever have been called "Bahrâm of Ghor." Next there was the Ghaznavide Bahrâm of Lâhor, (A.D. 1118-1152) set up by the Seljuks in opposition to Arslân and finally defeated, in revenge for his murder of Saifu'd-dîn Ghorî, by Alâu'd-dîn Ghorî, who then finally destroyed Ghaznî. He died of a broken heart *en route* to India in 1152. His pedigree is as follows:—



His son Khusrû succeeded him and reigned 8 years, and in 1160 was succeeded by Khusrû Malik, the last Ghaznavide king, who was, in 1185, deposed and driven from his throne by Muhammad Ghorî for Ghyâsu'd-dîn Ghorî. This Bahrâm may possibly have gone down to popular legend as Bahrâm of Ghor. Thirdly, there was in almost the next generation Mu'izu'd-dîn Bahrâm, slave-king of Dehli from A.D. 1239 to 1241. He was connected with Ghor thus by descent.

Kutbu'd-dîn Aibak, first slave-king A.D. 1206-10, slave to Muhammad Ghorî, and established by his successor Mahmûd Ghorî at Lâhor.



There was nothing in this last prince's history to make him a popular figure. I fancy Bahrâmgor the Sasanian is meant, but local tales do not always fasten on the most prominent popular heroes and *perhaps* one of the other Bahrâms is meant. Bairâm بیرام is a common false spelling of this name. Lastly, this tale may be a folklore version of the tale of Bahrâmgor and the Fairy Hassan Bâno, of which I find that two versions in Panjâbî verse were published at Lâhor in 1880 under the title of *Qissa-i-Bahrâmgor. Panj. Gazette. Suppl.* pp. 532-3. Aug. 10th, 1882.—R. C. T.

suddenly the deer fled towards where the Prince stood, and he, pursuing it, caught it by one golden horn. Then the creature found human voice, and cried "Let me go, O Prince! and I will give you treasures."

But the Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor laughed, saying, "I have gold and jewels enough, but I have no golden deer."

"Aye," returned the deer, "but I will give you more than gold and riches."

"What is that?" laughed the Prince. "Many things;" pleaded the deer, "for one thing I will give you such a ride as mortal man before never had."

"Done," said the gay Prince, and vaulted on the golden deer's back. Then, like a bird from a thicket, the golden deer rose through the air, and for seven days and seven nights it carried the Prince over all the world, over the hills and above the rivers and fields and towers.[2] On the seventh day it touched the earth again, and instantly vanished from sight.

Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor rubbed his eyes. He had never seen such a strange country before, everything was new and unfamiliar. He wandered about looking for the trace of a house or footstep, when out of the ground popped a wee old man.

"How did you come here, my son?" asked he politely.

Then Bahrâm-i-Ghor told him of the golden deer and of his ride, and how he was now quite lost and bewildered and knew not what road to take. Then the little old man said, "Do not fear; this, it is true, is demon-land,[3] but no one will hurt you while I am by, for I am the demon[4] Jasdrûl,[5] whose life you saved in the shape of the golden deer."

Then the demon Jasdrûl took Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor to his house and gave him a hundred keys, saying,—"These are the keys of my hundred palaces and gardens. Amuse yourself by looking at them. Mayhap you may find something worth having."

So, to amuse himself, Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor opened one garden and palace every day, and in one he found gold and in another silver, in a third jewels, in a fourth rich stuffs, and so on through everything the heart could desire till he came to the hundredth palace.

When he opened the door of the garden which was surrounded by a high wall, he saw a miserable hovel full of poisonous things, herbs and stones and snakes and insects. So he shut the hovel door sharp, and turned to look at the garden. It was seven miles square, seven miles this way and that way and every way, and full of fruit trees, flowers, fountains, summer houses and streams.

He wandered seven miles this way and seven that, till he was so tired, that he lay down in a marble summer-house to rest on a golden bed spread with shawls, which he found there. Now while he slept the Princess Shâhpasand,[6] the fairy, came to take the air, fairy-like in the shape of a pigeon, and came flying over the garden and caught sight of the sleeping Prince. He looked so handsome and beautiful and splendid that she sank to the earth at once, resuming her natural shape, as fairies always do when they touch the earth, and gave the Prince a kiss.

He woke up in a hurry, when the Princess Shâhpasand kneeling gracefully before him said, "Dear Prince! I have been looking for you everywhere."

The Prince no sooner set eyes on Princess Shâhpasand than he fell desperately in love with her, so that they agreed to get married without delay. But the Prince was doubtful as to what the demon Jasdrûl might say, and he felt bound to ask his consent. This to the Prince's surprise and delight he gave readily, rubbing his hands with glee, and saying,—"I thought you would find her somehow. Now you will be happy. Remain here, and never think of going back to your own country any more."

So the Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor and the fairy,

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[2] Cf. The Arabian Nights' tale of the enchanted horse. Several similar tales of deer exist in the Panjâb and India. There is one in the *Bâgh-o-Bahâr*.—R. C. T.

[3] *Deostân*, demon-land in Persian: *Dewasthân*, land of gods, or *Râkshasthân*, demon-land in Hindî.—R. C. T.

[4] *Demon*: The word throughout the tale is *deo* or *dev*, frequently before alluded to in these tales. Here they appear to be malicious spirits, something of the nature of *jinns*.—R. C. T.

[5] *Jasdrûl*.—This word is a puzzle and any derivation for it must be a guess. Some natives have given me, *Jastrau* jumping demon; *Jastrâu*, finding demon; *Jasadrau*, metal demon. All these appear to me to be fanciful. I offer the following as a solution: Râwal and Râul=Râo or Rai, chief, in proper names, *e.g.* Harjas Rai and Harjas Râwal. Rûl may here be for Rai; we then get the name Jasd or Jasad Râo or Rai. Now Jasrat Rai is a very popular hero in legends and tales (*vide* my Hindu Folksongs from the Panjâb, *J. A. S. B.* for 1882), and possibly Jasdrûl (or Jasad Rai) stands for Jasrat Rai. The latter name is a corruption of Daśaratha, the name of the father of Râma Chandra.—R. C. T.

[6] *Shâhpasand* means king's delight, and is probably merely a fancy name.—R. C. T.

Princess Shâhpasand, were married and lived ever so happily for ever so long a time.

At last, however, Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor began to think longingly of his home, his father the king, his mother the queen, his favourite horse and his hound. Then he began to speak of them every evening to the Princess, and sighed and sighed and sighed, till he grew quite pale.

Now the demon Jasdrûl used to sit every night in a little room below that of the Prince and Princess, and listen to what they said: when he heard the Prince talking of his own country he sighed too, for he was a kind-hearted demon and loved the Prince.

At last he asked the Prince one day why he was so pale and sighed so often. Then the Prince answered,—"Oh good demon! Let me go back to see my father and mother, my horse and my hound, for I am weary. Let me and the Princess go, or I will surely take poison and die."

The demon refused at first, but when the Prince persisted, he said,—"Be it so, but you will repent and come back to me. Take this hair. When you are in trouble burn it, and I will come to your assistance."

Then very regretfully the demon said good-bye, and instantly Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor and the Princess Shâhpasand found themselves outside his native town. But everything was changed; his father and mother were both dead and a usurper had seized the throne, and put a price on Bahrâm-i-Ghor's head should he ever return. Luckily no one recognized him, as he, too, had changed much, except an old huntsman. But even he would have nothing to do with the Prince, saying, "It is more than my life's worth."

At last when the Prince begged and prayed, the huntsman consented to let the Prince and Princess live in his house.

"My mother is blind, and will never see you," said he, "and you can help me to hunt as I used to help you before."

So the Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor and the Princess Shâhpasand went to live in the huntsman's house in a garret just under the wooden roof,[7] and no one knew they were there.

Now one day, when the Prince had gone out to hunt as servant to the huntsman, the Princess Shâhpasand washed her beautiful golden hair, which hung round her like a shower of gold-thread, and when she had washed it she combed it, setting the window a-jar to let the breeze come in and dry her hair.

Now just then the Kotwâl[8] of the town happened to pass by, and casting his eyes upwards saw the beautiful Princess Shâhpasand with her shower of golden hair. He was so overcome at the sight that he fell off his horse into the gutter. His servants picked him up, and took him back to the *Kotwâlî*, where he raved of the beautiful fairy in the huntsman's cottage. This set all the courtiers and officials wondering if he were not bewitched. At last it came to the King's ears, and he immediately sent down some soldiers to enquire.

"No one lives here," said the huntsman's old mother crossly, "no beautiful lady, nor ugly lady, nor any one at all but myself and my son. However, go to the garret, and see if you like."

Princess Shâhpasand hearing this bolted the door, and seizing a knife cut a hole in the wooden roof, and flew out in the shape of a pigeon. So when the soldiers burst open the door they found no one there. Only as the Princess flew past the blind old crone she called out loudly, "I go to my father's house in the Emerald Mountain."[9]

When the Prince returned, and found his beautiful Princess had fled, he was half distracted, but hearing the old woman's story of the mysterious voice, which said, "I go to my father's house in the Emerald Mountain," he became more tranquil. But, considering after a time that he had no notion where the Emerald Mountain was, he fell into a sad state. He cast himself on the ground, and sobbed and sighed. He refused to eat his dinner or to speak any word, but "O my dearest Princess! O my dearest Princess."

[7] This argues a double-storied house in the hills, or rather describes the ordinary hill village house consisting of a room and a loft under a sloping roof of shingles or slate according to the neighbourhood. A Shikârî's hut in the plains would be a flat-roofed mud hut of a single room.—R. C. T.

[8] *Kotwâl*, the chief police officer of a native city; always a person of high standing and authority. See former stories. *Kotwâlî*, the Kotwâl's Office, the city police station, a place held in great awe by all natives.—R. C. T.

[9] *Koh-i-Zamurrad*: but I do not know that any particular region is meant. There is a celebrated Green Mount in the Winter Palace at Pekin, the legendary fame of which may have reached Kashmîr. See Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 326-7-30.—R. C. T.

At last he remembered the demon Jasdrûl's hair, and instantly taking it out he threw it into the fire, and lo! there was his old friend, who asked him what he wanted.

"Show me the way to the Emerald Mountain," said the Prince, "that I may find my dearest Princess."

Then the demon shook his head, saying,—"You'll never reach the Emerald Mountain alive, my son, so be guided by me, and forget all that has passed."

The Prince answered, "I have but one life, and that is gone if I lose my dearest Princess. As I must die, let me die seeking her."

So the demon Jasdrûl very unwillingly carried the Prince back with him to demon-land, and giving him a magic wand, bade him travel over the country till he came to the demon Nânak Chand's[10] house.

"You will meet with many dangers on the way," said the kind-hearted demon, "but, as no one can harm you so long as you bear the wand, do not part with it day or night. More I cannot do for you, but Nânak Chand, who is my elder brother, will tell you further."

So Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor set out to travel through demon land, and met many dreadful things, but came to no harm because of the magic wand.

When he arrived at the demon Nânak Chand's house the latter had just awaked from his sleep, which according to the habit of demons had lasted twelve whole years,[11] and he was consequently desperately hungry. When he saw the young Prince his mouth watered, and he said to himself, "Here is a dainty morsel."

But on seeing the wand which the Prince carried he restrained his appetite, and asked politely what was wanted. Then the Prince told him the whole story, at which demon Nânak Chand shook his head, saying,—"You will never return from the Emerald Mountain alive, my son, so be guided by me and forget all that has passed."

But the Prince said, "I have but one life, and that is gone if I lose my dearest Princess. As I must die, let me die seeking her."

So demon Nânak Chand bid the Prince travel through demon-land till he came to the demon Safed's[12] house, saying—"Take this *surma* (antimony), and when in need, put it on your eyes. Then whatever you look at will be near or far as you desire it. More I cannot do for you, but the demon Safed, who is my elder brother, will tell you further."

The Prince accordingly journeyed on through many dangers and difficulties till he came to the house of the demon Safed, to whom he told his story, showing the *sûrma* and the magic wand. At this the demon Safed shook his head, saying,—"You will never return from the Emerald Mountain alive, my son, so be guided by me and forget what has passed."

Still the Prince answered as before, "I have but one life, and that is gone without my dearest Princess. As I must die, let me die seeking her."

Then the demon nodded his head, saying—"You are a brave youth, so take this *yech's*[13] cap. Whenever you put it on, you will be invisible. Then journey to the North, and by and bye you will see the Emerald Mountain. Then just put the *surma* on your eyes, for it is an enchanted hill, and the further you climb up it the higher it grows.[14] This *surma* makes what is near far and what is far near. Then

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[10] Like Jasdrûl this name Nânak Chand seems a hopeless puzzle. Nânak is the name of the founder of the Sikh Religion, and has several modern forms Nânkâ, Nankî, &c. This name Nânak is Hindî, and futile attempts at its derivation in the *Sikhis* are to be found. It is a name derived much after the manner of many other ordinary Hindû names from a familiar and common object, and signifies the moon (or delight) of the mother's family. It has no meaning in this connection. Perhaps Mânak Chand, a common Hindû name, is meant; but then who was Mânak Chand the demon? Monier Williams, *Sansk. Dict.*, gives Mânikya-Chandra as the name of a king of Tîra-bhukti, *i.e.* of Tirhût, but the fame of him would never reach to Kashmir. As regards the name Chand or Chandra found here I may remark that several of the Dânavas or Titans, who with the Daityas fought the gods, had this word compounded with their names, but I do not know that any of them was named Mânikya-Chandra or Mânak Chand.—R. C. T.

[11] Cf. former tales (vol. XI. p. 39) for instances of this twelve years' sleep and also for notes on this peculiar term of twelve years as applied to demons, jogis, and saints.—R. C. T.

[12] *Safed* 'white' comes oddly after such a thorough going Hindî name as Nânak Chand. If we take it to mean merely the "White Demon," it may be a modern rendering for *Dhauld*=Sansk, *dhavala*: White, which was, according to Monier Williams, one of the names of the *Dik-karins* or Elephants supporting the *eight quarters* of the world. The *Dik-karins* are constantly confounded with the *Dik-patis* (or *Dik-pâlas*) or gods of the quarters in modern mythology. The demoniacal nature of the *Dik-karins* is shown in the synonym *Din-nâga* for them. This demon Safed may therefore be the modern representative of the classical Dhavala, the Demon Elephant of the quarter.—R. C. T.

[13] For an explanation of the *Yech* or *Yâch* see *ante*, vol. XI, p. 260.—R. C. T.

[14] This is evidently an idea derived from the common phenomenon of ridge rising beyond ridge, each in turn deceiving the climber into the belief that he has reached the top.—F. A. S.

put on your invisible cap, enter the Emerald City, and find the Princess, if you can!"

Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor set out joyfully to the North, and when he saw the Emerald Mountain he rubbed the *surma* on his eyes, and lo! what he desired was near, and what he desired not was far. Then putting on the invisible cap, and entering the Emerald City, where houses, trees, dishes, furniture, pots and pans were all of emerald, he began to search for his dear Princess, but without success.

The fact is the Princess was locked up inside seven prisons, for her father, who doated on her, was determined she should never fly away again. When she had disappeared he had wept bitterly, but when she returned he was dreadfully angry with her for giving him such a fright, and when she told him how she was married he locked her up at once, saying, "If your husband comes to you, well and good, but you shall never go to him."

So inside seven prisons the poor Princess passed her days weeping and sighing. Now every day a woman servant brought the Princess her dinner in this manner. First she unlocked the outer door, and entered the outer prison, locking the door behind her. Then she unlocked the second door, and entered the second prison, locking the door behind her, and so on, till she came to the seventh prison, where the Princess Shâhpasand sat. Here she left the dinner, returning as she had come.

Now the Prince, who was roaming about the city in his invisible cap, poking into all sorts of holes and corners, noticed this woman servant every evening at the same hour with a tray of sweets on her head going in a certain direction. Being curious he followed her, and when she opened the outer door he slipped in behind her. She, of course, could not see him, so she went on through all the seven prisons, the Prince following close behind. When they reached the seventh prison and the Prince saw his dear Princess, he could hardly restrain himself from calling to her.

However, remembering he was invisible, he waited till the Princess began to eat, and while she ate he ate from the other side of the dish. The Princess at first could not believe her eyes when she saw the *pilâu* disappearing in handfuls, and thought she must be dreaming, but when more than half the dishful had gone, she called out—"Who eats in the same dish with me?"

Then Prince Bahrâm-i-Ghor just lifted the cap a wee bit from his forehead, so that he was not quite visible, but showed like a figure by dawn-light. The Princess immediately called him by name, but wept thinking he was a ghost. Then the Prince removed the *yech* cap entirely, and the Princess wept with joy. When the King of the Emerald Mountain heard how the Princess's husband had found his way through dangers and difficulties to his dear Princess, the old man was ever so much delighted, for he said, "Now that her husband has come to her, my daughter will never want to go to him."

So he made the Prince his heir, and they all lived happily ever after in the Emerald Kingdom.[15]

A PANJÂB LEGEND.

BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.

The Story of Lonân, wife of Śâlivâhana.

According to Panjâb legends the great Śâlivâhana, called locally Sahilwân or Sâlbâhan, the king of the Śâkas or Skythians and from whose accession is dated the Śâka era, A.D. 78, was Râjâ of Siâlkoṭ in the Northern Panjâb. He had three wives and two sons, which last are the great heroes of Panjâb stories. Their names were Râjâ Rasâlû, the hero and conqueror of the Râkshasas, and Pûran Bhagat, the saint. This Pûran Bhagat suffered, much after the manner of Joseph from Potiphar's wife, from the importunities of Lonân, his stepmother, who was the cause of all his woes, as related in many a legend. I cannot here go into the probabilities of the stories of Śâlivâhana,

[15] Told by Habîb, a Musalmân cooly, in Kashmîr. The tale is a favorite and well-known one. It is impossible to say whether it is of Hindû or Musalmân origin. It looks like a Hindû tale fastened on to Musalmân heroes. It may, however, have its origin in local versions of the tale of the Old Man of the Mountain and the Assassins. Widely varying legends regarding these were current in the middle ages both in Asia and Europe: *vide*, *The Romans of Bauduin de Sebourg*, in which, however, the Mountain is called the Red Mountain, where dwelt the lovely Ivorine. This tale and the stories about the Old Man of the Mountain have a certain family likeness which is worth observing. See Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. cxliv—li. and 132-40.—R. C. T.

Rasâlû and Pûran, but hope to do so when editing the series of legends called "The Adventures of Râjâ Rasâlû."[1] The unwritten tale I give here was picked up accidentally, and relates the birth of Lonâñ and how she came to be Śâlivâhana's wife. Her later doings are duly recorded in a lithographed poem in Panjâbî in the Persian character called "The Story of Pûran Bhagat."

The Story of Lonâñ.[2]

Some *madan*[3] escaped one day from a Ṛishi, and he knew that if it fell on the ground a man would be born from it, so he put it into a flower and threw the flower into a river in which a Chamelî[4] Râjpût princess was bathing. She took up the flower and smelt it, and so became pregnant. Ten months[5] afterwards a girl was born and the princess through fear hid her in a box and threw the box into the river. A Chammâr happened to be washing a skin by the river side, and saw the box floating by. In it he found a beautiful little girl,[6] and took her home, but being a Chammâr, he brought her up by hand on cow's milk, and when she was old enough he gave her a house to herself.

One day Râjâ Sâlbâhan got very thirsty out hunting, and happened on the Chammâr's house, who directed him to the girl's house for water as he could not give it himself owing to his low-caste. The girl sent out the water in a *loṭâ* covered over with a kerchief exquisitely worked by her own hand. The Râjâ wanted to know who had made so beautiful a kerchief, and the people said that the beautiful Hindu girl Lonâñ had made it. After this the Râjâ managed to see her and demanded her in marriage. But the Chammâr refused to give her up unless the Râjâ married her from his house? This the Râjâ agreed to, and took the girl away as Queen to his own palace.[7]

As regards the story of the miraculous birth from the *madan* the sweeper caste of the Panjâb (Chûhṛâ, Bhangî, Mehtar, Lâlbegî, etc.) tell the following extraordinary tale about the birth of Lâl Beg, their very obscure deity or object of worship.[8]

The Birth of Lâl Beg.

One day Śiva (Mahâdeo) got very drunk, and some *madan* escaped from him. Another god[9] assumed the form of a man, and took it in his hand and put some into Anjanâ's ears, and so Hanumân was born.[10] He then rubbed his hand on a red stone (*lâl baṭṭâ*) and Lâl Beg sprang forth. Then he rubbed it on a *sarkandâ* reed (*saccharum procerum*), whence came Sarkandnâth;[11] then on some cowdung (*gobar*), whence came Gobarnâth,[12] and lastly he washed his hands in a river where a fish swallowed some of the *madan* and brought forth Machhandarnâth.[13]

In a country like the Panjâb, intersected by enormous rivers, the disposal of inconvenient children by exposure on the river banks, or by floating them down stream, cannot be very uncommon, and I have no doubt that many legends of river waifs exist. This Lonâñ is made out to be a riverside foundling, and in the Panjâbî rescension of the very old Sindh story of Sassî and Punnûñ by Hâshim Shâh, in a well known poem, the heroine Sassî is made to be just such another waif.[14] Hâshim Shah's tale varies considerably from that told by the Sindh poets.

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[1] One of these tales is given as a note to "Folklore from Kashmir," No. 9.

[2] This name has the ordinary modern fem. termination, *e.g.*, Tulsâñ, Gulâbâñ, Totâñ, Kâlâñ, Himtâñ, etc. It would be quite legitimate, according to prevailing custom, to derive it from the existing word *lohnâ*, to trouble, make angry (= *roh* = *ros*, anger); or from *raun*, a marshy field by a river, which would make the name Raunâñ or Lonâñ mean the marsh or river foundling, for which sense see story. Scores of such names have been invented and exist in the Panjâb.

[3] *Madan*, properly the same as Kâma or Kâmdeo, the god of love and procreation, is used to mean the male procreating principle, *semen virile*. Mysterious birth from *madan*, as here, is not uncommonly ascribed by the lower orders to their heroes, saints or objects of worship.

[4] Doubtless for Chandelî Râjpût, for an account of whom see Elliot, *Races of the N. W. P.*, Beames's Ed. vol. I, pp. 71-76.

[5] Natives always reckon pregnancy as ten lunar months, *i. e.* 280 (properly 285) days.

[6] The *Pûran Bhagat* says that Lonâñ was a Chumyâr (Chammâr) by caste. This legend, *à la* the Hindus, was probably invented to give her a better descent.

[7] This ensured her being treated as a Rânî, because had the Râjâ taken her off and married her in his own palace she would have been a mere inferior wife or concubine.

[8] It is almost impossible, owing to the suspicions of the sweepers when their beliefs are enquired into, and to the absence of written records, to find out much about him. I begin to think for several reasons that the name should be Lâl Bhek (*bhikshu*) or the Red Monk.

[9] Parameśvar, but seemingly should be Vâyu.

[10] Hanumân was the son of Anjanâ by Vâyu.

[11] (?) Sikandar, but perhaps merely the god of the reed.

[12] (?) Gobardhan = Gaṇeśa from a false analogy. The same blunder has been made in Bengal.—*Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 141, vol. IX, p. 333.

[13] Perhaps the preceptor of Gorakhnâth.

[14] See my transliteration and description of this poem in the *Roman Urdu Journal*, vol. IV, No. 38, pp. 19-31; No. 39, pp. 34-43; No. 40, pp. 12-20.

The Story of Sassî.[15]

Âḍamjâm was king of the city of Bhambor,[16] and was great and good and generous. To him was born in the city of Bhambor a daughter Sassî, and he called the astrologers to foretell her fate. And these said "she will die in a lone and sandy desert and bring disgrace and shame to her father's house." Now although her father and her mother loved her much, nevertheless, when they heard she would bring shame on them, they made a plan to put her into a wooden chest, and throw her into the river, thinking thereby to rid themselves of the evil name in store for them. So having gotten a wooden chest, they put Sassî into it, and threw it into the river.

Now one Attâ, a washerman, was washing clothes by the river bank not far from the place where Sassî was thrown into the river. Seeing the chest floating down the river he jumped in, and brought out the chest with Sassî in it, and taking Sassî home to his own house he cherished her until she became of full age. And to him came the young washermen, and demanded her in marriage, whereupon he went to Sassî, and said "Choose whom you will," but she would have none of them, saying "I am a king's daughter." When they heard this the washermen went to Âḍamjâm the king, and told him that Attâ the washerman had a daughter worthy of marrying him. The king thereupon sent for Sassî, but when he saw what was written on the paper, which had been in the wooden chest, he was greatly ashamed, and sent Sassî back to her foster-father the washerman."[17]

The tale of Sassî and Punnûṅ has occupied a good deal of attention, and has been translated into verse as "Suswee and Punhoo" by Sir F. Goldsmid from the Sindh version. The name varies as Sassî and Punnûṅ, Saswî and Punhû and as Sassî and Pannûṅ. Punnûṅ was a Beloch prince, son of Ari (Hôt 'Ali according to Ḥâshim Shâh) king of Kech or Kecham in Makrân, which place has been variously identified as Kachh, Kîraj, Kich, and Kej.[18]

As the tale is of considerable importance and interest I give the following references regarding it. Burton, *Unhappy Valley*, vol. I, pp. 81–88; *Sindh*, pp. 57, 92, 106; Postans, *J. A. S. B.* vol. VII, (1838) pp. 93 ff.; and vol. XIV, (1845) pp. 75 ff.; Elliot, *Hist. of India*, vol. I, pp. 332-336, 329, 263, 390-391, 368; Hart-Davies, *Sind Ballads*, pp. 8, 25, 43.

ŚÂRIKÂ,—MAINÂ,—ΚΕΡΚΙΩΝ.

BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S. &c.

Liddell and Scott in their *Greek Lexicon*, (5th Ed., 1864,) *s. v.* κερκίων, ἡ. quoting Ælian, *De Animalium Naturâ*, xvi, 3, say that it is an unknown bird.

McCrindle, *Ancient India of Megasthenes and Arrian*, following Schwanbeck, at p. 160, (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 345) translates the passage from Ælian referred to by Liddell and Scott, as being copied from Megasthenes, thus: "There is found in India also another remarkable bird. This is of the size of a starling and is particoloured and is trained to utter the sounds of human speech. It is even more talkative than the parrot and of greater natural cleverness. So far is it from submitting with pleasure to be fed by man, that it rather has such a pining for freedom and such a longing to warble at will in the society of its mate that it prefers starvation to slavery with sumptuous fare. It is called by the Makedonians, who settled among the Indians in the city of Boukephala and its neighbourhood and in the city called Kuropolis, and others which Alexander the son of Philip built, the *kerkiôn*. This name had, I believe, its origin in the fact that the bird wags its tail in the same way as water ousels (οἱ κίγκλοι)."

Taking Boukephala to have been built on the banks of the Hydaspes or Jhîlam, its neighbourhood would be the present Râwal Pinḍî and Jhîlam Districts of the Panjâb. This talking bird then, which Anglo-Indians recognise at once as the *mainâ*, was called *kerkiôn*, or something that corresponded to it, about Râwal Piṇḍî and Jhîlam in Græco-Indian times.

[15] Sassî means the moon: Sansk. *Śaśin*. Hart-Davies, *Sind Ballads*, calls her Sâswî (Suswee), and following the Sindh poets derives the name as *Sañsâr meṅ suî*, "heard in the world or famous." This is of course sheer nonsense. See Elliot, *Hist. of India*, vol. I, p. 332.

[16] Bhambor is Bhâmbarâwâ, the old Greek Barbarike. The ruins are situated about 20 miles from the modern Tatta in Sind. Elliot, vol. I, p. 368. Hart-Davies, *Sind Ballads*, p. 25.

[17] See *Roman Urdu Journal*, vol. IV, No. 38, p. 22.

[18] Elliot, vol. I, 333, 390-1: Hart-Davies, p. 43; Baness, *Index Geographicus Indicus*, pp. 104, 178, 193.

Now the ordinary modern Panjâbî word for the common Mainâ (*acridetheres tristis*), or the Mainâ of the plains as distinguished from the Mainâ proper, or talking Mainâ of the hills (*gracula religiosa* or *musica*), is *shârak*, *sârak*, *sharak* or *sarak*.

Fallon, *New Hindustani Dictionary*, following the munshîs, (*s. v. shârak*), says it is Persian, and that the Hindî word is *sârak* and wrongly that the Sanskrit word is *shârikâ*. *S. v. mainâ* he gives *mainâ sârik* as the name of the ordinary or plains Mainâ. Johnson, *Persian and Arabic Dictionary*, *s. v. shârak*, says it means "a species of talking bird (? *mainâ*), a grackle,[1] a nightingale." But I altogether doubt if the Panjâbî and Hindî *sârak*, *shârak* or *sârik* is of Persian origin, as we have in Sanskrit, *śâri*, *śârî*, *śârikâ*, *śalâkâ*, *sârikâ* and *sâlvikâ*, for the *gracula religiosa* or Mainâ. The words with *ś* I take to mean mainly streaked or spotted with yellow, as the hill Mainâ is.

Śâri, *śârî* and *śârikâ* are also used for another bird, a thrush, the *turdus salica*.[2]

Sârikâ would mean 'dark' coloured, and is used not only for the black Mainâ of the hills, but also for yet another bird well known in the Himâlayas as a sweet singer at the present day, the *shâm*, *shâmâ*, *syâm* or *syâmâ*, (*turdus macrourus*) or Indian nightingale. Its Sanskrit names, all obviously meaning black or dark, were *sârikâ* *śyâmâ* and *kâlikâ*,—an important word in this connection. The *shâm* is not, however, the mainâ, nor is it now mixed up with it, and it is never taught to talk.

There is still another well known bird mixed up with the above, *viz.*, the *koil*, *koyal*, *koyaliyâ* or *koklâ*, in Sanskrit *kôkila*, the Indian cuckoo (*cuculus Indicus*), for it has the name of *syâm*, *syâmâ*, or *shâmâ* in modern times and in the Sanskrit days it was called *śyâma* (mas.) and *krishṇa*, black. It is to be observed here that *kisnî* or *kishṇî*,[3] (*Kishn*, *Krishṇa*) is a common name now for the black or hill Mainâ.

This confusion is not so unaccountable as it would appear, for the *koil*, the *mainâ* and the *shâm*, all being black and all song birds, would be called indifferently from their colour *sârikâ*, *syâmâ*, *kâlikâ* and *krishṇâ*, while the remarkable yellow patches on the genuine hill or talking Mainâ would give it the name of *śârika*.

Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.*, gives the following as the names of the different kinds of mainâ:—

1. Mainâ, kisnî, kishnî; black mainâ,—*graculus religiosa*.
2. Mainâ pavî; grey-headed mainâ, *temenuchus malabaricus*.
3. Mainâ sârik; common mainâ, *acridetheres tristis*.
4. Âgâ mainâ; superior talking mainâ (? *turdus salica*).
5. Ablaq mainâ, ablakâ, suroîn; pied-starling, *sturnopastor contra*.
6. Bâmanî mainâ, Brâhmaṇî mainâ, puhaiâ, pâbiyâ, pawî; blackheaded mainâ, *temenuchus pagodarum*.
7. Pahâṛiâ mainâ; Naipâl hill mainâ, *eulabes intermedia*.
8. Teliâ mainâ; common starling, *sturnus vulgaris*.
9. Gulâbî mainâ; rose-coloured starling, *pastor roseus*.

I would add *guṭârî*, *ghuṭâr*, *ghuṭarî*[4] Panjâbî names for the common Mainâ, *acridetheres tristis*, and *gursal*[5] as the equivalent in Hindî.[6]

The *śhârak*, or Mainâ under consideration, is not now the talking Mainâ, but I think it is clearly the representative of the *śârikâ* or talking Mainâ of the ancients, and I do not think it is doing violence to philological principles to connect the Sanskrit *śârikâ*, *sârikâ*, and *kâlikâ* with the Greek κερκίων. Κερκίων, too, is feminine, and I would observe that all the words, ancient and modern, for Mainâ, with *mainâ* itself, are feminine also.

Ælian says he believes that the name κερκίων came from the habit the bird had of wagging its tail. Now oddly enough *karaknâ* is used in Kullû, and sometimes in Kângrâ, for to

[1] ? for *graculus*, which in Latin is a jay or jackdaw. The scientific name for the *mainâ* proper is *gracula religiosa* or *musica*.

[2] The mother of Śâriputra "the right hand attendant of Buddha" was called Śârikâ from this bird. She was famous for the strength of her eyes. Her husband's name was Tishya.—*Asiat. Res.* vol. XX, p. 48.—ED.

[3] The first words a *mainâ* is usually taught are "*Râm Râm*" and "*Râdhâ-Kishen*," and from this the munshîs characteristically derive the word *kishnî*!

[4] The Lodiânâ *Panjâbî Dict.* vaguely calls it, *s. v. ghuṭâr*, a kind of bird.

[5] Fallon, *s. v.*, calls it a small bird with a yellow bill.

[6] Another favourite black songster of the hills is the *kâsturâ* or *kasturî*, the blackcapped blackbird, *merula nigropileus*. Fallon, *s. v.*, says it is also used for the grey-winged blackbird, *merula boul boul*, and for the three-coloured thrush or white-winged ground-thrush, *geocichla cyanotus*.

quake, shake, move (= the Hindî *hilnâ*), but not, as far as I know, for the causative (*hilânâ*), *e. g.* such an expression as *puchh* (or *pûnchh*) *karaknâ*, to wag the tail, would not be used.

All the words in modern Hindî and Panjâbi of this form are connected with a sense of "to make a noise." Thus: —

Hindî. (1) a crackling, rattle, crunch, *karaṛ karaṛ*, *kuṛak*, *karmaṛ*; to crackle, grate, crunch, creak, *kirkirânâ*, *kaṛmaṛânâ*, *kaṛkaṛânâ*; to gnash the teeth, *kaṛkaṛânâ*. (2) a cackle, cluck, *kuṛak*; to cackle, cluck, *kuṛ*, *kuṛânâ*. (3) to clatter, *kuṛakuâ*. (4) a crash, thunder-clap, *kaṛâkâ*, *kaṛak*; successive crashes, *kaṛâkar*; to crash, thunder, *kaṛaknâ*; a song of triumph, war-song, *kaṛkâ*. (5) a shriek, shout, cry, *kilkârî*; the great grey-babbler, *malocircus Malcolm*,—*kilkilâ*.[1]

Panjâbî. (1) and (2) a crunch, crackle, creak; cluck, cackle; *kalkal*, *karkar*, *kuṛak*; to crunch, crackle, creak; cluck, cackle, *kuṛâkṇâ*, *kurkuṇâ*, *kuṛurâuṇâ*. (3) a chatterer, *karkauṇâ*. (4) a crash, thunder-clap, *kaṛak*, *kaṛâkâ*; successive crashes, *kaṛâkar*; to crash, thunder, *kaṛakṇâ*. (5) to shriek, *kurlâuṇâ*; a shriek, *kurlâṭ*.

All the above words should be referred apparently to the old roots *kṛi*, to make a sound, *kal*, to sound, *kur*, to make a noise in general.

Now though there is nothing to support Ælian's derivation of κερκίων from wagging or moving the tail, yet those who have watched the noisy and quarrelsome habits of the Mainâ in general might easily imagine such a word as κερκίων representing some name meaning noisy, quarrelsome, chattering. But as no such word seems ever to have existed I think we have no choice but to fall back on *śârikâ* as the origin of κερκίων.

MISCELLANEA.

MR. CARLLEYLE'S ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT.

Mr. Carlleyle, in General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XII, p. 178, remarks that the birth-place of Kanakamuni Buddha is placed in my translation of Fah-hian (p. 84) "less than one yôjana *north*" of Na-pi-ka —the town where Krakuchchhanda Buddha was born, while Rémusat (as rendered by Laidlay) says it was "less than one yôjana to the *south*." Both General Cunningham (*Anc. Geog.* p. 419) and Mr. Carlleyle have here committed themselves to Laidlay's error, and use it in establishing the position of Kapilavastu;—for, if the reader consult Rémusat's own version (p. 192), he will find that he distinctly says 'one yôjana to the *north*'—in perfect accordance with my rendering.

I observe a similar error both in Mr. Carlleyle's *Report* (p. 187) and in General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography* (p. 420) with respect to the bearing of the Arrow well (*Śarakûpa*): Fahhian, as I have translated him (*Trav. Buddh. Pilg.* p. 86), says the arrow went in a *south-east* direction, and so Rémusat has also translated it, *Fo-koue-ki*, p. 198); but Mr. Laidlay, by error, has got 'south-west' in his version of Rémusat. This mistake has been accepted by both writers, and on it important conclusions have been based.

At p. 195, Mr. Carlleyle says the Lumbinî garden was situated *near* the bank of the River of Oil, but, in fact, this was a small stream flowing *through* the garden. And, at p. 210, he speaks of this garden being called *parâdi-moksha* —a mistake of Klaproth's, but accepted by Cunningham (*Anc. Geog.* p. 417); the Chinese writer says that it was called the garden 'of deliverance' (*pratimoksha*) because Mâyâ was there delivered of her child.

S. BEAL.

ŚÛRPÂRAKA (*ante*, p. 236).

The following references to Śûrpâraka are found in Jaina books:—

Gaṇadharasârdhaśataka, composed by Jinadatta-sûri (+ Saṁ 1211), v. 36:—

Kuṁkuṇa-visae *Sopâ-*
rayaṁmi sugurûvaesao jeṇa |
kahiya subhikkham avigghaṁ
vihio saṁgho guṇa-mahaggho ||

(*Commentary*: Kuṅkuṇavishaye Sopâ-
rake suguru [i.e. Vajra]-upadeśato
yena [i.e. Vajrasenena] | kathayitvâ
"subhiksham" avighnaṁ vihitaḥ
saṁgho guṇair mahârghyaḥ ||)

Prabhâvakacharitra I, v. 185:—

Vajrasenaś cha *Sopâraṁ*
nâma paṭṭanam atyagât |
Jiṇadattapriyâsty atre-
śvarîty âkhyâ chatuḥsutâ ||

[1] Perhaps onomatopoetic. Conf. Sansk. *kilakila*, a cry of joy.

Manisundara's *Gurvâvalî* (composed S. 1466), v. 23:—

Svar vedadantîshumite 584 sa varshe
jâto jinât preshya (sc. Vajraḥ) nijaṁ vineyaṁ |
Sopârake śrîmati Vajrasenaṁ
tadâ chaturbandhuvibodhahetoḥ ||

Kharatara-Paṭṭâvalî, No. 17:—

(Vajrasena) ekadâ dvâdaśadur-
bhikshânte śrîVajrasvâmivachanât
Sopârake gatvâ Jinadattaśreshṭhi-
gṛihe tadbhâryayâ Îśvarînâmnyâ
lakshamûlyena dhânyam ânîya
pâkârtham agnau sthâpitâyâṁ
haṇḍikâyâṁ vishanikshepaṁ
kriyamâṇaṁ drishṭvâ prâtaḥ
sukâlo bhâvîty uktvâ visha-
nikshepaṁ nivârya Nâgendra 1
Chandra 2 Nirvṛiti 3 Vidyâdhara 4
nâmakân chaturaḥ sakuṭumbân
ibhyaputrân pravrâjitavân ...

According to these it is situated in Kuṅkuṇadeśa.

Johan. Klatt.

PÛRNA OF ŚÛRPÂRAKA (*ante* p. 236).

Among the references to Sûpârâ and Pûrṇamaitrâyaṇîputra, I overlooked those in the *Kanjur* or Tibetan collection, as analysed in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XX. Pûrṇa is in Tibetan Gang-po, and Śûrpâraka is apparently *d*Ge-vahi-pha-rol-*h*gro (p. 426)—"excellent virtue."

1. In the 2nd volume of the *Dulva* is a history of this Gang-po or Pûrṇa (p. 61).

2. In the 4th volume of the *Kon-tsegs* is a tract called *Pûrṇa paripṛichchha*, 'the question of Pûrṇa,'—a *sûtra* pronounced by Śâkya at the request of Pûrṇa (p. 409).

3. In the 3rd volume of the *Mdo*, Gang-po is represented as superintending the erection of a fine house for Buddha at the 'Excellent-virtue' city; Buddha visits it, leaves his footprint there, and preaches to the Nâgarâjas of the sea (pp. 426, 427). This corresponds pretty well with the legend already given.

4. In the 7th volume he appears as one of the interlocutors in the *Saddharma Puṇḍarika* (p. 438).

5. He is represented in the same work, 15th volume, as invested with power and directed by Buddha, while at Śrâvasti, in a conversation with Śâriputra on *pâramitâ* (p. 452).

6. The 29th volume of the *Mdo* contains a *Purṇa mukha-avadâna śataka* or "hundred stories of Pûrṇa;" but as this Pûrṇa is called a Brâhmaṇ (p. 481), he may be the same as the Gang-po mentioned in the 11th volume of the *Dulva*, where there is a history of Sman-chhen the son of Gang-po of the town of Pûrnakachha in a hilly country (p. 90), and perhaps the same as the Brâhmaṇ Pûrṇa mentioned in the *Amâwatara* (S. Hardy, *Man. of Budh.* p. 347).

It is possible of course that there may be even more than two Pûrṇas referred to in these passages, but the 1st and 3rd certainly refer to Pûrṇamaitrâyaṇîputra.

See also Burnouf, *Introd. à l'Hist. du Buddh. Ind.* (2nd ed.) p. 426, also 118, 211–245, 399 (where a Pûrṇa author of the *Dhâtukâya* is mentioned), and 503; *Lotus*, pp 121, 123, and 489; Weber's *Hist. Ind. Liter.* pp. 71, 88, 91, 98, 99, 102, and 285; Max Müller, *Hist. Sans. Lit.* pp. 201, 370.

J. B.

COBILY MASH (p. 196).[1]

In the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. VIII, p. 321) appeared a note by Mr. Donald Ferguson on the origin of "Cobily-Mash," the terms by which the dried *bonito* exported from the Mâldives is commonly known. Mr. Ferguson considers Mr. A. Gray mistaken in following Pyrard, and referring the word to the Simhalese, *kala mas* 'black fish,' but would, on the authority of Mahâ Mudaliyâr L. de Zoysa, derive it from the Simhalese, *kebali mas*, "piece fish" (Sin. *kebella* 'piece').

Nonnunquam dormitat Homerus.—My learned friend the Mahâ Mudaliyâr is almost certainly at fault in his ingenious derivation. "Cobolly," or "Combolly masse" as old Pyrard writes it, and as it is generally called to this day, is, I take it, merely a corrupted form of *kalu bili mas*, the exact Mâldivian term for the 'black fish' or *bonito*, the *balayâ* of the Simhalese—*kalu* means 'black' in Mâldive and Simhalese alike, and *bili* may reasonably be the Sin. *balayâ* in Mâldive dress. Cf. M. *diha*, S. *dahaya*, 'ten'; M. *kuni*, S. *kuna*, 'dirt.'

H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S.

ON REFORMED BUDDHISM IN CHINA AND JAPAN.

By Pres. W. A. P. Martin.

Buddhism has always exhibited a remarkable facility of adaptation to the characters and circumstances of the people among whom it has been propagated. Hence the great difference in the aspects of the same religion in Tibet and Tartary, China and Japan, Ceylon and Burma. It might therefore be expected that Buddhism would undergo considerable modifications whenever it was brought into contact with Christianity. This is

[1] This note should have accompanied Mr. Bell's interesting paper (pp. 196 ff.), but was overlooked.—Ed.

notably the case in Japan; and the modifications referred to have perhaps shown themselves earlier in that country on account of the lively susceptible character of the people. In illustration of this, the speaker gave an account of a visit which he had made in company with Mr. Nishima, a native Christian pastor, to a Buddhist College in Kioto, the ancient capital.

The buildings suggest reform by their external appearance, being in the best style of European architecture, and in strong contrast with the famous Hungkon temple, to which they are attached. They were erected, it is said, at a cost of 360,000 yen, or $ 300,000. The organization is not yet complete, but provision is made for the various departments of instruction usually found in western universities. In the department of Natural Philosophy, he was shown a large collection of apparatus mostly imported for the purpose of teaching experimental physics; and in the department of theology he saw a class of forty candidates for the priesthood taking notes of a lecture that was being delivered by a venerable looking Bonze.

The name of the sect to which this establishment belongs is Shinsiu, or the 'new doctrine;' and a tract which the speaker received from one of the professors indicates how justly it may claim that designation; explaining that the adherents of the Shinsiu have abandoned the practice of compulsory celibacy, renounced ascetic rites, and rejected the worship of all Buddhas or other deities, except Amida, the Unlimited or Eternal. This document further states that the soul is in a state of salvation the moment it exercises faith in the love of Amida: all of which are Christian doctrines under pagan names.

In China such reformed sects are numerous; but they have not in any case approached so near to the adoption of Christian dogmas, and are distinguished from the current Buddhism of that empire chiefly by an attitude of protest against certain forms of popular idolatry.[1]

THE SUTRA IN FORTY-TWO CHAPTERS, TRANSLATED FROM THE TIBETAN,

By W. W. Rockhill, of Baltimore, Md.

This brief *Sûtra*, one of the canonical works of Buddhism, has been already twice translated from the Tibetan—by A. Schiefner (1851) and L. Feer (1878); and also once from the Chinese, by Mr. S. Beal (*J. R. A. S.* vol. XIX, 1862). Mr. Rockhill has been led to make a translation into English from the Tibetan version also, by the fact that it contains in a concise form the most important points of Buddhist dogma and morals. The text used by him is the lithographed one published in 1868 by M. Feer from a copy in four languages (Chinese, Tibetan, Mongol, and Manchu) brought to France by the Abbé Huc.

The introduction (placed in the original text at the end of the work), giving the usual history of the importation of Buddhism into China, is as follows:

"In the 24th year of Tiu Tou Wang (the emperor Chao of the Chow) the year of the wood-tiger (1029 B. C.) the 4th month, the 8th day, a body of light coming from the southwest appeared in the king's palace. The king and his ministers, having seen it, questioned the wise men, who answered by the following prophecy: 'It is a sign that a mighty Lord will appear in that quarter (of the world), and that after a thousand years his doctrine will reach this land.'

"After that, in the 53rd year of Muh Wang (949 B. C.) in the year of the water-ape, the second month, the 15th day, the Master (Śâkyamuni) showed the way to enter into *Nirvâṇa*.

"After 1013 years (from the luminous apparition), in the reign Yung-ping, (65 A. D.), the eighth of Hân Ming-thi, in the first month, in the night of the 15th day, the king had a dream. A being of more than eight cubits in height, of the colour of gold, (whose body) emitted light like the sun, descended into the palace. 'My doctrine,' he said, 'will spread itself gradually over this country.' The following day, (the king) having questioned his ministers (about this dream), the minister Hphu yi (Fu yi) answered him thus: 'Long ago, in the time of Tiu Tou Wang, there was a prophecy made in answer (to a question); this dream of the king's agrees with it.'

"Then the king looked over the old records, and was made happy by finding this prophecy of the time of Tiu Tou Wang. The king sent eighteen men, among whom was the minister Wang Tsun, into the west, to try to discover the teaching of the Buddha.

"They arrived at the kindom of Yuo-chi, where two men of India of the family of Kaśyapa the Arhat Matangipa and the Paṇḍit Gobharana (helped them) to put on a white horse the fundamental works, the *Sûtra* in 42 chapters and other *Sûtras*, both of the Great and the Little Vehicle, and also a vase full of relics of the Master. (After that) they started back by the road by which they had come. At the end of the 12th month they arrived at the fortress of Lo-yang.

"In six years from that time, the Arhat and the Paṇḍit had converted the unbelievers of the Black Plain (*i. e.* China).

[1] Extracted from the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, October 1880.

"After that, the Arhat and the Paṇḍit rising into the air spoke these verses to the king:

'The foxes' whelps are not of the lion's race;
A burning lamp is not like the sun and moon;
A little pond is not like the whole ocean;
Every mountain has not the majesty of Meru;
The cloud of the Law covers the whole world;
The rain of the Law moisteneth the seeds (in the hearts) of all mankind;
By showing wonders and miracles
(The Law) teaches mankind in all quarters of the world.'

"Having spoken thus, they returned to India by means of their magical powers.

"This is the origin and history of this *Sûtra.* Originally it did not exist in Tibetan; but having been put in the Chinese *Bkahhgyur* (pron. Kanjur) it was translated into the Manchu language by order of the High one guarded by heaven (Kienlung), and translated also into the language of Bod (*i. e.* Tibet) by Dkahbchu Subhagaśreyadhvaja and Dkah-bchu Dhyanarishtamṁvyasa. It was translated into the language of Sog (*i. e.* Mongolian) by the learned professor Prajñodayavyasa. The patron of the doctrine of the Victorious (*i. e.* Jina, the Buddha), Hing lin, wishing to make known the Law, gave one hundred ounces of silver to have it engraved and printed in the four languages.

"May the seeds of virtue given to those who have become exceeding holy help the doctrine of the Victorious to be widely diffused for many years to come; may there not be in (all) the quarters of the earth either sickness, or famine, or tumult, or quarrelling. May all living beings speedily arrive at that wisdom which has no superior."[1]

RUBBING THE NOSE ON THE GROUND—AN INDIAN OATH.

In an article in the April number of the *Calcutta Review* for the current year, entitled "Some Hindu Songs and Catches from the Villages in Northern India" I translated the following lines into English verse as follows:—

Allâ, Allâ karat haiṅ,
Jo zât uskî hai pâk!
Binâ prem rîjhe nahîṅ,
Jo ghis-ḍaro sab nâk.

They call Him God, the ever good,
That is by nature so,
That counts a worship love alone,
And not the outward show.

And in a footnote I added: "*lit.* though you rub away your whole nose. The allusion is to the Muhammadan method of praying by touching the ground with the face. The point is: without love, he is not pleased, however excessive the outward form may be."

The song from which the above was taken is a *Hindû* not a Musalman song, and lately I came across a custom which has made me think that my idea of the verse was not correct. In reading a MS. account in Urdu and Panjâbi of the adventures of Râjâ Rasâlû the great (?) Scythian hero of the Panjâb, I found the following: "Râjâ Rasâlû won Râjâ Sarkap's head at a game of *chaupaṛ*, but having mercy on him he said, 'If you will *draw a line on the ground with your nose* that you will give me your daughter Kokilân to wife, I will not take your head.'" The expression used was Urdu "*nâk se khatt khaincho,*" but it is in common use in Hindî, thus: "*nâk kane lakîr khainch,*" and in Panjâbi, "*nâk kane lîk pâh,*" 'draw a line with your nose.' In the Sikh days it was a common form of oath, the penalty being death, and at the present day I understand it is still used in the Panjâb Himâlayas as a particularly binding oath by the people among themselves. I do not know its origin, and should be glad of further information regarding it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A TWICE-TOLD TALE ABOUT AṬAK.

I have before remarked on the habit the natives have of fastening any well-known tale, or verse, or saying, on remarkable characters of recent times, though the tale or saying itself may be really of a remote date. Here is a remarkable instance of it.

Aṭak (Attock) on the Indus, or, as the natives always call it, the Aṭak River, has, as its name signifies, been a *stoppage* to the armies of India from all time. The River Indus is there both swift, broad, and dangerous, and as a ford the passage at Aṭak is a deep one. Again the Hindus have at times regarded the crossing of the Aṭak much in the same manner as they regard the crossing of the *Kálá Pání*, as involving loss of caste. Hence the reaching of Peshâwar has ever been popularly regarded as an exceptionally great feat on the part of a general.

Now in A.D. 1585 Râjâ Mân Singh, the celebrated Kachhwâhâ Râjpût general of Akbar and brother-in-law to his successor Jehangîr, led an army across the Aṭak to Peshâwar. The usual difficulties arose, and it is generally supposed, that he quieted the religious scruples of his Hindû forces by the promulgation of the following verse:—

Sabhî bhûm Gopâl kî,
Tá meṅ aṭak kahâ?
Já ke man meṅ aṭak hai,
Soî aṭak rahá.

All the earth is God's,
Where then shall be a stoppage?
Where the stoppage is in the mind,
There will the stoppage remain.

The play on the word Aṭak being obvious.

[1] Extracted from the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, October 1880.

There is also in the Panjâb a Panjâbî version of this verse generally current, and it is said that Mân Singh's mother induced her son to cross the river by sending it him, when he wrote to her of his difficulties and intentions of giving up the expedition to Peshâwar—

Sabhî bhûm Gopâl kî,
Bich aṭak nahîn koe.
Jin aṭak kar mânio,
Aṭak rahegâ soe.

All the earth is God's:
There is no stoppage in it.
Who acknowledges a stoppage
Will be stopped.

As far as one can make out this verse should be attributed to Akbar's expedition towards Peshâwar. At any rate it is as old as his time, and may be much older. However, it is also now commonly attributed to Ranjît Singh, who is said in his expedition to Peshâwar in A.D. 1823 to have induced his troops to ford the dangerous river at Aṭak by going into it with his horse and standing in the middle and repeating the above verse. The people say that this was a miracle, *i.e.*, that the river was unfordable until Ranjít Singh went into it and repeated the verse, after which it became fordable and has remained so ever since!

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

(*Continued from p. 271.*)

9. KHRÎM.—Some little time ago Mrs. Steel wrote to me from Kashmîr that "*Khrîm* is the name of a water-wraith, which lives in mountain tarns and lakes, and drags down its victims, chiefly sheep, ponies and cows grazing on the banks, by means of long ropes or arms, which it flings out like a lasso. It is difficult to exorcise, and resists the incantations of *pîrs* and saints." I have never been able to satisfactorily trace this word *Khrîm*. In classical times *Khasṛima* was the name of a Daitya (or Dânava), who was the son of Viprachitti and Siṅhikâ. There is the usual muddle of genealogies to be found in this case. Siṅhikâ was the daughter of Kaśyapa, but Viprachitti, her husband, was the son of Kaśyapa by Danu! However, Viprachitti was chief of the Dânavas and a mighty demon and opponent of the gods. Siṅhikâ is also the name of a Râkshasî who used "to seize the *shadow* of the object she wished to devour and so drag the prey into her jaws." This legend is something like that of the *Khrîm*. See M. Williams, *Sansk. Dict.*, *s. vv.* Khasṛima, Viprachitti, Siṅhikâ; Dowson, *Dict. Hin. Myth.* *s. v.* Siṅhikâ. *Khara* in Sansk. means any daitya or demon.

10. JHAMPÂNI = CHHAFFÂNÎ.—In the Maṛhî (Murree) Hills the *jhampânîs* or bearers of ladies' *ḍolîs* or *jhampâns* call themselves usually *chhaffânîs*. The change from *jhampânî* to *chhaffânî* is philologically interesting. I take the process to be this: *jhampâni = chhampâni = chhapâni = chhaffânî*. The change from the soft to the hard cognate consonant requires no remark, and the dropping of the nasal when the first of a nexus, is not uncommon in Panjâbî, though the opposite process is the usual one: *e. g. âkh* and *hâkh* = *âṅkh*, the eye; *pakhî* = *paṅkhî*, a hand-fan; *nagâ* = *naṅgâ*, naked, etc; and on the other hand *theṅṭh* = *theṭh*, purity of language: *baiṅt* = *bait*, a couplet, and so on. Of the change of *p* (? *ph*) to *f* we have in the neighbourhood the *Paphûndî* or *Paffûndî* Mountain; *phir*, again, is usually *fir*, and so on. In an alliterative Panjâbî poem (*Pûran Bhagat*) I find *Fe, pher (fer) kihâ, ghusse hoe Pûran.*

11. KHIMDÂR—KHIDMATGÂR.—One day the word *khimdâr* was used to me by a low-caste illiterate man in Ambâlâ for the familiar *khidmatgâr*, corrupted usually by the English into *kitmagâr*, and thence into *kit* or *khit*. Khimdâr may however, be a relic of old days when the *khemedâr* (from *khema* خیمه a tent) was an important personage in the camp of a native noble, as he had charge of it.

12. CORRUPTIONS OF ENGLISH WORDS.—In the Kângra District in the earlier days of our occupation, generally, and even now in outlying villages, occasionally, the words "Commissioner" and "Deputy Commissioner" undergo an extraordinary corruption. "Commissioner" becomes *Bakisnar* through *Kamisnar=Kabisnar*, showing a change of *m* to *b* and transposition of the consonants. *Conf.* the ordinary word 'Nakhlau' for Lakhnau (Lucknow). "Deputy Commissioner" becomes *Lipṭî Bakisnar*: *Lipṭî* for the ordinary *Dipṭi* = Deputy, showing change of *ḍ* to *l*. Lastly, in the same District the English word *madam*, through *ma'm*, becomes, not *mêm* as usual, but *nêm* and *nêmâ*, a lady, and from this word *nêm* is formed in the regular way a diminutive *nîmnûn*, an English child. The change of initial *l* to *n* is not unknown to Panjâbî, as *nenâ=lenâ*, to take, etc. but I know of no other instance of the initial *m* becoming *n*. Compare with this word *nîmnûn* the word *dofuṭṭâ*, now in common use for a "two-foot rule," and thence for *any* measure or ruler through the English word foot (*fut*).

13. RALÎ KÂ MELÂ.—In the Kângrâ District, the *Ralî* is a small earthen painted image of Śiva or Pârvatî. I should be glad of a derivation for it. The *Ralî ka melâ* or *Ralî* fair is a long business, and occupies most of Chet (March—April) up to the *Sankrânt* of Baisâkh (April). Its cele-

bration is entirely confined to young girls, and is in vogue all over the Kângrâ District. It is celebrated thus. All the little girls of the place turn out of their houses one morning in March, and take small baskets of *dûb* grass and flowers to a certain fixed spot, where they throw them all into a heap. Round this heap they stand in a circle and sing. This goes on every day for 10 days, until the heap of grass and flowers reaches a respectable size. They then cut in the *jangals* two branches having three prongs at one end, and place them, prongs downwards, over the flower heap so as to make two tripods or pyramids. On the single uppermost points of these branches they get a *Chitrerá* or painted-image-maker to construct two clay images, one to represent Śiva and the other Pârvatî. All the girls join in collecting the clay for these, and all help as much as they can in the construction of the images themselves, this being a "good work." The girls then divide themselves into two parties; one for Śiva and one for Pârvatî, and set to work to marry the images in the *usual* way, leaving out no part of the ceremonies, not even the *bárát* or procession. After the marriage they have a feast, which is paid for jointly by contributions solicited from their parents. After this at the next *Sankrânt* (Baisâkh) they all go together to the river-side, and throw the *ralîs* into it at any point where there happens to be a deep pool and weep over the place, as though they were performing funeral obsequies. The boys of the neighbourhood frequently worry them by diving for the *ralîs* and rescuing them and waiving them about, while the girls are crying over them. The object of this fair is to secure a good husband. These fairs are held on a small scale in all the principal places in Kângrâ, but the chief ones are at Kângrâ itself, where the Bângangâ is the river used for the disposal of the *ralîs*, and at Chaṛî, a village 10 miles from Kângrâ and 6 miles from Dharmsâlâ on the R. Gajj. The largest fair is held there.

Chitrerá is an interesting word, showing insertion of *r* after a consonant, which is not uncommon in Panjâbî. Conf. *ṭhaṇḍá* = *ṭhaṇḍrá*. cold: *páhuná* = *práhuná*, a guest: *beṭá* = *beṭrá*, a son, etc. *Chitrerá* comes from *chitr*, a picture, and its usual forms are *chiterá*, *chitárî*, *chitrkár*, and its usual meaning is a painter.

R. C. Temple.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January opens with an excellent article by Sir William Muir on the Apology of Al Kindy the Christian, written at the court of Abdallah al Mâmûn of Baghdâd (A.D. 814-833). The identity of the author is somewhat doubtful, but "there seems no ground whatever for doubting that the he was in reality what he professes naturally and consistently throughout the Apology to be, a scion of the noble Kinda tribe, belonging further to a branch which had clung unwaveringly to their ancestral faith." In it the author "casts aside the prophetical claims of Muhammad, censures some of his actions in the strongest language, reprobates the ordinances of Islâm, especially those relating to women, and condemns Jehâd with scathing denunciation. It is difficult to conceive how such plain-speaking was tolerated even at the court of Al Mâmûn." But we learn from Al Birûnî (A.D. 1000) that it not only was published, but was actually in circulation, in a Muhammadan country a century and a half after the time at which it first appeared.

Mr. L. Rice contributes a short paper on the poet Pampa or Hampa founded on his *Âdi Purâṇa* and *Vikramárjuna Vijaya* or *Pampa Bhárata*. He is said to have been born in Ś. 824, and to have written his two great Kannaḍa poems in Ś. 863, under the patronage of a Chalukya prince Arikêsari the king of Jôḷa, of which the capital was Puligeṛe (Lakshmêśvara). This Arikêsari is said to have protected Vijayâditya, who took refuge with him against the Sakala Chakravartti named Gujjiga or Gajjiga, who attacked him; he is the seventh in descent from Yuddhamalla, and third from Baddiga, who "seized Bhîma." Here Mr. Rice falls into an anachronism in supposing this may be Bhîma the Chalukya spoken of in the Rudradeva inscription of Ś. 1084, whereas, if there is any truth in the chronology he produces, Baddiga must have lived 250 years before the Bhîma whom Rudradêva denounced in the 12th century. The dynastic list is not supported by any inscriptions yet brought to light.

Mr. Charles Rodgers of Amritsar has an excellent note on a coin of Shamsu'd-Dunyâ wa u'd-Dîn Mahmûd Shâh, dated 718 A.H. This Shamsu'd-dîn Mahmûd Shâh is hitherto quite unknown. but may have been Asadu'd-dîn, son of the grand uncle of Kutbu'd-dîn, or perhaps Gulâm Bacha Shâbûn Beg styled Wafâ Beg, governor of Dihli in 717-18 A.D.

Mr. W. Simpson follows with a note (illustrated) on "A Sculptured Tope on an old stone at Dras, Ladak." This stone is referred to by Cunningham (*Ladak*, pp. 381-82). Prof. S. Beal contributes a "Note on Plate xxviii, fig. 1, of Mr. Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*," in proof that the

Vajji or Vajjians of Vesâlî are the same as the Yue-chi of the Chinese. This identification is founded on a comparison of the term used in the Chinese (Beal's *Dhammapada*, p. 165) for the Vajji (Sans. Vṛiji) spoken of in the *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* (Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 1). Why Mr. Beal has spelt the word "Vaggi" we cannot understand, unless it be from a misconception of Max Müller's new system. If so he ought to write "Likhavis" also. M. Léon Feer in his "Sûtra of 42 Articles" had also suggested the identity of the Vṛiji with the Yue-chi.

Prof. B. Jülg gives an interesting review "On the present state of Mongolian Researches." Prof. Monier Williams gives the *Sanskrit Ode* addressed to the Berlin Congress of Orientalists by "the Lady Paṇdit Ramâbâî," with a translation. We hardly see why the pages of the Asiatic Society's Journal should be cumbered with matter of this sort.

Mr. T. Kingsmill's paper on "The Intercourse of China with Eastern Turkestan and the adjacent countries in the Second Century B.C." is full of information drawn from the original Chinese of Sze-ma T'sien's (B.C. 163) *Shi-ki*, and shows what a rich field of knowledge respecting the early condition of Central Asia may yet be opened up in Chinese Literature.

The last article is philological—"Suggestions on the formation of the Semitic Tenses—a comparative and critical study," by G. Bertin.

The April part opens with a paper "On Tartar and Turk," by Dr. S. W. Koelle, of the Church Missionary Society, in which he shows that *Tartar* (not *Tatar*) is a regularly formed Tartar word signifying 'wanderer, nomad,' and was in use from the very earliest times among themselves. *Turk* or *Tirk* is a verbal noun derived from some verb which he does not fix upon, and is also applied to a wanderer, or vagabond. Thus in poetical language the sun is called "the Turk of China" (*i. e.* the east), "the Turk of the sky," &c. The latter part of the paper notices the race in the light of their name as embodied in the politico-religious Nomadian of Islâm.

The second paper is a "Notice of the Scholars who have contributed to the extension of our knowledge of the Languages of Africa," by R. N. Cust, but the subject is far too large to be handled with any effect in 16 pages, and much of the paper consists of mere lists of languages, and writers who have compiled grammars, vocabularies, &c.

The "Grammatical Sketch of the Haûsa Language," by Rev. J. F. Schön, is an exceedingly well arranged and able paper. The resemblance between certain Haûsa and Hebrew words (pp. 181-184) is probably due to Arabic influences.

Mr. A. Lillie's short paper on "Buddist Saint Worship" is shallow to a degree, and the two plates that illustrate it are most unsatisfactory, as may be seen at once by comparing them with the photographs in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate lxxxi, fig. 1, and pl. lxii. The author cannot have seen a Tîrtha, and has not informed himself what they really are, or he would not have enquired if they are places like Stonehenge; nor does he know Buddha's image from a Nâga's, or he would not have taken that behind the throne and relic-casket on Fergusson's plate lxii for Buddha.

Mr. H. W. Freeland gives renderings of two short Arabic poems, and Mr. H. C. Kay follows with a good historical and epigraphical paper on the gates of Al Kâhirah (Cairo).

Mr. Edwin Arnold's contribution on "How the *Mahâbharata* begins," is light and sketchy, and M. H. Sauvaire's paper on Arab metrology (in French) is a translation of the tract of Eḍ Ḍahaby, a modern authority.

The July Part opens with a paper by Prof. Monier Williams on "The Vaishṇava religion with special reference to the *Śikshâ-patrî* of the modern sect called Svâmi-Nârâyaṇa." The greater portion of the article is devoted to Vaishṇavism and its sects generally; then follows a very brief sketch of the life of Svâmi-Nârâyaṇa, which accords in the main facts with that given in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, pp. 331-336, but with less detail. The *Śikshâ-patrî*, translated in the Appendix to Briggs's *Cities of Gujarâshṭra*, is promised in a future part. Sir W. Muir adds a note on his paper on the *Apology of Al-Kindy*, in which he gives information forwarded by Prof. Ignatius Guidi of Rome, regarding a MS. of the work in the Propaganda Library, and Zotenberg's account of the Paris MSS.,—from which it appears that there are two distinct families of MSS.: the Arabic proper, handed down by the Nestorians, is perhaps the original form of it; and the Karshuni or Arabic in Syriac character handed down with certain modifications in their own favour by the Jacobite church.

Mr. W. Simpson contributes a careful paper on "The Buddhist Caves of Afghanistan," and a note on "The Identification of the sculptured Tope at Sânchi" (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate xxviii, fig. 1)—in the latter of which he shows that the Nimchas and Chugunis, on the borders of Kafiristân, wear similar leggings to those depicted in the sculpture. Both papers are illustrated.

Sir E. Clive Bayley has a scholarly paper—the first of a series—"On the genealogy of Modern Numerals," in which he brings to bear on their

origin the discoveries recently made in Indian epigraphy on coins published or in the author's possession, and in inscriptions published by General Cunningham in his *Reports of the Archæolog. Survey*, in the *Indian Antiquary* facsimiles, and elsewhere. In the course of the article he gives Dr. Bühler's views on the origin of the alphabet also, which we reprinted in September (see p. 268). In two plates the early Indian numerals are compared with the Egyptian, Phœnician, Baktrian, Hindu-Kabul, and Arabic forms, and a careful statement added of the source from which each form is derived. The rest of this part of the Journal is occupied by a portion of a long paper on "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van," deciphered and translated by Prof. A. H. Sayce.

BOOK NOTICES.

LECTURES on the ORIGIN and GROWTH of RELIGION, as illustrated by some points in the History of Indian Buddhism (the Hibbert Lectures, 1881), by T. W. Rhys Davids. Williams and Norgate. 1881

It is difficult to conceive, at first sight, how the study of the facts revealed to us by the history of Buddhism can illustrate the development of religious thought, unless Buddhism be allowed to be a particular link in the connected chain of religious beliefs. This, as we understand it, Mr. Davids does not allow, but rather aims to seclude and isolate Buddhism as a system of belief indigenous to India, or rather to "the Valley of the Ganges." If it originated there, and was purely the result of local inspirations, we cannot fairly regard it as influencing, or as being influenced by, the growth of the religious idea in man. But perhaps this is not Mr. Davids' view of the case, and we have been misled by some of the detached statements in the volume before us. We may state our own opinion, however, (to prevent misunderstanding,) that Buddhism must take its place in the world's history as a distinct advance in connection with previous stages of man's religious development which began with the beginning and will go on to the end of human history. Perhaps Mr. Davids holds the same opinion, for on p. 12 of his book we find the statement that "aback all these (documents) there stretches the long vista of unknown centuries, which must form the background of the picture in which Buddhism should be presented to our minds"; if, during the unknown centuries referred to, the growth of the religious element in man's history had been progressing, and was taken up and advanced by Buddhism, and, thus advanced, handed down for further development to succeeding generations, so that the whole history of religion is a connected one—in this case we can understand the importance of the task undertaken by Mr. Davids in tracing the exact measure of increase contributed by Buddhism to the growth of this "universal phenomenon;" but not otherwise.

Mr. Davids takes the starting point of the Buddhist belief to be that curious attitude of mind which is now designated Animism. Animism, according to Tiele, is not itself a religion, but a sort of primitive philosophy, which not only controls religion, but rules the whole life of the natural man. It is in fact the belief in an outside world of "spiritism." This belief was greatly qualified at the time the *Vedas* were written; afterwards arose the theory of "the previous existence of souls," and finally in Buddhism the denial of all soul. This denial of soul, as we take it, is a denial of an individual "self," and, regarded from a moral standpoint, this denial of "self" is a distinct advance in the growth of religious idea in man. Again, Mr. Rhys Davids tells us that it was a feeling of world-weariness that led to the actual construction of the Buddhist system, and he seems to confine the excess, at least of this sentiment, to climatic influence peculiar to the "Valley of the Ganges"—and hence the isolation of Buddhism. But as a matter of fact the founder of Buddhism was a native of the Mountain region of Kapilavastu. He was brought up among a vigorous, athletic race, who were evidently not of purely Indian extraction,—and there is no sign in his early history of "world-weariness" as the result of bodily lassitude or caste oppression. It seems to us that the "raison d'être" of Buddhism is to be found not so much in any individual characteristic of its founders, as in some race tradition respecting the vanity of earthly things compared with higher and spiritual ones. And this tradition, like a small seed, took root and grew up in the heart and life of one prepared to receive it. What happened afterwards, when the Buddha laboured among the less vigorous people of Magadha, is of a different kind, and no doubt the Buddhism of Central India may have taken much of its character from the condition of the people amongst whom it was matured. But when it spread Northward we find that the "pessimism" of Buddha's doctrine is only the expression of the old longing of the human mind for higher and better things hereafter. Certainly the Indo-Scyths and the Parthians and the free races of Mongolia never felt the enervating influences of "climate" or the oppression of "caste"—and they adopted Bud-

dhism almost without any effort of propagandism. They accepted it because it provided an answer (however imperfect) to the question that had always been going up from the great heart of man—"Whence comes the evil of the world and what its cure"?

We cannot follow Mr. Davids throughout his book. He writes pertinently and well. The divisions of his six Lectures include a consideration of "the place of Buddhism in the development of religious thought," to which we have briefly referred; secondly, "the Pâli *Piṭakas*," a subject which in his hands is sure to be thoroughly and reliably treated; thirdly, "the Buddhist theory of Karma," which he traces to the pre-Aryan races of India, but which appears to us to be but a modification of the world-wide idea of an irresistible "fate;" fourthly, "Buddhist lives of the Buddha," in the course of which lecture he states that he is convinced there was no connection between the East and West leading to "borrowing" or the adaptation of ideas, known in the East, by Western writers. This is a subject still to be sifted; we will only remark that supposing the Jewish mind was influenced by the development of religious thought in India, this would be only a repetition of what had taken place after the captivity in Chaldæa, and we cannot see why such a connection in later times should be thought so unlikely, or deprecated as fatal to the high and undoubted claims of the Christian advance in the spiritual life of man. The founder of the Christian religion was as far superior to the Buddha as the "real dawn" of day is to the "false dawn"—but yet in the latter case the one leads to the other as certainly as cause to effect—and why should not such a connection exist in the former case also? The fifth lecture is engaged with a consideration of "Gotama's Order," a subject which is treated in a clever and satisfactory way. The sixth and last lecture is occupied by a consideration of the "later forms of Buddhism"—a field in which, we may say with all respect to Mr. Davids, he is not yet qualified to work. In fact the history of Northern Buddhism is a distinct study depending on special knowledge. We must wait until the difficulties of language are surmounted, and until the obstacles in the way of close intercourse with the people professing this form of Buddhism are got over, then something more may be known of the subject; as yet, it is too soon to give an opinion upon it.

TABEL van OUD- en NIEUW-INDISCHE ALPHABETTEN: Bijdrage tot de Palaeographie van Nederlandsch-Indië, door K. F. Holle. (Batavia en's Hage, 1882.)

The 50 pages of carefully compiled lithographed tables, which properly enough form the bulk of this excellent contribution to the palæography of Dutch India, appear to have been prepared five years ago, while the introductory letterpress was only written towards the end of last year,

The tables have been prepared with considerable care, especially those for the alphabets of Java, Sumatra, and the Eastern Peninsula, and are beautifully lithographed,—the alphabets being arranged in 198 columns, each carried over three pages. The first twelve present the Aśoka and other early and late Indian alphabets derived from Prinsep's Table as given by Thomas; then follow three Bhotya alphabets, No. 13 being only a reproduction of the Tibetan alphabet (No. 20); columns 16 to 19 give varieties of the Nepalese and Lanja alphabets; 21 to 26 the Kaśmiri, two varieties of the Burman and Raffles's three eastern Pâli alphabets; after these come six alphabets of the Eastern Peninsula with No. 33, the Panjabi, and 44, Bengali. Nos. 35 and 36 are two copies of the same alphabet the Telugu—No. 36 being styled "Telinga." Nos. 38 to 109, 162 to 169, and 186 to 188 are Javan alphabets copied from Inscriptions dating from Śaka 762 to 1318, manuscripts, &c., Nos. 110 to 142 and 170, 189, 197, and 198 give us others from Bali, Sumatra, Celebes, Bima, Borneo, and the Philipines. Nos. 143 to 161 and 179-181 are extracted from Burnell's *S. I. Palæography*, and give the early alphabets of Southern India. Some early Northern Indian alphabets are given in columns 171 to 178; and the Tamiḷ of the 17th century with six Indo-Chinese alphabets from Dr. A. Bastian's paper (*J. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. III, p. 65). The forms of the numerals are collected on pp. 30-35, 48 and 49, and are deserving of attention.

From this analysis it will be recognised that Heer Holle's Tables are very complete for the alphabets of the south-east of Asia,—the only character of any importance he seems to have overlooked being the Siṁhalese. The work will be very useful to Indian as well as to Dutch epigraphists.

The MACKENZIE COLLECTION: A descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts, and other articles illustrative of the Literature, History, Statistics, and Antiquities of the South of India; collected by the late Lieut.-Col. Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India. By the late H. H. Wilson, Esq., Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, &c., &c., &c. To which is prefixed a brief outline of the life of Colonel Mackenzie and of the steps taken to catalogue his collection. 2nd Edition. Complete in One. Calcutta, 1828. Madras—Higginbotham & Co., 1882.

Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection* was a valuable hand-book of information on Indian Literature and History fifty years ago; and it is still occasionally of use to a few scholars engaged in historical research, though much of the contents is now antiquated and superseded by more recent

investigations. The introduction, which is still the most valuable part of the work, contains an outline of all that was known at the time it was written (in 1828) of the history of the dynasties of Southern India; but that was before Prinsep had started the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, or the Royal Asiatic Society had begun their *Journal*, in the fourth volume of which Sir Walter Elliot published his paper on South Indian Inscriptions—a paper which laid the basis of Chalukyan chronology and indicated how rich a field was to be found in the South for historical investigation,—a field which has been largely investigated since. The value of Wilson's introduction now lies mainly in indicating what was then known and by comparison what great advances have been made since.

As Wilson himself clearly perceived, the Sanskrit MSS. collected by Mackenzie and described in the *Collection* were of no special interest with the exception perhaps of the *Máhátmyas* and *Charitras*. The vernacular works are of very unequal importance,—some of the local histories and biographies being still deserving of attention. The long appendix of 270 pages in the 2nd volume of the original work, and occupying pp. 393-621 of this reprint, consists chiefly of lists of the local tracts, copies of inscriptions, MSS. translations, plans and drawings, coins, images, antiquities, &c., collected by Mackenzie and deposited at the India Office. Hence it will be seen that the work can be of use only to a very limited number of students; and any reprint of it to be serviceable would require to be carefully edited with numerous references to the multitude of papers bearing on the same subjects that have appeared during the fifty-four years that have elapsed since it was published.

Messrs. Higginbotham of Madras have issued the original work, however, reprinted verbatim, with only the addition of a short notice of Col. Mackenzie's life, "complete in one" (volume). So little care has been taken in editing it that the errata which Dr. Wilson himself indicated have not been all corrected, and some of them miscorrected, *e.g.*, "*Agniswará*" (p. 129) for *Agniśwara*, "*Koteswára*" (p. 133) for *Kotiśwara*, "*Terruvargam*" (p. 211) for *Teruvdchakam*, "*dandakávali*" (p. 257) for *dandakávalí*, and "*Dandakaveli*" and "*Donda kaveli*" (p. 504) within two lines, "*Mallayendr*" (p. 225) for *Mallayenar*; and such manifest ones as were not noticed in the first edition are still left, such as "*Brahmada*" (p. 129) for *Brahmánda*, "*Támra parni*" (p. 259) for *Támraparni*, &c.; and to these have been added, such as "arabic" (p. 75) for 'Arabic,' "Abulfedoe Tabuloe" (p. 622) for 'Abulfedæ Tabulæ,' &c.

This reprint might, however, be still serviceable to local officers interested in the history and legendary lore of the districts, by calling their attention to the large number of local tracts connected with the villages and early chiefs and kings that are almost everywhere to be found: Col. Mackenzie's collection included 483 in Telugu alone, arranged in 64 volumes, besides more than a hundred loose translations. These 'histories' are so generally legendary that little store has been set by them, but the whole have been too much discredited on account of the character of the majority, and while careful search would be rewarded by the discovery of histories and biographies substantially historical, many of the legendary ones would be worth publication for the side lights they throw on the manners, customs, and modes of thought of the people. It is to be regretted that, neither in the original nor the reprint, does the index include references either to the introduction, extending to 91 pages in the reprint, or to the vast mass of these tracts collected by Col. Mackenzie; no addition was more required in a reprint than this, as they are the most interesting parts of the book: in fact the index extends only to 301 pages (92-392), while 320 pages, or fully half the volume, is without any references in the index.

The "List of Drawings" (p. 581) so summarily passed over by Wilson in a single page, was deserving of a more careful analysis. It was from the IXth volume of these that Dr. Fergusson drew so many of the interesting plates that illustrate the second part of his *Tree and Serpent Worship*, and which has since been analysed in detail by A. W. Franks, Esq. Similar analyses of some of the others might also be useful.

YUSUF and ZULAIKHA, a poem by Jâmî. Translated from the Persian into English verse by Ralph T. H. Griffiths. Trübner's Oriental Series, 1882.

The *Salámán and Absál* of Jâmî was translated not very long since by Mr. Fitzgerald, and now Mr. Griffiths presents us with a version of about three-fourths of his *Yúsuf and Zulaikha* in good lively English verse. Its only predecessor in English appears to be the *Analysis and Specimens of the Joseph and Zulaikha* by S. R., published by Williams and Norgate ten years ago, and apparently founded on the version of Rosenzweig (Wien, 1824) in German blank verse.

The author Nûru'd-dîn Abdu'r-Rahmân was born at Jâm, a small town of Khurâsân in A. D. 1414, and studied at Herât and Samarkand where he greatly distinguished himself by his abilities.

Invited to Herât by Sulṭân Abu Sa'îd, the uncle of Timur, he lived there in the company of the nobles and learned men of his time, and wrote many volumes of poetry, grammar, and theology still held in high esteem. He died in 1492.

Like the other poems of the *Heft Aurang*, the *Yusuf and Zulaikha* is a mythical poem intended to represent under an allegorical guise the human soul in love with the highest beauty and goodness—of which Joseph is the Oriental ideal.

Mr. Griffiths has used rhymed heroics in the introductory cantos, and a lighter freer measure in the rest of the poem, which is vigorous and reads easily. He has omitted the 6th and 7th cantos on Muhammad and his journey to heaven, also other two—a prayer for a blessing on him, and a fulsome eulogy on Sulṭân Husain, and the last eight cantos of which only two really seem to deserve a careful rendering—which few could give better than Mr. Griffiths. The present version stops at the restoration of youth and sight to Zulaikha, when,—

"The beauty returned that was ruined and dead,
And her cheek gained the splendour which long had fled.
Again shone the waters which sad years had dried,
And the rose-bud of youth bloomed again in its pride.
The musk was restored and the camphor withdrawn,
And the black night followed the grey of the dawn.
The cypress rose stately and tall as of old:
The pure silver was free from all wrinkle and fold.
From each musky tress fled the traces of white:
To the black narcissus came beauty and light.
The halo of youth round her age was seen:
For the forty-years' dame stood a girl of eighteen;
Yes, fairer and brighter in loveliness stood
Than in days of her ripening maidenhood."

TIBETAN TALES derived from Indian Sources. Translated from the Tibetan of the *Kah-gyur*, by F. Anton von Schiefner. Done into English from the German with an Introduction, by W. R. S. Ralston, M.A. London: Trübner and Co. 1882.

This is the thirty-fifth volume of Trübner's *Oriental Series* which already embraces a mass of information on the religion, mythology and literature of India, China, Japan, Assyria, Arabia and Persia, that is not to be equalled in any similar collection.

The present volume supplies us with fifty tales of lengths varying from one to nearly sixty pages, extracted by F. A. von Schiefner from the *Kah-gyur* or "Translation of Commandments," that huge collection of versions from Sanskrit Bauddha works made in Tibet chiefly in the ninth century A. D. These tales are of the ordinary folklore class, such as we find in the *Kathâsaritsâgara*, but with a Buddhist colouring, many of them betraying a very low idea of the fidelity of women.

In an introduction of sixty-five pages, Mr. Ralston has condensed a large amount of very interesting information on the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, the life and labours of Alex. Csoma Körösi in Tibetan literature, the contents of the *Kah-gyur*, Baron Schilling de Canstadt's acquisition of the *Kah-gyur* in Eastern Siberia, Professor von Schiefner's works, and a very full comparison of the tales included in the volume with the folklore of other nations—evincing great knowledge of this interesting branch of literature. The volume has also a good index—an apparatus indispensable to the student, but which is too often left out in such works.

THE GULISTAN; or, Rose-garden, of Shekh Muslihu'd-dîn Sa'dî of Shîrâz, translated for the first time into prose and verse, with an introductory preface, and a life of the Author, from the *Âtish Kadah*. By Edward B. Eastwick, C.B., M.A., &c. Second Edition, London: Trübner & Co.

This volume, included in Trübner's *Oriental Series*, is a pretty well-known book, having appeared thirty years ago in an 'edition de luxe,' and therefore hardly needs commendation now. The author's known scholarship is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the translation, and the extraordinary popularity of the original—due to its intrinsic merits, ought to make this version of the most famous work of the immortal Sa'dî a welcome volume to many. Mr. Eastwick's version is the fourth that has appeared in English during the present century, the first being Gladwin's excellent one founded on the *Rosarium Politicum* of G. Gentius (Amsterdam, 1651), but in parts somewhat too free (see Ross's *Gulistan*, p. 37), this was followed by Dowmoulin's translation (Calcutta, 1807), and those of Ross (London, 1823), and Lee (London, 1827)—neither of them of very great merit, though Ross's has a very valuable essay prefixed to it on the works and character of Sa'dî. M. Semelet, in 1828, published the Persian text of the *Gulistân*, and in 1834 a translation into French—far surpassing in excellence any previous version into any western tongue. But these translations were into prose, and Mr. Eastwick's is the first and only attempt yet made to render the poetical portions into English verse; and though the requirements of strict accuracy have occasionally rendered his lines stiff and artificial, yet the majority of his

verses are fluent and well-turned, giving a life and charm to the translation that could not be preserved in any prose rendering however spirited:—

"A garden where the murmuring rill was heard;
While from the trees sang each melodious bird;
That, with the many-coloured tulip bright,—
These, with their various fruits the eye delight.
The whispering breeze beneath the branches' shade,
Of bending flowers a motley carpet made."

A COMPREHENSIVE COMMENTARY ON THE QURAN: comprising Sale's Translation and Preliminary Discourse, with additional notes and emendations. Together with a complete Index to the Text, Preliminary Discourse, and Notes. By the Rev. E. M. Wherry, M.A. Vol. I. London: Trübner, 1882.

Of the many valuable works already included in Trübner's *Oriental Series* for the study of the Religions of the East this promises to be a most important one, both from its matter and form. The author is a scholar, living among Muslims, and personally deeply interested in their religion and literature, and his aim in this work is to gather up what is valuable in the results of the labours of various writers on Islâm and to arrange them in a form suitable for reference. With the usual European divisions into chapter and verse he has conjoined the divisions of the Arabic original indicating the *sipâra, sûrat, ruqû of the sipâra, ruqû of the sûrat,* &c., with the numbers of the verses as used in India, which differ occasionally from those usually employed.

In the notes and comments he has collected a most valuable body of information extracted from the best Muslim commentators in addition to Sale's notes drawn from Baidhâwi, Jalâlu'd-dîn, and Al Zamakhshari. He has also made full use of the best English writers on Islâm.

Sale's Preliminary Discourse is a most masterly composition—a storehouse of valuable information, embracing all the learning on the subject available in his day (1680-1736), and presenting, on the whole, a reliable account of the peculiar doctrines, rites, and customs, and institutions of Islâm; but modern research has brought to light much to add to, or modify some of its statements, and Mr. Wherry, whilst wisely retaining the discourse in its original form, has added numerous notes to the text in which he corrects or amplifies it on the authorities of M. Caussin de Perceval, Muir, Lane, Sprenger, Burckhardt, &c., and from personal research.

The system of transliteration adopted is by no means a good one—using *accents* to mark the *long* vowels; but a worse fault is that Mr. Wherry is not consistent with himself in employing his system, as may be seen by his transliteration of the *Fâtihah* (p. 288); he seems to use indifferently 'Wahhâbis' and 'Wahâbis,' 'Muttalib' and 'Mutallib,' &c. There is a want of accuracy in this and in some of the author's own notes.

While showing clearly the inconsistencies in the *Qurân* the author endeavours to bring out distinctly its actual teachings, or what the doctrines of the book really are.

If completed with care in the style in which the work has been begun, this book will supersede other English editions, and will be a model work on the *Qurân*, and a repertory of information on Islâm such as no student will care to be without.

EASTERN PROVERBS and EMBLEMS illustrating old Truths. By the Rev. J. Long. London: Trübner & Co.

This volume of the *Oriental Series* stands by itself and is not easily described. The author tells us it was begun in India a quarter of a century ago for the instruction of peasants, and the materials it has finally been condensed from, have been collected in India, Russia, and the libraries of the Continent and England. "The Proverbs selected in this book," he tells us, "though limited to those serving to illustrate *moral and religious subjects*, show how widely scattered nations under similar circumstances have come to similar conclusions; many of these resemblances arise from the identity of human nature, or are a portion of the spiritual heritage which men brought away with them from the cradle of the human race, and improved on by subsequent communication; by showing the acute observation and sharp moral sensibility of the masses, they prove God has not left himself without witness in the human breast: they, therefore, form a basis for those who are labouring to bridge over the gulf between Eastern and Western thought."

A book of Proverbs alone, however carefully arranged, is rather tiresome reading; but Mr. Long, by arranging them in small groups as *illustrations* of short moral, religious and other reflections, has not only written a valuable book, full of interesting matter of very varied sorts,—but for the thoughtful reader it is quite 'a feast of good things' which can be thoroughly enjoyed.

We need only add that the proverbs are from many sources, ancient and modern—Sanskrit, Urdu, Bengali, Canarese, Telugu, Tâmil, Malabar, Badaga, Simhalese, Marâṭha, Gujarâti, Panjâb, Afghan, Persian, Kurd, Syrian, Hebrew, Arab, Turkish, Greek, Russian, Esthonian, Finnish, Polish, Servian, German, Italian, Spanish, Basque, Breton, Galic (? pp. 27-28), Welsh, English, African, Japanese, Chinese and Malay,—though by far the larger number are Eastern.

VALABHÎ GRANTS.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

(*Continued from Vol. X, p. 283.*)

No. XVII.—A GRANT OF ŚÎLÂDITYA II, DATED SAṂVAT 352.

THE subjoined grant of Śîlâditya II, a photograph of which was made over to me by Dr. Burgess, is written on two plates measuring 12⅛ inches by 13⅝. The seal has been lost, but the preservation of the document is in other respects perfect. The characters differ to a certain extent from those of the other grants of the Valabhians. For side by side with the stiff, antiquated letters used for inscriptions, they show a number of forms which have been taken from the literary alphabet used between 400—600 A.D. The most remarkable instances of this kind are—1, the use of a sign, looking like the Valabhî *na* for *kû*, especially in compound letters; see *e.g.* Pl. I. l. 14, l. 29; 2, the use of the sign for the same letter Pl. II. l. 6, in the word *ratnûlaṅkûreṇa*; 3, the use of the ordinary व for *va*, Pl. II. l. 15 in the word *chakravûla*; 4, the use of for *ra*, *e.g.* Pl. II. l. 3, *ruchira*; 5, the use of or for *n* in compound letters, and *nṛi*, *e.g.* Pl. I. ll. 14, 15; 6, the use of a horizontal stroke above a letter, in order to indicate the absence of a vowel, Pl. I. 14 and II. 19.

These peculiarities furnish an important contribution to the history of Indian epigraphy, and confirm what I asserted in my article on the Kâvî plate of Jayabhaṭa and the Umetâ Śâsana of Dadda II, and what has since been clearly demonstrated by Professor Max Müller's discovery of old MSS. in Japan, viz. that neither the ancient Gurjjaras nor the princes and inhabitants used in common life and for literary purposes the clumsy characters which appear on the copper-plates and stone inscriptions. A variety of alphabets existed at the same time, the use of which probably varied according to the occupation and the education of the writers. Then, as was the case until lately, the learned Brahmans, the merchants who followed the orthodox faith, the Bauddhas, the Jainas and the professional writers (*kârkuns*), had each their own peculiar alphabet or variety of letters, derived from the various schools (*lekhaśâlâ*) to which they went. I will now add that this state of things certainly existed in times of the Andhra king Puḷumâyi, and *may* even go back to the times of Aśoka. It is important to repeat these fundamental principles of Indian epigraphy again and again, because some Sanskṛitists, especially those who possess a superficial knowledge of inscriptions only, will even now base important chronological conclusions on the occurrence of what they are pleased to call late or later forms of single letters in ancient inscriptions.

But to return to our grant, it shows also very peculiar forms for *ru* and *rû*, which, as the *u* and *û* have been attached to the top of the *ra*, look very much like *ga* and *śa* Pl. I. l. 4, Pl. I. l. 13, etc. Several times a letter, resembling *ya* occurs for *va*, which possibly may be something more than a mere mistake. The letter *ḍa* invariably shows a loop in its long drawn tail and a curve to the right at the top. The letters *dha*, *va* and *cha* are frequently not to be distinguished from each other.

As we already possess grants of Śîlâditya II, dated Śaṁvat 348 and 356, the present document, which is dated on the first day of the bright half of Bhâdrapada 352, adds no fresh information to our knowledge of the history of Valabhî. The object of the grant is to record the gift of a field consisting of two pieces of land to Magopadatta . . . .(?), son of Kikkaka (Kikâbhâi), a Brahman of the Gârgya-gotra, who studied the *Yajurveda*. The donee lived at Valabhî, but was a native of Ânandapura, *i.e.* probably of Vaḍnagar. If the latter identification is correct, we have here another instance of the occurrence of the Nâgar Brahmaṇs in Valabhî. The field was in the village of Dhûshâ, which was in Surâshṭrâḥ or Soraṭh, and belonged to a town, the name of which is not quite plain. The *Dûtaka* was a *râjaputra* Dhruvasena, to judge from his name, a member of the royal family. I may mention here that a new Râthor grant, which will be published hereafter, clearly shows that *Dûtaka* does not mean 'executive officer,' as I have usually translated it. It means, as is often the case, 'messenger' or 'deputy,' *i.e.* the person entrusted with the execution of the grant.

The writer is the chief secretary, the illustrious A n a h i l a, the son of the chief secretary, the illustrious S k a n d a b h a ṭ a. Anahila served already K h a r a g r a h a II.

Plate I.

(1) ओ स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावारा मेघवनवासकात्प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसंपन्नमण्डला-[1]
भोगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापात्प्रतापोसनत-
(2) दानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलकृतःश्रेणीबालावाप्तराज्यश्रिय **परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्क-**
दव्यवच्छिन्नराजवँशान्मातृपितृचरणारविन्दः
(3) प्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशयप्रकृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदवरगजथटास्फोटनप्रकाशितस-
त्वनिकसस्तत्प्रभावप्रणतरातिचूडारत्नप्रभासं-
(4) सक्तपादनखरश्मिसंहति[:] सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यन्वरिपालनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्थराजशब्दो
रूपारात्तिस्थैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्यबुद्धिसपद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्का-
(5) दृराजोदधित्रिदशगुरुधनेशानलशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतप तृणवदपारताशेसस्वकार्य्यफल[:]
प्रात्थर्नाधिकात्थर्प्रदानानन्दित-
(6) विद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकालभुवनुमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेन-**
स्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानवि-
(7) कृतजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभस-
माभिगामिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशिक्षावि-
(8) शेसविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्द्धरः प्रनमनरसातिसृष्टानामनुपालयित धर्म्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघतका-
रिणामुपप्रदानां दर्शयिता श्री-
(9) सरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य संहताराातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपारिभोगदक्षविक्रमो[विक्रमो]पसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिश्री[:]
परममहेश्वरः श्रीध्रवसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादा-
(10) नुद्ध्यातः सकलजजदानन्दनात्यन्यतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रादिङ्मण्डलः समरशतविजयशोभास-
नाथमण्डलाग्रद्योतितभासुरतरान्सवीठो व्यग्रगुभ-
(11) मनोरथमवाभारः सर्व्वविद्यापरापरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतः सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपाद-
नीयपरितोषः समग्रलोका-
(12) गाधगाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयासुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभाव[:] खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपरिपथ-
विशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्तिः धर्म्मनुपरोधोज्वलतरीकृतार्त्थ-
(13) सुखसंपदुपसेवानिरूढ**धर्म्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादिता**स्तस्यानुधस्तत्पादानु-
द्ध्यातः स्वयमपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरुणात्यादरवता
(14) समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तं परमनद्र इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञासंपादनैकपरतयोवोद्वहन् खेद-
सुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्त्वसं-
(15) पत्तिः प्रभावसंपदशीकृतनृपशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादवीठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानरसानालिङ्गितमनो-
पृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषो

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[1] L. 1, read ओं; °वारान्मे; °पोपनत.°—L. 2, read °भृतश्रेणीबला°; श्रियः; °भटार्को°; °विन्द°.—L. 3, read शैशवात्प्रभृति; °घटा° °सत्त्वनिकष°.—L. 4, read °सम्यक्परि°; कान्ति°; L. 5, read °द्विराजो°; °नति°; °तया; °शेष°.—L. 6, read सकलभुवन°; L. 7, read वत°; °स्रोप.—L. 8, read शेष°; प्रथमनरपतिसम°; °यिता; प्रजोपघा°; मु°त्रवा°; L. 9, read °माहेश्वरः श्रीधर°.—L. 10, read °जगदा°; °पिठो व्यूढगुरु°.—L. 11, read °महाभा°. L. 12, read °तिशय°; °नृपति°; °धर्म्मानुरोधोज्ज्व°.—L. 13, read दित्य°; °स्यानुज; °नुपे.°—L. 14, read राज्य°; सक्तां; °भद्र; °तयैवो°; खेट°; °सत्त्व°.—L. 15, read °दशी°; पीठो; °वृत्तिः; पौरुषा°.

(16) भिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपाय[ः] कृतनिखिलनुवनमेदविमलगुणसंहति[ः] प्रसभविघटित-[1] सकलकलिविलसितगतिः नीचजनागिरो

(17) हिगिरशेसैद्दोषैरनमृष्टत्युन्नतहृदयः प्रज्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशये गणतिर्थविपक्षक्षितिपतलक्ष्मीस्त्वयं-ग्राहप्रकाशितप्रथारपुरुष-

(18) प्रथमसत्योधिगमः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्य** तनयस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सकलविद्याधिगमविहित-निखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशय[ः]

(19) सत्वसंपदा त्यागौदार्य्यण विशतानुसंधानासमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभग्नः साम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशा-स्त्रकलालोकचरितगह्वरोविभावेपि दह्मम-

(20) भद्रप्रकृतिरकृत्रिमप्रश्रयविनयाशाभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदग्रबाहुदण्डविध्वसित-निखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदय[ः]

(21) स्वधनुःप्रनावधरितशास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः **परममाहेश्वरः श्री-धरसेन**स्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सकरि-

(22) तिशयितसकलपुर्व्वनरपतिरतिभुस्साधानामवि प्रसाधयिता दिषयाणां मूर्तिमानिव पुरुषकारः शरिवृ-द्धिगुणानुरागनिर्भरदित्तसप्विितिम्मनुरिव

(23) स्वयमन्यापन्नः प्रकृति[भि]राधिगतकलाकलाप × कन्तमान्निर्वृतिहेतुरकालङ्क × कुमुदनाथ[ः]प्राज्य-प्रतापस्थगितदिगन्तरालाप्रन्वक्षितध्वास्तराशिप-

(24) सततोसतत प्रकृतिसुतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमन्वर्त्थवन्तमातिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागमपरिपूर्ण्णं विदधान-सान्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्रयनिपुणाः

(25) स्थानुरूपमादेश ददद्गुणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारः साधूनां राज्यसालातुरीयस्तन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि क-

(26) रुणामृष्टहृदयो श्रुतवानप्यगर्वित × कान्तोवि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदय्योषि निरसिता षेषवतामुदयस-मयसमुपजानितजनतानुरागः

(27) परिविहितभुवनसमर्त्थितप्रथित**बालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेन**स्तस्य सुतस्तत्पा-दकमलप्रणामधरणिकष-

(28) णजानितकिणलाञ्छनललाटचन्द्रशकलः शिशुभाव एव श्रवणनिहितमत्तकोलङ्कारविभ्रममलश्रुत-विशेष[ः]प्रदान-

(29) सलिलक्षालिताग्रहस्तारविन्द × कन्याया इव मृधुकारग्रहणादमन्दीक्रितानन्दापिधिर्व्वसुन्धारायाः काम्मु-

(30) को धनुर्वेद इव संभाविताशेषलक्ष्यकलापः प्रणतसामन्तमण्डलोत्तमाङ्गकृतचूडोकत्ना-

(31) यमानशासनः **परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-**

(32) **श्वरचक्रवर्तिश्रीधरसेन**स्तत्पितामहभ्रातृ**श्रीशीलादित्यस्य** शार्ङ्गपाणे

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[1] L. 16, read भुवनामोद°; °धिरो°.— L. 17, read °हिभिर-शेषैर्दो°; °रना°; °द्यात्यु°; प्रख्यात°; तिशयगणतिथ°; °पति°; प्रवी-र—L. 18, read संख्या°.— L. 19, read °दार्य्येण; विगत°; भङ्गः; सम्य°; °गह्वरवि°; परम.—L. 20, read °प्रश्रय; °यशो-भा°; ध्वं°; °दर्पोदयः.—L. 21 read प्रभावपरिभूतास्त्र°; °भिमा-न°; °नृपति°; सच्चरिता°.—L. 22, read °पूर्व°; रतिदुस्सा° °मपि°; विषया°; परिवृद्ध°; चित्तवृत्तिभिर्म्म°; L. 23, read मभ्याप°; कान्तिमान्निर्वृ°; °कलङ्क; °राल: प्रध्वंसि°; °ध्वान्त-राशिः. L. 24, read सततोदितसविता प्रकृतिभ्यः; प्रत्ययम°; °निश्चय°; °णः.—L. 25, read स्थानेनुरूप°; °शं; °वृद्धि°; शाला°; तन्त्र°.—L. 26, read °हृदयः; °न्तोपि : °य्योपि; दोष°;—L. 27, read °वृहित°; धरणी°.—L. 23, read °मौ-क्तिकालंकार°; °मामल°.—L. 29, read मृदुकर°; °कृतानन्द-वि°; कार्म्मुके.—L. 30, read °चूडारत्ना°.

Plate II.

(1) तत्पितमहकृतिश्रीशीलादित्यस्य शार्ङ्गपाणेरिवाङ्गजयोरि भक्तिबन्धुरावयवकल्पितप्रणतेततिधवलय[3] दूरं तत्पादारविन्दप्र[वि]त्तया नखमणिरूचा मन्दाकिन्येव

(2) नित्यममलितोत्तमाङ्गदेशस्यागस्त्यस्येव राजर्षेर्द्दाक्षिण्यमातन्वानस्य प्रबलधवलिम्ना यशासां वलयेन मण्डितककुभा नभसि यामि-

(3) नीपतेर्वि[द]म्पितम परिवेषमण्डलस्य पयोदश्यामशिखरचूचुकरुचिरसह्यविन्ध्यस्तनयुगलक्षितेः पत्यु[ः] **श्रीदेरभटस्याङ्ग**जा क्षिती-

(4) पसंहतेरनुरागिण्याः शुचियशोंशुकधृतः स्वयंवरमालामिव राज्यश्रीयामर्प्पयस्या × कृतपरिग्रहः शोर्य्य-मप्रतिहतव्यापारमनमतप्रचण्डारिपुम-

(5) ण्डलं मंण्डलाग्रमिवालम्बः मम शरादि प्रसभमास्तष्टशलीमुषपाणासनपाटितप्रपाधनानां परभुवा विधिवदाचरितकरग्रहणः पूर्व्वमेव विवि-

(6) ध[व]र्णोज्वलेन श्रुतातिशयेनोद्भासितश्रवण[ः] पुन[ः]पुनरुक्तेनेव रत्नालङ्कारेणालङ्कृतश्रोःत्र परिस्फुरक-टकविकटकीटपक्षरत्नकिरणमविच्छिन्ना-

(7) प्रधानसलिलनिवहावसकविलसन्नवशैवलाङ्कुरमिवाग्रपाणिमुद्वहन धृतविशलेरत्नवलयजलधिवेलातजाय-मानभुजपरिष्वक्तयिश्वंभरः

(8) **परममहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्याग्र**जोपरमहीपतिसर्शदोषनाशनधियेव लक्ष्म्या स्वयमतिस्पष्टचेष्टमा-श्लिष्टाङ्गयष्टारतिरुचिरतरचारितग-

(9) रिमपरिकलितसकलनरपतिरतिप्रकृष्टानुरागरसेरभसरशीकृप्रणतसमस्तसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमयूखख-चितचरणकमल-

(10) युगलः प्रोद्दामोदारदोर्द्दण्डदलितद्विसद्वर्गदर्प्पः प्रसत्र्पत्पटीयः प्रतापप्लोषिताशेषशत्रुवँशः प्रणयिपक्षनि-क्षिप्तलक्ष्मीकः प्रेरितत-

(11) दोत्क्षिप्तसुदर्शनचक्रः [प]रिहृतबालक्रीडोनध × कृतद्विजातिरेकविक्रमप्रसाधितधरित्रीतलोकाङ्गीकृतज-लशय्योपूर्व्वपुरुषोत्तमः साक्षा-

(12) [द्ध]र्म्म इव सम्यव्यवस्थापितवर्ण्णाश्रमाचारः पूर्व्वैरप्यूर्व्वीपतिभिस्त्रिष्णालवलुब्धैर्य्यस्यपहृतानि देव-ब्रह्मदेयानि तेषामप्य-

(13) [ति]सरलमनः प्रसरमुसङ्कलनानुमोदनाभ्या परिमुदितत्रिभुवनाभिनन्दितोच्छ्रितोत्कृष्टधवलधर्म्मध्वज-प्रकाशितनिजवंशो देव-

(14) द्विजगुरून्प्रति यतोर्हमनवरतप्रवर्तितमहोद्रङ्गादिदानव्यसनानुपजातसन्तोषोपात्तोपरकीर्तिपंक्तिपरंपरा-दन्तुरितनिखि-

(15) लदिव्नक्रवाल स्पष्टमेव यथार्थ **धर्मादित्यापरनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्याग्र**ज × क्रुमद-षण्डश्रीविकासिन्या कालावश्चन्द्रिकयेव

(16) कीर्त्या धवलितसकालदिमण्डलस्य खण्डितागुरुविलेपनपिण्डश्यामलाविन्ध्यशैलविपुलपयोधराभोगा-याः क्षोण्या ःपत्युः ***श्रीशीलादित्यस्य***

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[3] L. 1, dele तत्पितामह—पाणे°; read °जन्मनो भक्ति°; प्रणातिरति; °लया. L. 3, विदलिताखण्डपरि°; ङ्गजः.—L. 4, read °श्रियमर्पयन्त्या ×; शौर्य°; मानमि. L. 5, read मण्ड-लाग्र°; लम्बमानः; °माकृष्टशिलीमुखबा°; °नापादितप्रसा°; भुवां. L. 6, read °ज्ज्वले° °श्रोत्रः; °च्छिन्न°. L. 7, read °प्रदान°; °वसेक° °द्वहन; विशाल°; °तटा°; वि°, L. 8, read माहेश्वरः; स्पर्श°; °यष्टिर°. L. 9, read °वशीकृत°. L. 10, read द्विषद्व°; प्रसर्प्प°. L. 11, read °नङ्गीकृत°. L. 12, read सम्यग्व्य°; प्युर्व्वी°; °स्तृष्णा°; °र्यान्य°. L. 13, read मुत्संकल°; °दनाभ्यां. L. 14, read यथार्ह°; °त्तोदार°. L. 15, read दिक्चक्रवालः; °र्त्थं; कलावत°. L. 16, read सकलदिग्मण्ड°.

(17) सूनुर्न्नवप्रालयकिरणा इव प्रतिदिनपवर्द्धमानकालचक्रवाल[:]कसरीन्द्रशिशुरिव राजलक्ष्मीमचल-[4] वनस्थलीमिवेलङ्कुर्व्वाणः शिखण्डिकेतन इव

(18) रुचिमच्चूडामण्डता प्रचण्डशक्तिप्रभावश्च शररागम इव प्रतापवानुल्लसत्पद्मः संयुगे विदलपन्नमधरानिव परगाजानुदाय एव तपनबा-

(19) लतपा इव सग्राम मुष्णन्ननिमखानामायूंषि द्विषतां **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्य** × कुशली सर्व्वानेव समाज्ञापयामि स्तु वस्संविदितम्

(20) याया मया मतापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाया आनन्दपुरविनिर्ग्गतवलभिवास्तव्यत्रैविद्यशामान्यगार्ग्यसगोत्र अध्वर्य्युब्राह्मणकिक्कक-)

(21) पुत्रब्राह्मणमगोपदत्तद्वीनाम – –य सुराष्ट्रसु जो – °शल्यासास्थल्यां धूषाग्रामे क्षेत्रं द्विखण्डावस्थितं पञ्चाशदधिकभूपादावर्त्तशतपरिमाणं यत्रैकं

(22) खण्डं दक्षिणसीम्नि कुटुम्बिवावकप्रकृष्टं विंशत्यधिकभूपादावर्त्तशतपरिमाणं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतो देवशर्म्मसत्कब्रह्मदेयक्षेत्रं

(23) दक्षिणतः डाण्डासग्रामसीम अपरतः जज्ज्यल्लकसत्कक्षेत्रं उत्तरतः जज्ज्यल्लकसत्कक्षेत्रमेव एवमिदामघाटनविशुद्धं क्षेत्रं

(24) सोद्रङ्गं सोपरिकरं सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्येहिरण्योदेयं सदशापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेप-

(25) णीयं पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयरहितं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य-

(26) मुदकातिसर्ग्गेण धर्म्मदायोतिसृष्ट[:]यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कलतः कर्षयतः प्रदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे

(27) [व]र्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्यस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वे अनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्यण्यास्थिरं केनुस्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवग[च्छ]द्भिरयाम-

(28) स्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चे[त्यु]क्तञ्च ॥ वहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सकारादिभः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदाफलं

(29) यानीह दारिद्र्यनयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि निर्भुत्तमाल्यप्रत्रमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरामदीत ॥ षष्टिवर्ष-

(30) सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गेतिष्टति भूमिदा आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्यव नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकोत्र राजपुत्र **ध्रुवसेन** ॥

(31) लिखितरिदं सान्धिविग्रहाधिश्तदिविरपाति **श्रीस्कन्दभटपुत्रदिविरपतिश्रीमदनहिलेने**ति ॥ सं ३९२ भाद्रपद शु १ स्वहस्तो मम ॥

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM GENERAL CUNNINGHAM'S ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORTS.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., VIENNA.

It is with some reluctance that I criticise the method of publication of Sanskrit inscriptions employed by so able an antiquarian as Genl. Cunningham. Before entering further on the subject, it will be best to furnish the reader with the materials. The two following inscriptions, taken from

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[4] L. 17, read °प्रालेयाकिरण; प्रतिदिनं संवर्धमानकला°; केसरी°; मिवा.° L. 18, read °मण्डनः; शरदा°; विदलयन्नम्भोध°; परगजानुदय. L. 19, read °तप; संग्रामे; न्नभिमु°; °यूंषि; °पयत्यस्तु. L. 20, read यथा; माता°; °य; °भी, सामान्य.° L. 21, read सुराष्ट्रेषु. L. 23, read मिदमा. L. 24, read सधान्यहिरण्या.° L. 26, read कर्षतः. L. 27, dele स्य; read °र्व्वा; °श्वर्य्या°; मानुष्यं; °रयम.° L. 28, read स्सगरादिभिः; तस्य. L. 29, read भयान्न°; निर्भुक्त°; °प्रतिमा°; °राददीत; षष्टि. L. 30, read तिष्ठति भूमिदः । तान्येव; °सेनः. L. 31, read °मिदं; धिकृत.

the Xth volume of the *Reports of the Archæological Survey of India* (Calcutta 1880), will serve the purpose; their restoration is comparatively easy, as they are complete and written in verse.

No. I.—JAINA INSCRIPTION DATED IN THE YEAR 106 OF THE GUPTA ERA.

General Cunningham's reading.
(vol. X, p. 54).

[1] Namaḥ Siddhebhyaḥ
Sri Samyutânâṁ gunato yadinaṁ
Guptânwayânâm nripa sattamânâm,
[2] râjye kulasyâbhivi varddhamâne-
sharbhiryyute varsha Sate tha mase
Sukarttike bahula dinetha panchame.
[3] guhamukhesphaṭa vikatenkata mimâṁ
jita dwisho Jinavara Pârśwa Sâmynekâṁ
Jinâkati Samadamavâna. [4] chikara.
Achâryya Bhadrânwaya bhûshanasya
śishyopyâsachârya Kulenggatasya
âcharya gośâ. [5]*munessatashi
Padmâvata vaswa paterbbhadasya
parai rajeyasya ripughna maninas
sa samgha. [6] lasyatyabhivi srutobhrivi-
swa samjnaya Sangkaṛa name sabdito
vidhaṇa yuktamyatimâ. [7]*masthitaḥ
sad tharânaṁ sadrase Kujunâṁ
Udagri śâdesavare prasutaḥ.
[8] kshayaya karmmariganasyadhimâ
yadatra punyam tadapâsasarjja.

Corrected transcript of the facsimile.
(plate XIX, lower part).

[Line 1]. Namaḥ Siddhebhyaḥ [||]
śrîsaṁyutânâṁ guṇatoyadhînâṁ
Guptânvayânâṁ nṛipasattamânâṁ [|]
[2] râjye kulasyâbhivivarddhamâne
shaḍbhir yyute varshaśatetha mâse [||]
sukârttike bahuladinetha paṁchame
[3] guhâmukhe sphuṭavikaṭotkaṭâm imâṁ [|]
jitadvisho Jinavara-Pârśvasaṁjñikâṁ
Jinâkṛitiṁ śamadamavân a [4] chikarat [||]
âchâryya-Bhadrânvayabhûshaṇasya
śishyo hy asâv Âryyakulodgatasya [|]
âchâryya-Gośa [5, rmma]munes sutas tu
Pâdmâvata [syâ] śvapater bbhaṭasya [||]
parair ajeyasya ripughnamâninas
sa Saṅgha [6] lasyety abhiviśruto bhuvi [|]
svasaṁjñayâ Śaṅkaranâmaśabdito
vidhânayuktaṁ yatimâ. [7] rrgam âsthitaḥ [||]
sa Uttarâṇâṁ sadṛiśe Kurûṇâṁ
udagdiśâdeśavare prasûtaḥ [|]
[8] kshayâya karmmâriganasya dhîmân
yad atra puṇyaṁ tad apâsasarjja [||]

Various readings of the copy.

L. 1, *Guptânvayanâṁ*.—L. 2, *râjya kulasyabhi°*; *sharbha yyute*; *sukârttika*; *pachame*.—L. 3, *sphaṭavikaṭetkaṭâm amâṁ*; *Jinâ kâti*.—L. 4, *°Bhadranvaye*; *asâcâryyakuledgatasya*.—L. 5, *satas*; *Saṅghaṁlasyaty*.—L. 7, *âsthataḥ*; *Uttaraṇâṁ*.—L. 8, *kshayaya karmmari°*.—The signs for final *t* and *n* of *achikarat* (l. 4) and *dhîmân* (l. 8) are imperfectly copied because General Cunningham seems to have taken them for marks of punctuation.—The *rgga* of *mârggam* (l. 7) stands too low.—The intervals for *rmma* and *syâ* (l. 5) are probably larger in the original.

Translation.

Adoration to the Siddhas!

1. In the year one hundred and six of the prosperous reign of the race of the illustrious and most excellent kings who belonged to the line of Gupta and were oceans of (*all*) virtues,

2. On the fifth day of the dark half of the auspicious month of Kârttika, a man possessed of self-command and tranquillity of soul caused this far-visible and large-proportioned Jina-statue called 'Pârśva, the chief of the Jinas, the conqueror of his foes,' to be erected at the mouth of the cave.

3. He was a pupil of the ascetic Âchârya Gośa[rman] who was the ornament of the (*spiritual*) line of Âchârya Bhadra and descended from the Ârya-kula, and the son of Aśvapati by Padmâvatî (?), a warrior

4. Who himself unconquerable by his foes took pride in slaying his enemies. He was famed on earth by his own name, *viz.* that of Saṅghala,[1] and entered on the path of ascetics according to the regulations (of the *Śâstras*) called by the name of Śaṁkara.

5. That wise man who was born in the best country of the north resembling (*in blessedness*) (*the land of*) the Uttarakurus, gave away the merit gained by this (*work*) for the destruction of the crowd of foes, *viz.* of (*the results of*) deeds (*in former births*).[2]

[1] Perhaps Siṅghala (= Siṁhala) should be read.

[2] This seems to be the equivalent of the Bauddha phrase: *yad atra puṇyaṁ tad bhavatu sarvasattvânâm anuttarajñânâvâptaye* (*e.g.* Kuda inscr. No. 9). It would then mean that he gave up the merit for the destruction of the *karman* of the whole world.

No. II.—INSCRIPTION OF VATSARÂJA, PRIME MINISTER OF THE CHANDELLA KING KIRTTIVARMAN, DATED SAṀVAT 1154.

General Cunningham's reading,
(*ib.* p. 103).

[1] Aum! namaḥ Śivaya!
Chandella-vaṅsa Kumudendu visala Kirttiḥ khyato vabhuva nripa sanghanatangi padmah.
[2] Vidyadharo narapatiḥ ramalâ nicha sojâtas talo Vijaya Pâla nriponwpendrah [1] tasmad dharmmaparaḥ Sri mâ-
[3]nkirtii Varmma nripo bhavatu Yasya Kirtti suvâsu bhratri lokyam sandhatâmagâtee [2] agadamnutanaṁ Vishnu mâvi bhutama vasepya.
[4] yama nripapvitaḥ Samâ Krishna śivasthairyamamârjayatu [3] râiodumadhyagata chandranibhasya yasya numan Yudhishthira Yada Siva Râmacha-
[5] ndrah pate prasannachyupe ratna tivochishtayattad guna prakara ratna mayesarire [4] tadiyamatya mantrindro ramaṇi purvvinirra.
[6] taḥ Vatsa rajeti vikhyataḥ Srimân mahidharâbmajah [5] khyâto pabhuvakila mantri padaika mantre Vâchaspati siva.
[7] dihemantra supan chuthâhbyâ mayoyaṁ sama siva japi maṇḍala maśu satrovâchhidya kirlligiri durgga midam vyavatta [6].
[8] Sri Vatsa Raja ghaṭṭoyaṁ nunante nâtra kâritah Brahmanda mujjualam kirtti marohayitumatmanah
[Samvat 1154. Chaitrahdi 2 Budhan [3].

Corrected transcript of the copy,
(plate XXXIII, No. 3.)

[1] O[ṁ] oṁ namaḥ Śivâya ||
Chaṁdellavaṁsakumudenduviśâlakîrttiḥ khyâto babhûva nṛipasaṁghanatâṁhripadmaḥ ||
[2] Vidyâdharo narapatiḥ kamalânivâso jâtas tato Vijayapâlanṛipo nṛipendraḥ || 1 || tasmâd dharmmaparaḥ śrîmâ-
[3]n Kîrttivarmmanṛipobhavat | yasya kîrttisudhâsubhraṁ trilokyaṁ[4] saudhatâm agât || 2 || agadaṁ nûtanaṁ Vishṇum âvirbhûtam avâpya
[4] yam | nṛipâbdhitaḥ samâkṛishṭâ śrîr*asthairyam amârjayat || 3 || râjoḍumadhya gatachandranibhasya yasya nûnaṁ Yudhishṭhira-Sadâśiva-Râmacha-
[5]ndrâḥ | ete prasannamu*kharatnanidhau nivishṭâs tattadguṇaprakararatnamaye śarîre || 4 || tadîyâmâtyamantrîndro Ramaṇîpûrvvinirga-
[6]taḥ | Vatsarâjeti vikhyâtaḥ śrîmân Mahîdharâtmajaḥ || 5 || khyâto babhûva kila mantripadaikamâtre Vâchaspatis ta-
[7]d iha mantrasupaurushâbhyâm | yoyaṁ samastam api maṇḍalam âśu satror âchhidya Kîrttigiridurggam idaṁ vyadhatta || 6 ||
[8] śrî-Vatsarâjaghaṭṭoyaṁ nûnaṁ tenâtra kâritaḥ | vrahmâṇḍam ujjvalâṁ kîrttim ârohayitum-âtmanaḥ || [7 ||]
saṁvat 1154 chaittra [ba]di 2 ravau

Various readings of the copy.

L. 3, ° *suvdsubhratri*° ; *âvibhûtam.*—L. 4, *samâkṛishvâ *r.*—L. 5, *prasanna*peratnativau tichishvdyattad*°; *tadîyamâtya*° ; ° *nirrâtaḥ.*—L. 6, *Vâchaspatis vad.*—L. 7, *samasvag api*; *vyavatta.*—Date, *chaittraḥ* [5]*di* 2 *ruvau.*—The two *aksharas* marked by * which represent *śrî* and *mu* in the facsimile, are so curiously shaped in consequence of their having been misread (*śî* and *chyu*) that they cannot be transliterated.

Translation.

Om. om. Adoration to Śiva!

1. There was a king called Vidyâdhara, the abode of royal fortune, whose extended fame caused the Chandella race to blossom, just as the moon uncloses the flowers of the night-lotuses, and at whose lotus-feet crowds of kings were prostrated. His son was king Vijayapâla, the king of kings.

2. From him sprang the virtuous and illustrious king Kîrttivarman who made the three worlds appear like a palace (*saudha*) resplendent with the white-wash (*sudhâ*) of his fame.

3. When royal fortune, torn from the ocean of kings (*his enemies*), reached him who resembled a new incarnation of Vishṇu, (*only*) lacking the club,[6] she left off her

[3] General Cunningham seems to consider *Budhan* (*budhau?*) as a locative = *budhe* (see p. 102).—A similar error occurs in his treatment of a mutilated Gupta inscription (p. 11). There he reads *samvatsara Sateshwa chatwârinsadyuttare* and his copy (plate V, No. 4) *samvatsaraśateshvachAtvâriṁśaduttare*, i. e. *saṁvatsaraśate 'shṭachatvâriṁśaduttare.* General Cunningham seems to take *Sateshwa* for a locative = *śate*, derives in this way the date of 140, and accordingly places the inscription in the reign of *Skandagupta.* As however the inscription is dated in 148, it possibly falls in the interval between *Skandagupta* and *Budhagupta* (146-165 of the *Gupta* era).

[4] Read *trailokyaṁ.*—Throughout this transcript *s* standing for *ś* and *v* for *b* have not been corrected by me.

[5] The *visarga* seems to be misread for *ba.* Still it may be right and *ba* or *su* left out in the original.

[6] Attribute of Vishṇu.

inconstancy (just as the goddess Ś r î produced from the churning of the ocean became the faithful wife of divine V i s h ṇ u).

4. Standing amongst kings he resembled the moon who is surrounded by the stars; forsooth, Y u d h i s h ṭ h i r a, S a d â ś i v a, and R â m a c h a n d r a had entered his body which seemed to be composed of the gem-like accomplishments of all of them, and to be an ocean of pearl-like gracious faces.[7]

5. His chief counsellor and minister was a native of R a m a ṇ î p u r, celebrated by the name of V a t s a r â j a, the illustrious son of M a h î d h a r a.

6. He was called (*a second*) V â c h a s p a t i in his office as sole minister[8] who, having wrested quickly from the enemy's hands this whole province here by his policy and his noble valour, built this fort of K î r t i g i r i.

7. This is the flight of steps of the illustrious V a t s a r â j a which he forsooth caused to be constructed in order to spread his brilliant fame over the world.

Saṁvat 1154, on Sunday the 2nd day of the dark half of Chaitra.[9]

I need not dwell at length on General Cunningham's two transcripts. It will be seen at a glance that they contain words which are not met with in the dictionaries, that in many instances the spelling of genuine Sanskrit words is inaccurate and the division of the words wrong, and that grammar and metre have been disregarded.

The question then arises—how far these misreadings have influenced the two so-called facsimiles?

Those accustomed to decipher inscriptions, know that interpretation and criticism have to proceed hand in hand, *i.e.* it is of no use to transcribe an inscription before understanding it. Even in a well-written Sanskrit inscription the intelligent copyist will almost certainly overlook and misread some vowel signs, *anusvâras*, and *rephas*, if he do not attend to the context, to grammar, and to metre. With regard to doubtful *aksharas*, it is not sufficient to transcribe them by what they most resemble, whereas after a careful consideration of the context the most doubtful groups of the original will generally appear in a new light and easily dissolve themselves into distinct elements. But the greatest attention and care cannot guard against misreadings, nor clear up all doubtful ones. For this reason it has been a good rule with the *Indian Antiquary* to add mechanical copies of the originals even with the readings of the most eminent Sanskrit scholars and palæographists; and it would be a great boon to scholars if General Cunningham and others who copy or translate such inscriptions would give photographs or mechanical facsimiles rather than eye-copies. The two lists of 'various readings' given above will show how far this demand is well-founded. It seems highly probable that most of the omissions of the 18 vowel signs, 3 *anusvâras*[10] and *rephas* and most of the 21 misshapen *aksharas* are not the fault of the engravers of the originals, but of the copyist of the facsimiles.

I may be allowed to point also to the last line of the mutilated inscription of Chandragupta which is contained in the same volume of the *Reports* for further examples. The first word of that line is *Kutssa* in the transcript (p. 51), *Kûtssa* in the facsimile (plate XIX), whilst the original must surely read *kritsna°*, and *guhâlatam* ('cave-creeper') in the transcript and the facsimile is misread for *guhâm etâm* ('this cave'); Râjâ Sivaprasâd has found the correct readings in the original as his translation (p. 52) shows. But how is it to be explained that in the same line the facsimile reads only *ktyâṁ*, while the transcript has the right reading, *bhaktyâ*? Is the latter a conjecture of General Cunningham's or of Râjâ Śivaprasâd's, or has *bha* simply been left out in the eye-copy?

General Cunningham will be entitled to the warmest thanks of all Sanskritists if the second volume of his *Corpus Inscriptionum* should be accompanied by reliable photographs of the originals.

To sum up—So long as General Cunningham does not adopt the practice of giving photolithographs or other mechanical copies of the originals, his publications will be useless for the Sanskritist and the historian, and the

[7] *i.e.* his face was always gracious.

[8] *Mantripadaikamâtram* seems to be a *karmadhâraya*: *mantripadaṁ tad ekamâtraṁ cha.*

[9] General Cunningham says (p. 102) the 2nd of Chaitra fell on a Tuesday in Saṁ. 1154, and suggests that we should read *sudi* 2, but Chaitra vadi 2 fell on Wednesday 18th March 1097 A.D., and Chaitra sudi 2, on Wednesday 1st April. In Saṁ. 1155 the same dates would fall on Sundays, viz., 7 March and 21 March, 1098, A.D.—ED. *I. A.*

[10] Besides, 2 vowel signs and 1 *anusvâra* are found in wrong places.

sums of money granted for his work by a liberal government will be thrown away. As a confirmation of the opinion here expressed I may refer to the remarks of Professor Pischel in his review of Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* in the *Göttingen Anzeige.*

THE COINAGES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, AT BOMBAY, UNDER THE CHARTERS OF CHARLES II, WITH A NOTE ON THE INDIAN EXCHANGES OF THE PERIOD.

BY EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S., &c.

We derive much indirect information on this subject from the contemporary testimony of Tavernier, that adventurous traveller and experienced trader in "precious stones," who was in India during part of the reigns of Shâh Jahân and Aurangzeb. He is said to have been born in 1605 A.D. and to have died, at Moscow, in 1689. He tells us in his preface, "si la première education est comme une seconde naissance, je puis dire que je suis venu au monde avec le désir de voyager"—and further, "ainsi j'ai vû avec loisir dans mes six voyages et par differens chemins toute la Turquie, toute la Perse, et toutes les Indes[1]." His memoirs were only written out from his notes, by others, after his return to Europe,[2] so that it is often difficult to fix the precise date to which he refers for any special incident. He was in England in the time of James the 1st, and we find him, after many wanderings, at Agra in 1641 A.D. and again in 1665 A.D.

The following passages contain his leading remarks on the English coinages in India:—

"Figure 1 and 2 is the money which the English coin in their Fort St. George or else at Madraspatan, upon the coast of Coromandel. They call them *Pagods,* as those of the Kings and *Rajas* of the country are called. They are of the same weight, the same goodness and pass for the same value. Formerly the English never coined any silver or copper money; . . . . . But since the present King of England married the Princess of Portugal, who had in part of her portion the famous port of Bombeye, where the English are very hard at work to build a strong Fort, they coin both silver, copper and tin ["estain" pewter?] But that money will not go at Surat, nor in any part of the Great Mogul's dominions, or in any of the territories of the Indian Kings; only it passes among the English in their Fort, and some 2 or 3 leagues up in the country, and in the villages along the coast."

As regards the first part of this quotation, it would seem that the Portuguese and Dutch had already introduced a system of imitating the native currencies to meet the facilities of commerce,[3] in which practice we naturally followed them. As a general rule, the nations of the Peninsula were more inclined to accept the adjudication of the money-changer, than to give credence to any royal stamp: in short, they preferred the tests of *scales* and the *cupel* to the impressed authentication of the Officers of the King's Mint. Ferishtah has preserved a curious record of how, on the conquest of the Dekhan, the Muhammadans were much put out by the pertinacious local habit of passing their new money through the crucible and its immediate conversion into pagodas, &c. The motive for this was supposed to have been due to the religious zeal of the Hindus, who desired to perpetuate the sacred emblems of their creed in supersession of the pious legends of Islâm,[4] but it seems more reasonable to suppose that these measures were simply prompted by a desire to secure certainty of value in the form usually accepted by the masses and sanctioned by the ancient guilds of the crafts of goldsmiths and Sarrâfs.

"The Portugals," in the time of Tavernier, had got beyond mere local issues, and coined

[1] The earliest edition of his works appeared in Paris in 1676, with reprints in 1677, and 1679, Amsterdam 1678, and "Made English by J. P." in London, 1678. Harris's *Voyages,* 1764, vol. I, p. 810, reproduces most of the text, and Pinkerton, 1811, vol. VIII, gives the chapter on Diamonds, &c.

[2] Les *Voyages de Tavernier,* ont été rédiges d'après ses propres notes, en partie par Chapuzeau, son ami, et en partie par Daulier des Landes, qui l'a accompagné dans l'un de ses voyages.—*Nouveau Dictionnaire Bibliographique.* S. V.

[3] Tavernier, pp. 6, 141. The pagodas of the Hollanders were "better gold by 1 or 2 per cent." than those of the English.

[4] *Ferishtah,* Bombay Persian text, Lithographed Edition, vol. I, p. 537; *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Dehli,* by Edward Thomas, p. 343.

fine gold, with European devices,[5] for the dependencies of Goa, but they also had "Silver Pardos" [Patacas] and "a great quantity of small copper and tin money, not much unlike that of the kings already mentioned."[6]

We can complete the details of the latter portion of the passage contributed by Tavernier from our home annals, and can produce specimens from our own Mints, which will probably explain why the money we first coined at Bombay did not find acceptance outside of our own domains.

Charles the II. came to the throne in A.D. 1660. His marriage contract with Catherine, the sister of Alphonso VI. of Portugal, was arranged late in 1661, and completed in about May 1662. Under its terms he obtained the cession of the Island of Bombay, which was made over to the East India Company on the 27th March 1668,[7] and finally passed into their possession on the 23rd of September of that year, with its then revenue of £2,833 per annum, and the King's garrison of two companies of Foot, and who volunteered into the "Company's Service, and thus formed its first military establishment at Bombay."[8] "In 1671," Bombay, rising in importance, "a Mint was ordered, and the building of 2 ships and 2 brigantines commenced upon."[9] "In 1676 (28th Charles II.) by the King's letters patent dated 5th October, a Mint was authorised at Bombay to coin Rupees, Pice and Budgrooks," which should be current not only "in the Island, but in all the dependencies of the Company in the East Indies."

Of course, it is somewhat venturesome to speculate on International trade exchanges upon such limited materials as the available coins afford. But it would seem that they essentially confirm and explain Tavernier's statement of the non-currency of the earlier Bombay issues outside the Island, a fact, indeed, which is virtually admitted by the King's letters patent of 1676. They, moreover, appear to support the inference of the 2*s*.-3*d*. rate of exchange per Rupee, which our own countrymen clearly looked upon as a *quasi* normal tariff. I shall have occasion to revert to the question of English money as estimated against Indian metallic values, but this much may be stated here, that the old Company, in the first instance, clearly underrated the value of the local rupee, as may be seen by comparing the weight of No. 1, or the Company's Coin of the 7th year of their Charter of 1668, = A.D. 1675, with the increased weights given to the subsequent issues Nos. 3, 4, bearing the Royal Arms.[10]

I have selected the eight subjoined examples of Anglo-Indian money issued during the reign of Charles II, and added a single specimen of the Bombay Rupees of James II of 1687, which reverts to the arms of the East India Company.

CHARLES II.

No. 1. Silver, Weight 177·8 grains. Date *Anno-septimo* 7th year,[11]—British Museum.

OBVERSE.

Centre.

MON :
BOMBAY
ANGLIC
REGIMS
A° 7°.

Margin.—A : DEO : PAX : ET INCREMENTVM :

REVERSE.

Centre.—Shield, with the arms of the East India Company. *Above*, two rosettes at the sides, in the middle two lions and two *fleur de lis* quartered. *Below*, two ships and a brig.

Margin.—IND : ORI : HON : SOC : ANG :

No. 2. Silver, Weight 167·8 grains. Date A. D. 1677. B.M.

OBVERSE.

Centre.

THE
RVPEE OF
BOMBAIM

above one, below two, rosettes.

[5] These were known by the name of St. Thomas. Tavernier gives an engraving of a specimen—*Obverse*, the arms of the King in a shield, with G. A. at the sides, and REX PORTVGALLÆ in the margin. *Reverse*, Figure of a man, with date 1660. Margin ST. THOME.

[6] Tavernier, p. 13.

[7] The grant bears date in 1668. "Bombay was to be held [by the Company] of the king in free and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, on the payment of the annual rent of £10 in gold, on the 30th of September in each year." Mill's *History*, vol. I, p. 97. See also, Hume, *Hist. England*, vol. VII, pp. 349, 378, &c.; Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, 1805, vol. II, p. 502; Harris's *Voyages*, vol. I, p. 898.

[8] *Chronological Table* of European and British connection with India, compiled by Capt. H. B. Henderson. This admirable résumé was first published in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, as an appendix to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. IV, for 1835, page 153.

[9] Bruce's *Annals*, pp. 280, 392.

[10] Jahângîr's Rupees of *Ahmedabad* weigh 176 and 175½ grains; Marsden, p. 167. Shâh Jahân's *Surat* Rupee is also 176 grains; Marsden, p. 639.

[11] Ruding. London, Edit. 1819, Plate xv, fig. 11, Suppt. ii, vol. V, p. 396.

Margin.—1677. BY AVTHORITY OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

REVERSE.

Centre.—The Royal Arms of England, in a shield; viz. three lions, the Scottish lion, the Irish harp, and the three *fleur de lis* of France. Above the shield a crown.

Margin.—KING OF GREAT BRITAINE · FRANCE · AND · IRELAND.

No. 3. Silver, Weight 183·2 grains. Date A.D. 1678. Edge *milled*[12]. B. M.

Similar types and legends to No. 2.

No. 4. Silver, weight 198·2 grains, dated A.D. 1678. Edge *plain*, B.M.

Similar types and legends to No. 2.

No. 5. Copper (pice) weight ? A.D. (16)99 ? 1599.[13]

OBVERSE.

Centre.
MOET
BOMBAY
ANGLIC
REGIME
A° D 99

Margin.—As in the Silver coins ? Traces of INCREME ?

REVERSE.

Centre.—Shield, with the arms of the E. I. C. *Above*, dotted stars, in place of rosettes at the sides; in the middle, two *fleurs de lis*, and two compartments filled in with dots. *Below*—three ships.

Margin.—Illegible traces of the letters SOC: ANG:

No. 6. A farthing of Charles II. date 1674 A.D. B.M.

OBVERSE. CAROLVSA CAROLO

REVERSE. REX BRITANNIA.

Re-struck with the die for the silver Rupees, No. 2 above.

No. 7.—*Lead.* A.D. 1768 ? B.M.

Types and legends as in the *Silver* Rupees.

No. 8.—Fanam[14]

OBVERSE.

Centre.—Two linked C's, ☋ (the monogram of Charles the second), with 2 or 3 dots, at the sides.

REVERSE.

Centre.—The ordinary standing figure of the Indian god (*Vishnu* ?)

James II.

No. 9.—Silver, Weight ? Date, A.D. 1687.[15]

OBVERSE.

Centre.
PAX
DEO

Margin.—BOMBAIENSIS MONETA: 1687.

REVERSE.

Centre.—Shield, with the arms of the East India Company. *Above*, two rosettes and two dots at the sides, in the middle two lions and two *fleur de lis* quartered. *Below* three ships and three small stars.

Note on the Indian Exchanges.

A controversy has lately been raised as to the exchange value of the Rupees of the Dehli Mughals, as compared with the English money of the period—and, perhaps these quasi-English coins may aid in determining the question. One of the arguments advanced for the reduction of the *par* value of the Rupee, to less than two shillings, has been based upon the returns given by Foreign writers, in *French livres*. The selection of this test, however, does not appear to have been fortunate, inasmuch as the English Translator of Tavernier, in 1677,[16] in his Table of Values, gives the Rupee of Gold as £1-11-6, and the Rupee of Silver as two shillings and three pence. In the same way, the English Editor of Bernier's Work[17] estimates the Rupee at 29 pence, and so converts the sum of six *crores* of Rupees into 7½ millions of English pounds.[18] Harris, in 1764, in recapitulating the authorities collected by Ramusio, goes beyond this and fixes the Rupee at 2*s.* 6*d.* Thus, in giving the totals of Aurangzeb's Revenues at 1207,18,76,840 *dāms*, or Rupees 30,17,96,864,

[12] The system of milling was first introduced into the English Mint by Blondeau, in April 1662, and the first *milled* shilling was struck in 1663. Ruding, xxxiv, 12; Hawkins, pp. 213-218.

[13] Ruding, Pl. xv, No. 13, vol. V, p. 369.

[14] Ruding, vol. V. p. 296; Plate vi, Suppt. figs. 16, 17; Pembroke, Pl. iv, T. 14; Leake, p. 376.

[15] Ruding, Pl. xv, fig. 12.

[16] *The Persian Travels*, London, 1677.

[17] Second edition, London, 1676, vol. II, p. 164.

[18] In the Appendix to vol. IV of this edition, p. 175, Bernier adds "some particulars forgotten to be inserted in my first Book," and therein defines the Rupee as "equivalent to 29 or 30 pence." Bernier *himself* seems to have said at p. 53, vol. III, "I have said elsewhere that a Roupie is almost equivalent to half a crown."

he estimates these sums in English money at £37,724,615.[19]

The next series of definitions of exchange rates consist, for the most part, of the contemporary testimony of Englishmen, who probably carried British shillings to India, and there practically ascertained what they would go for. The first on the list is the eccentric Thomas Coryate, who defines the Mughal Revenues in 1615, as "40 millions of crowns of six shillings each." We need not here attempt to reconcile these totals, as in another place he allows us to infer that he places the rupee at 2*s.* in defining a *lack* at £10,000 sterling."[20]

Terry in 1616 speaks of the rupees as "of divers values, the meanest being worth 2 shillings, and the best about 2 shillings and *nine* pence[21]," an estimate which is accepted by De Laët in "Rupias . . quæ communiter valent duos solidos et "*novem* denarios Angl. interdum etiam tantum duos."[22] Finally Sir Thomas Herbert, in his "Some yeares of Travaile, begunne in 1626,"[23] tells us "a Mahmudi is 12 pence, a rupee 2 shillings and three pence."

But with all this, we must remember that our King's shilling was only a *token*, not a measure of value. Twelve pence in silver instead of being equal to *one-twentieth* ($\frac{1}{20}$) of the standard pound, had been very extensively reduced at this date, as will be seen from the accompanying Tables of English Silver Coins. But this difficulty of relative values may possibly be disposed of by the parallel definitions, *in gold*, which are so often to be met with.[24]

On the other hand, the true measure of value in India was dependent upon, so to say, three different standards: (1) the copper, which had not yet lost its early *status* as an arbiter of values—seeing that the revenues of the State were still estimated in *dâms*; (2) the silver, which was fast taking the place of the lower metal; and (3) the gold, which in the increase of the material riches of the land, was beginning to have a fixed and recognised ratio as against silver.

And here it will be necessary to advert, briefly, to the English Monetary System. William the Norman brought over with him the method of dividing the *Saxon* pound of 5,400 grains into 20 shillings, and the shillings into 12 pence. This pound was called the *moneyer's pound*,[25] and constituted the Mint standard, "until the reign of Henry VIII, in A.D. 1528, when the Troy pound was made the Mint weight in room of the *moneyer's* pound or the *Tower* pound, which was $\frac{1}{16}$ less, or 5,400 grains."[26]

In process of time the 240 pennies of the old standard came to be 792 pence of 7·2727 grains each, in lieu of William the Conqueror's full 22·5 grains, and the 20 *nominal* shillings (or $21\frac{1}{3}$ of the pound Troy), expanded into 62 in 18th Charles the II, 1665, and into 66 in 1816 with parallel reductions in value in each case.

The subjoined Tables exhibit—No. I the absolute variations; No. II the working results. No. III the relative values of Gold and Silver in the English system. It has not been attempted to reconcile minor discrepancies: but the authority for No. I is distinctly avowed, and the materials for No. II are grounded on the actual weights of extant coins, which Mr. E. Hawkins, as head of the Medal Room in the British Museum had so many opportunities of verifying, while the data for No. III are sufficiently defined in the standard work of Ruding.

Table I.—"Showing at one view how many pounds, shillings, and pennies, have been coined out of a pound of silver at different times in England.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

"Whatever the division of money may have been in England in the Anglo-Saxon times, there is no doubt that it has been the same ever since the reign of William the Conqueror as at present [1805], viz. 12 pennies in a shilling, which never was a real coin till the year 1504, and 20 shillings in a pound, which though not a real coin, was a real pound, containing 12 ounces of standard silver, till the reign of Edward I, from which period the weight of the nominal pound has gradually been diminished, till it is now about one-third of what it origin-

19 Harris's *Voyages*, vol. I, p. 652; *The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, by Edward Thomas, London, 1871, pp. 32, 49, and *note* p. 50.

20 Coryate's *Crudities*, edition of 1776, 3 vols. 8vo, and Purchas, vol. I, p. 594; Kerr, vol. IX, pp. 422, 428.

21 Purchas, London, 1625, vol. II, p. 1464; Kerr, vol. IX, p. 292.

22 *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, sive India Vera. Lugd. Bat. 1631; *Calcutta Review*, October 1870, *Revenue Resources*, pp. 19-22.

23 London, 1634, p. 41.

24 *Persian Travels*, London, 1676; Sir T. Herbert, p. 41.

25 Ruding, vol. I, p. 18. The Tower pound consisted of 12 oz., each ounce of 20 dwts., each dwt. of 24 grains, the whole was lighter than the Troy pound by $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ounce."

26 Kelly's *Universal Cambist*, p. xxi.

ally was. The depreciation which money has suffered in respect to the value of necessary food and other useful commodities, is the effect of the increase of bullion in Europe, by the importation from America, and the increase of taxes, which in very many articles now constitute the greatest part of the price."

Before A. D. 1300, a pound of	Fine Silver. oz.	dwt.	Alloy. oz.	dwt.	£.	s.	d.
Standard Silver contained ...	11	2	0	18	1	0	0
A. D. 1300 — 28 Edward I. ...	11	2	0	18	1	0	3
„ 1344 — 18 Edward III...	11	2	0	18	1	2	2
„ 1346 — 20 „ „ ...	11	2	0	18	1	2	6
„ 1353 — 27 „ „ ...	11	2	0	18	1	5	0
„ 1412 — 13 Henry IV. ...	11	2	0	18	1	10	0
„ 1464 — 4 Edward IV...	11	2	0	18	1	17	6
„ 1527 — 18 Henry VIII...	11	2	0	18	2	5	0
„ 1543 — 34 „ „ ...	10	0	2	0	2	8	0
„ 1545 — 36 „ „ ...	6	0	6	0	2	8	0
„ 1546 — 37 „ „ ...	4	0	8	0	2	8	0
„ 1549 — 3 Edward VI...	6	0	6	0	3	12	0
„ 1551[27] — 5 „ „ ...	3	0	9	0	3	12	0
„ 1551 end of „ 1552 } 6 „ „ ...	11	1	0	19	3	0	0
„ 1553 — 1 Mary	11	0	1	0	3	0	0
„ 1560 — 2 Elizabeth ...	11	2	0	18	3	0	0
„ 1601 — 43 „ ...	11	2	0	18	3	2	0

N.B.—These rates of English money are taken "by Mr. Folkes from the indentures made with the Masters of the Mint, and consequently may be depended on as authentic."—Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. IV, Appendix II, London, 1805.

Table II.—Of the weights of the different denominations of Silver Coins [including alloy].

		Silver penny	Shilling.
William I. ............A.D.	1066	22½ grains.	
Edward I.	1300	22 „	
„ III.	1344	20¼ „	
„ „	1346	20 „	
„ „	1351	18 „	
Henry IV.	1412	15 „	
Edward IV.	1464	12 „	
Henry VII.	1504	......	144 grains.
„ VIII.	1543	10 „	120 „
Edward VI.	1549	......	80 „
„ „	1552	8 „	96 „
Mary	1553	......	96 „
Elizabeth	1601	7½ „	92¾ „

"Such continued to be the weights of the several coins until the 56th George III. (1816), when at the great recoinage the following weights were established."

6d.	Shilling.	½ Crown.	Crown.
40⅓	80⅔	201⅔	403⅓ [28]

English Gold.

The first gold coin struck, after the Norman Conquest, was the "*gold pennie*" of the 41st year of Henry III, it weighed two *sterlings* or silver-pence, and passed for 20 pence.[29] "In the 49th year of the reign it was raised from its original value to 24 pence." We may disregard the intermediate changes and come to the *sovereigns* of 20 shillings each, first minted by Henry VII, and subsequently fixed under the name of *unites* by James I, at 22 *carats* fine (*i. e.* $\frac{11}{12}$ fine gold, $\frac{1}{12}$ alloy) and 33½ pieces to the pound troy. Under Charles II, (1666), a new coinage of *guineas*, at 44½ to the pound troy, was issued. This coin varied in its current price from 20 shillings up to 30, until the year 1717, when it was fixed authoritatively at 21 shillings. Sovereigns of 20 shillings were finally introduced in 1816,[30] 46$\frac{29}{40}$ pieces going to the troy pound; thus each coin contained 4 dwt. 17·001 grains, or 113·001 grains of *pure* gold.

For the purposes of comparison of exchange computations and exhibiting the persistent fall in the value of silver, I quote the subjoined abstract of a Table prepared by Ruding[31] of the relative values of the higher metals.

The *fractions* which are, at times, of considerable importance, have been omitted in this summary.

Table III.—Of the relative value of Gold and Silver.

	Gold.		[32]Silver.	Proportion.
Henry I, 5	fine		11.2—18	1 to 9
Henry III, 14...	„		„	1 to 10
„ 41...	„		„	1 to 9
Edward I, 6 ...	„		„	1 to 10
	Car.gr.	alloy		
Edward III, 18.	23.3½	0½	11.2—18	1 to 12
„ 20.	„		„	1 to 11
Henry IV, 13.	„		„	1 to 10
Edward IV, 4.	„		„	1 to 11
Henry VIII, 18.	„		„	1 to 11 old stand.[33]
„ ...	22	2	„	1 to 11 new stand.[33]
„ 34...	Debasement		„	1 to 10
„ 36...	„		„	1 to 6
„ 37...	„		„	1 to 5
Edward VI, 3...	„		„	1 to 5
„ 4...	„		„	1 to 4
„ 5...	„		„	1 to 2
„ 6...	23.3½	0½	„	1 to 11 old standard
„ ...	22.0	2	„	1 to 11 new standard
„ * *	*		*	
Elizabeth, 2 ...	„		„	1 to 11
James I, 2, 3 ...	„		„	1 to 12 old standard
„ ...	„		„	1 to 12 new standard
„ 9 ...	„		„	1 to 13
* *	*		*	
Charles II, 15 ...	22	2	„	1 to 14
William & Mary	„		„	1 to 15
George I, 3 ...	„		„	1 to 15
...... 18 ...	„		„	1 to 15[33]

[27] "In this lowest depreciation of the English money the value of the nominal pound sterling was only 4 shillings and 7¾d. of modern money."

[28] Edward Hawkins, "*The Silver Coins of England*," London, 1841, p. 7.

[29] Ruding, vol. II, pp. 70, 71.

[30] *Measures, Weights, and Moneys*, by W. S. B. Woolhouse, (Weale's series), 3rd Edit. 1867.

[31] Ruding, (1819), vol. I, p. 28.

[32] Ounces and dwts.

[33] Excluding fractions.

[34] A rise of 5 per cent. "The whole rise from James I, 1, that is, a space of 115 years was = 39$\frac{22}{57}$ per cent.

Indian Silver.

The origin of the Indian *rupee* may be traced up to very early times, in the Aryan *Sataraktika*, or *Śatakṛisṇala*, the *even* one hundred *rati* weight, which formed the basis of the standard gold and silver pieces of the early Pâthan kings of Dehli (A. D. 1228), each of which weighed 100 *ratis* or 175 grains, and were conventionally termed *Tankas*.[35] Muḥammad bin Tughlak, in A. D. 1324, reverted to the local weight of Manu,[36] the *kârsha* or *suvarṇa* of 80 *ratis* or 140 grains for his silver standard, and raised the weight of his gold pieces to 200 grains, which seems to imply some readjustment of the relative values of the two metals. Some uncertainty in the Mint arrangements continued until Shir Shâh reformed the Indian coinages and introduced a new silver piece, now definitively called a *rupee*, of 178 grains.[37] Akbar followed the same standard, in weight, but claims to have improved the fineness of the metal[38]. And we have extant rupees of Shâh Jahân weighing 178 grains, and numerous specimens of 177·5 grains.[39] To judge by the assay of his gold coinage, these rupees must have ranged at a better average than those of his predecessors.[40] Tavernier has a curious notice of the copper money current in India, in his day, which is worth preserving :—

"The Indians have also a sort of small copper money, which they call *Pecha*, which is worth about 2½ of our *liards*, a *liard* being the 4th part of a *sous*. There is also ½ *pecha*, 2 *pechas*, and 4 *pechas*.

"According to the custom of the province where you travel, you have for a *Roupy* of silver more or less of these *pechas*.

"In my last travels, a *Roupy* went at Surat for 49 *pechas*. But the time was, when it was worth 50, and another time when it went but for 46. At Agra and Gehanabat, the *roupy* is valued at 55 and 56 *pechas*, and the reason is because the nearer you go to the copper mines, the more *pechas* you have for the *roupy*." (p.22.)

Cowries, too, were subject to similar laws of distance from the Maldives. Near the sea, they were rated at 80 to the pice, at Agra, they went for 50 to 55 per pice (pp. 2, 8, 22). So with the bitter almonds, which made up the small change of the Western coast, whose tariff was regulated by the productiveness of the trees in the deserts of Laristan.

Indian Gold.

The value of gold, in Asia, seems to have been largely affected by geographical surroundings, proximity to sites of production, facilities of transport, and other casual laws of supply and demand.[41] The Southern Peninsula of India had, as it appears, gold mines of its own, and Ocean commerce brought it bountiful supplies. In the North, the Baktrian Greeks were satisfied with currencies of silver and copper, whereas the Indo-Skythians coined gold in large quantities, and not only obtained directly extensive supplies of Roman gold coin, but imitated and possibly re-struck many of the Imperial *dinarii*.[42] The kingdom of Kanouj continued, in modified types, an extensive issue of that metal, which lasted till the Muhammadan conquest by Muhammad bin Sâm, who indeed reproduced, in altered terms, the local devices.

Mahmûd of Ghazni's mints very early utilised Central Asian gold, and the plunder of India, from time to time, contributed fresh stores of precious metal for the moneyer's purpose.

The Pathân Kings of Dehli, as we have seen, coined both gold and silver in equal weights, both being as pure as they could make them, but relative values had clearly to be readjusted as altered circumstances demanded. At first the scale appears to have been 1 to 8. In Akbar's time it was 1 to 9·4,[43] in Aurangzeb's reign 1 to 14.[44] And at this rate of 1 to 14 our own East India Company, in 1766, coined gold as 149·72 fine, to the rupee containing 175·92 of pure silver.[45] The proportion was not, however, found sufficient to secure the currency of the experimental gold *Muhar*, and in consequence, in 1769, a new Regulation was passed raising

[35] *Pathân Kings of Dehli*, pp. 3, 134, &c. ; *Numismata Orientalia*, "Ancient Indian Weights," London, 1874, pp. 12, 36, 70.

[36] Manu, vol. VIII, p. 136.

[37] *Pathân Kings of Dehli*, p. 405.

[38] Prinsep's *Essays*, London, 1858, p. 43. Akbar's Gold Muhar of 186·60 grains is *pure* gold; so is the average return at p. 56.

[39] Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, London, 1823, pp. 644, 649, &c.

[40] Prinsep's *Essays*, *U. T.* pp. 43, 50.

[41] Marco Pôlo gives the varying rates, in different localities, as gold to silver, 1 : 5 ; 1 : 6 ; and 1 : 8.

[42] *Jainism ; or, the early faith of Asoka*, Trübner, London, 1877, page 63; *Journal R. A. S.*, N. S., vol. IX, p. 220; *Proceedings* Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1879, Plate iii.

[43] *Pathân Kings of Dehli*, pp. 232, 424.

[44] Tavernier, pp. 20, 104; *Journal, R. A. S.* vol. II, N. S. 1866, pp. 160, 163.

[45] I omit the alloy in both cases.

the gold muhar up to 190·086 fine, as against 16 rupees of the old standard of A.D. 1766.[46]

It may be mentioned in connection with these later details of the East India Company's mintages and exchange rates, that Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, p. 8, estimates the Rupee at 8 to the £ sterling (*i. e.* 2*s.* 6*d.* per Rupee), and practically illustrates its effect, in citing the sale, in October 1811, of 40 lakhs of Rupees to the Bank of England for £495,527 sterling.

In conclusion, I may say that I have had no motive in collecting these statistics beyond the aim of placing the question of exchanges in its true light, and a desire to extend these new data to those who, past or present, seek to amend my first inferences by unsound arguments.

But, on the other hand, as regards the future, it is as well that Political or other Associations seeking to restore Silver to its *old mission*, in India or elsewhere, should recognise the fact that, in the former case, things are changed from the compensating all-round trade in goods and metals of the old East India Company to the leech-like heavy charges of the present Home Government, which draws indiscriminately, for its own wants Bills in *Rupees*, on its hapless dependency, in season and out of season, whether the balance of trade or metallic exchange is for or against them.

BRAHUI SONG, No. II.

BY THE REV. GEO. SHIRT, M.R.A.S.

(*See ante p.* 131.)

1. Kḥalpa rabúbe	ustnâ kabâbe
2. Dûṭî nâ tháse	yâr nâ malâse
3. Pur ka kḥawâhe	dîr nâ dawâhe
4. Mahirînâ shulle	ḍor vâg nâ phulle.
5. Tambû nâ lokáṭe	jaiza nokáṭe
6. Barena Bahirân	Chunakâ, korun zahirân

Translation.

1. Don't play, O Minstrel; thy heart is roast meat.
2. In thy hand is a cup; thy friend is thirsty.
3. Fill[1] up the water bag; thy water is medicine.
4. Thy camel is swift; thy bridle is a flower.
5. Thy tent is on a baggage camel; it is lawful (to meet) at the new moon.
6. We come from Bahir; O child! We are blind to see thee.

DITTY.

1. Kasar Kachhînâ	sere mâhînâ
2. Mâre Mahmandnâ	Zeba zû ka ki nan kân
3. Kasar Ṭhâkonâ	jholi Lâkonâ.

Translation.

1. The way to Kachh is a ser[2] of fish.
2. Mahomed has a son; Zeba! be quick that we may go.
3. The way to Ṭhâko is (like) a beggar's wallet.

FOLKLORE FROM KASHMÎR.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

No. 7.—FOLKTALE.

The Tiger and the Farmer's Wife.[1]

One day a farmer[2] went to his field to plough with his bullocks. He had just yoked them when a tiger walked up to him, and said, "*As salâm 'alaikum,*[3] good morning." "*w'alaikum as salâm,* good morning," said the farmer trembling all over, but thinking it best to be polite.

"The Lord[4] has sent me to eat your two bullocks," said the tiger; "so like a God-fearing man obey orders and hand them over to me."

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[46] Prinsep's *Essays, Useful Tables*, pp. 72, 73.

[1] This sentiment appears in the first song, which was published in the *Indian Antiquary* p. 131, and I should not be surprised if it were found in almost every purely Brahui song that is sung; for they are waterdrinkers as a nation; and only those who affect Persian manners speak in praise of wine. The above song, as well as the ditty which follows, was obtained from a native of Gandâva. Its language is very pure and simple.

[2] Both the Mûla and the Bolân contain fish, which is quite a feast to the poor Brahuis on their way down to Kachh from the Highlands in the autumn.

[1] A common village tale told by Habib, the Musalmân cooly who related the 6th tale.—R. C. T.

[2] *Zamîndâr*, perhaps best translated farmer. He is, however, in the Panjâb the actual tiller of his own land; not a labourer on another man's farm, nor yet a farmer employing hired labour.—R. C. T.

[3] السلام عليكم *As salâm 'alaikum*, &c. "The Peace (of God) be upon you" is the ordinary Muhammadan morning salutation, always answered by و عليكم السلام *w'alaikum as salâm*, "And upon you be the Peace (of God)." Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.* article سلام has the phrase wrong; thus, *salâm alaikum.* I remember an amusing corruption of it used to be current in the Circus in England after the Sikh wars. The hero would come into the arena, flourish his whip and shout, "Salem, I come" (*sic*, Salem pronounced as the biblical name) "meet me at noon in the Khyber Pass". I have since learnt that "Salem I come" is "*as sálam 'alaikum.*" —R. C. T.

[4] *Khudâ* or *Allah*: the tale being a Muhammadan one. —R. C. T.

"What you say is curious," answered the farmer, whose courage, now that he saw it was a question of gobbling bullocks and not men, had returned, "because the Lord sent *me* here to plough my field, and for that I must have bullocks. Are you sure you are not making a mistake?"

"I fancy I know best what the Lord told me," growled the tiger, showing his teeth, "so be quick and give me those bullocks."

But the farmer begged and prayed till at last he promised that if the tiger would spare the bullocks, he would go back to his house and fetch him a fine young milch cow instead.

To this the tiger agreed: so taking his oxen with him the farmer returned to his house. His wife, who was a very clever woman, seeing him return so early, called out—

"What, Lazybones, back again from the fields, and *my* work but just begun."

Then the farmer explained to her about his meeting with the tiger, and how to save the bullocks he had promised to give the milch cow. At this the wife began to cry, saying,—

"A likely story, saving your bullocks at the expense of my cow! Where will the children get milk, and how can I cook without any butter *ghî*?"

"All very fine, wife," said the farmer, "but can we make bread without any corn? And how can you have corn without bullocks to plough the field? It is better to do without milk than without bread, so make haste and untie the cow."

"You great gaby," wept the wife, "if you had an ounce of sense in your brains, you'd think of some plan to get out of the scrape."

"Think yourself," cried the husband in a rage.

"Very well," replied the wife, "only if I think, you must obey; so go back to the tiger, and tell him the cow wouldn't come along with you, but that your wife is bringing it."

The farmer accordingly went back to the tiger, and found him sharpening his teeth and claws for very hunger: when he heard he had to wait yet a little longer for his food, he began lashing his tail and curling his whiskers in a way the farmer did not like.

Now, no sooner had the farmer left the house than his wife, going to the stable, saddled the pony. Then she put on the farmer's best clothes, tied the *pagrî*[5] very high, and set off man-fashion, to the field where the tiger was. She rode up swaggering and bold, till she came to the corner, when she called out in a loud voice,—

"Now, by the grace of God, may I find a tiger in this field, for I have not tasted tiger's flesh since the day before yesterday, when, as luck would have it, I killed three."

Hearing this the tiger became so much frightened that he turned tail and fled into the *jangal*; going away full tilt till he met his own jackal,[6] who called out,—

"My lord! my lord! whither away so fast?"

"Run! run!" cried the tiger, "there's the very devil of a horseman in yonder field, who thinks nothing of eating three tigers."

At this the jackal laughed, saying, "that was no horseman: that was only the farmer's wife."

"Are you sure?" asked the tiger pausing.

"Quite sure, my lord," replied the jackal, "did not you see her pigtail[7]? Come! don't give up your breakfast for a woman!"

"But you may be mistaken," persisted the cowardly tiger. It was the very devil of a horseman to look at."

"Who's afraid!" replied the brave jackal, "let's go together."

"But you may intend to betray me, and run away," said the still suspicious tiger.

"In that case, let's tie our tails together, and then I can't," replied the determined jackal, who did not want to be done out of his bones.

So they tied their tails together in a very fast knot, and set off gaily.

Now the farmer and his wife were still in the field laughing over the trick she had played the tiger, when her husband caught sight of the pair coming back so bravely with their tails

[5] *Pagrî*, a turban. Wearing a lofty *pagrî*, for swagger, is a common trick in India still.—R. C. T.

[6] Popularly tigers are supposed to be accompanied by jackals who show them their game and get the leavings for their pains. Every tiger is said to have his particular jackal. Hence the old Sanskrit phrase for jackal *vyâghranâyaka*, tiger-leader.—R. C. T.

[7] The Kashmîri woman's hair is drawn to the back of the head and finely braided; the braids are then gathered together, and being mixed with coarse woollen thread are worked into a very long plait terminated by a thick tassel, which reaches almost down to the ankles. It is highly suggestive of the Chinese pig tail, but it is far more graceful. Ince, *Kashmîr Handbook*, 1876, p. 26. —R. C. T.

tied together. He called out, "We are lost! we are lost!"

"Not at all, you gaby," answered his wife, and walked towards the tiger and the jackal. When she got within hail she called out,—

"Now this is what I call kind, Mr. Jackal, to bring me such a nice fat tiger, but considering how many tigers there are in your father's house, I think you might have brought me two: one will hardly be a mouthful."

Hearing this the tiger became wild with fright and quite forgetting the jackal and the knot in their tails, he bolted away as hard as he could, dragging the jackal bumpity-bump-bump over all the stones. In vain the poor jackal howled and shrieked to the tiger to stop; the noise behind him only frightened the beast more, and away he went over hill and dale, till he was nearly dead with fatigue, and the poor jackal quite dead with bruises.

Moral.—Don't trust cowards.

SOME REMARKS ON GENERAL CUNNINGHAM'S NEW METHOD OF FIXING THE INITIAL POINT OF THE GUPTA ERA.

BY G. THIBAUT, PH.D., PRINCIPAL BENARES COLLEGE.

General Cunningham has lately given—in the appendix and the preface of the 10th volume of the *Reports* of the Archæological Survey of India—a detailed exposition of a new method devised by him for the purpose of fixing the initial date of the Gupta era. Some remarks regarding this method had already been made by him in the 9th vol. of the *Reports*. His method is based on a series of four copperplate inscriptions of king Hastin and his son Pankshobha, the petty chiefs of Uchahara, each of which furnishes a double date, one noting the year of the Gupta era and the other the current year of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter. Details about these inscriptions and their dates are to be found in the *Archæological Reports* and need not be given here; a short re-statement of the nature of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter however will not be out of place. This cycle is founded on the circumstance of Jupiter performing a complete revolution, roughly speaking, in twelve years (accurately in 4,332 days 14h. etc.), so that one year of Jupiter is the time in which the planet passes through 30°. The names of the single constituent years of the cycle are derived from the *nakshatras* in which in the course of each year Jupiter's heliacal rising and setting takes place. As, however, it was manifestly intended to employ this nomenclature for civil purposes also, it became necessary to make some arrangement in order to establish a clearer agreement between solar and *bárhaspatya* reckoning. For this purpose it was necessary to establish a period which comprised an integral number of solar and likewise of Jupiter's years. The Indian astronomers of the Siddhânta Period, whose knowledge of the mean motions of the planets was on the whole very accurate, had of course no difficulty in handling this problem. As Jupiter passes in one solar year very nearly through one sign plus the eighty-fifth part of a sign, eighty-five solar years are very nearly equal to eighty-six of Jupiter's years, and consequently in order to utilize the names of the twelve year cycle for civil reckoning, the provision was made that in the regular recurring series of the 12 Jupiter names each 86th name was to be expunged. For two of Jupiter's years terminate within the limits of each 85th solar year, and the 86th solar year must therefore receive the name of the 87th of Jupiter's years.

These are briefly the principles according to which astronomers like the author of the *Súrya Siddhánta* and Varâha Mihira would have calculated the periods of Jupiter's years to be expunged, and according to the same principles Pandit Bâpu Dêva Śâstri, the distinguished Mathematician and Astronomer of the Benares college, has computed for General Cunningham's use a table of the Jovian twelve year cycle extending from B.C. 8 to A.D. 2068, in which all the expunged years are marked. The dates were also computed by General Cunningham himself. Comparing with this list then the dates of the four copperplate-inscriptions of Râjâ Hastin and his son Sankshobha, which are dated in the Gupta era, and at the same time mention the name of the current Jovian year, and noticing that in the series of 54 years between the date of the first inscription (G. 156) and that of the last (G. 209) no name of the Jovian cycle is omitted (as appears from the table on page 117 of the appendix) Gen. Cunningham proceeded to examine which of the different unbroken series of 54 years that are to be found in his table can, with the most probability, be identified with the series marked by the first and fourth of the mentioned four copperplate inscriptions. Availing himself of the various indications found elsewhere, which may assist one in settling the question, he finally decides in favour of A. D. 167, as most probably being the initial year of the Gupta era, so that the date of the first inscription—Gupta 156—would coincide

with 322 A. D., and the date of the fourth inscription—Gupta 209—with A. D. 375.

Into the details of this latter part of Gen. Cunningham's investigation we need not enter here, as the purpose of this paper merely is to inquire into the validity of the principles on which Gen. Cunningham has drawn up his table of the twelve-year Jupiter cycle with the expunged years. That table is of course quite correct for the present time, in fact for all the centuries consequent on the rise of modern Hindu astronomy as the oldest extant document of which we may perhaps consider the *Sûrya Siddhânta* or else the *Laghu-Âryabhaṭa-siddhânta*. As soon as the Hindus had acquired the very correct knowledge of the mean motions of Jupiter and the sun which is embodied in the *Siddhântas*, the eighty-five years period followed as a necessary consequence. But the task devolving on us is to inquire at what time the Hindus did acquire that knowledge and at what time in consequence they first became able to construct the 85 years cycle. Among European scholars of the present time there prevails no doubt that the modern Hindu system of astronomy is an adaptation of Greek doctrines. On the reasons for this belief we need not dwell here, it may suffice to refer to the notes of Burgess and Whitney's translation of the *Sûrya Siddhânta* and Biot's *Études sur l'Astronomie Indienne*. The exact time of the formation of the new system is not yet well known, and various opinions, differing more or less, have been propounded concerning this point. The circumstance which in a consideration of this question has primarily to be taken into account is avowedly the fact of the star ζ *Piscium* being taken as marking the beginning of the sphere. This star coincided in position with the vernal equinox not far from the middle of the sixth century. On the other hand, it looks as if the Hindu measurements of the position of the *Nakshatras* had been made somewhat earlier, about 490 (cf. Whitney to *Sûry. Siddh.* VIII. 9, p. 355). The date of the *Laghu-Ârya Siddhânta* is known to be 499 A. D. The date of probably the earliest *Siddhântas*—viz. the *Pauliśa* and the *Romaka*—is not known; they are most likely somewhat anterior to Âryabhaṭa, but it is altogether uncertain by how much. Professor Kern (in the preface to his edition of Varâha Mihira, *Bṛihat-saṁhitâ* p. 50) "roughly" dates the beginning of the Siddhanta period at 250 A. D., that point of time being half way between the date he assumes for Garga and the ascertained time of Varâha-Mihira. But this is—as Prof. K. himself admits—altogether hypothetical, and considering that the systems of the *Pauliśa* and *Romaka Siddhântas*, so far as they are known to us, agree in all essential features with the system represented by Âryabhaṭa and the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, and for all we know to the contrary acknowledged the same initial point of the sphere, it would appear advisable to date them considerably later than 250, so that the period intervening between them and Âryabhaṭa might be shortened. On the whole it would, considering our present knowledge of the matter, be decidedly unsafe to maintain that the modern system of Hindu astronomy, with its fairly accurate knowledge of the planetary revolutions, had well established itself on Indian soil before, let us say, 400 A. D.

Before the modern system was established the Jovian cycle could not be regulated on the principle of each 86th name being expunged, and reasonings about the initial year of the Gupta era based on a table of this cycle in which the expunged years are marked for a period beginning with 8 B. C. lose therefore their validity. All we can say is that the expunction of Jovian years in the first centuries of the Christian era ought to have been arranged in the manner shown in Gen. Cunningham's table, or would have been managed so if the true planetary motions had then been known.[1] Orthodox Hindus of course will take an altogether different view of the matter. The *Sûrya Siddhânta* was, according to its own statement, revealed considerably more than two millions of years ago, and few Paṇḍits would hesitate, adopting the principles of the *S. S.*, to draw up a table of the Jovian cycle with every 86th year properly expunged back to the beginning of the Mahâyugu or the Kalpa if wanted. European scholars however will naturally take a different view of the matter. It may moreover be remarked, that even if the beginning of the Siddhânta period could be shown to reach one or two centuries higher up than the time stated above (which is by no means likely), it would be rather hazardous to assume that the novel doctrines contained in the *Siddhântas* immediately effected a total reform of the Civil Calendar all over India. I should rather feel inclined to believe that a considerable time elapsed before the new knowledge of the Jyautishas succeeded in getting itself applied to the purposes of daily life and taking the place of the older methods on which previously the almanack had been calculated.

We have now to consider a passage from Garga referring to the Jupiter-cycle which is quoted by Gen. Cunningham, Appendix p. 114. "We there read: Utpala also quotes Garga to

[1] This system never seems to have come into use in Southern and Western India, and grants are almost always dated in the years of the Jovian cycle, but it has no *expunged* year.—ED.

the effect that as each period of 170 solar years is equal to 172 Jovian years, the names of Âśvayuja and Chaitra must each be once omitted. The amount of this correction shows that the 12-year cycle of Jupiter was intimately connected with the 60-year cycle in which one name was omitted after every 85th year. Garga's words are:—

Yugâni dvâdaśâbdâni tatra tâni Vrihaspati,
Tatra Savana Saurâbhyâm Sâvonobdo nirudhyate;
Evaṁ Aśvayujam cha eva Chaitram cha eva Vṛihaspati,
Saṁvatsaro nâsyate saptalyabda satedhike.[2]

This Brihaspati cycle consists of twelve years:

* * * * * *

"Thus both Aśvayuja and Chaitra of Brihaspati are expunged in a period of 170 years."

If the above passage quoted from Garga by Utpala, the commentator of Varâhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitá*, could be taken as it stands and could be translated as it has been by General Cunningham, everything maintained above would fall to the ground. For whatever the real age of the *Garga Samhitá* may be, it is certainly considerably older than the *Siddhántas*. Prof. Kern (preface to *Bṛihat Samhitá* p. 39) places it approximately in the first century before Christ, and I see no particular objection to this assumption. It would thus appear that even before the Christian era two Jovian years in 170, *i. e.* one Jovian year in about 85[3] were omitted, and consequently no objection could be raised to Gen. Cunningham carrying his table back to the year 8 A. C.

Having for a considerable time been engaged in collecting materials tending to throw light on the early history of Indian astronomy and chronology, and being acquainted with the hitherto known parts of the *Garga Saṁhitá*, I was at once struck by the above passage from Garga as being hardly reconcileable with what is known from other sources about the doctrines of this authority. Of this the most important point is that Garga taught the doctrine of the quinquennial cycle comprising 60 solar, 61 Sâvana and 62 lunar months, the length of the whole cycle amounting to 1830 Sâvana days, so that one solar year would consist of 366 Sâvana days. This doctrine is clearly and explicitly stated in the fragments of Garga preserved in the commentary on the *Jyotisha-Vedánga*, and printed in the edition of the latter work by Prof. Weber (pp. 40—43). The *Jyotisha-Vedánga* itself maintains the same doctrine (cf. my contributions to the explanation of the Jyotisha-Vedânga, *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal* for 1877). As far as our present knowledge goes, this doctrine, grossly erroneous as it is, generally prevailed in India before the influence of Greek astronomy began to make itself felt, and seems to have been immediately succeeded by the infinitely more perfect system of the *Siddhántas* (a circumstance, by the way, which would furnish another proof of the doctrine of the Siddhânta system not being of native Indian growth; were such proofs still needed at present).

Now, as we have seen above, the 85 years period of omission depends altogether on the accurate knowledge of the length of the solar year, combined with an equally accurate acquaintance with the length of Jupiter's revolution.

But as Garga did not possess the former knowledge (what his opinion of the length of Jupiter's revolution was we do not know) it is impossible to believe that he should have hit on the right period of omission of Jupiter-years unless we have recourse to the quite improbable hypothesis of the error of his mistake regarding the length of the solar year being neutralized by an exactly counterbalancing mistake with regard to the length of Jupiter's revolution. The passage as given by Gen. Cunningham thus—apart from its very inaccurate form—is suspicious on *à priori* considerations, and I therefore proceeded to ascertain its genuine form by recourse to the manuscripts. The only MS. of Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary of which I could avail myself (one belonging to the Benares College and very incorrect, as are all MSS. of Bhaṭṭotpala I have seen) gives the passage in a form only slightly different from the one given by Gen. Cunningham:—

तथा च गर्ग आह ।
युगानि द्वादशाब्दानि तत्र तानि बृहस्पतेः ।
तत्र सावनसौराभ्यां सावनाब्दो निरुच्यते ॥
एवमाश्वयुजं चैव चैत्रं चैव बृहस्पतेः ।
संवत्सरो नाशयते सप्तते ऽब्दशते ऽधिके ॥

I thereupon turned to the available manuscripts of the *Garga Saṁhitá* itself [the complete MS. found by Dr. Bühler and belonging to the Bombay Government (A), and two fragments (B and C)—belonging to the Benares College, both containing the *Bṛihaspati-chára*], and there I found a very different text.

A. reads:—

युगानि द्वादशार्की पञ्च तानि बृहस्पतेः ॥
तत्र सावनसौराणां सावनौ व्यतिरिच्यते ॥
एवमाश्वयुजश्चैव मैत्रं चैव बृहस्पातेः ।
संवत्सरो नाशयते विंशद्वर्षगतेन वा ॥

[2] The Sanskrit-text of the above passage I give exactly as it is found in Gen. Cunningham's text; some mistakes it would be easy to correct but the whole passage is so corrupt that I prefer not to alter it.

[3] Correctly the amount is 22 years in 1875, or one on an average in 85 $\frac{5}{22}$ years.

B. and C. contain some different readings of no importance; they agree with it in the last half śloka. The passage is in all three manuscripts evidently corrupt; but there can be no doubt that the last half śloka says nothing about a period of 170 years. Perhaps we may have to read ° शतेन instead of °गतेन, and then I would propose, although with considerable hesitation, the following explanation of the whole passage:—As Garga estimated the solar year at 366 days, while the Sâvana year comprised 360 days, sixty-one Sâvana years would be, according to him, equal to sixty solar years. Now Garga, whose knowledge of the periods of the planets cannot in any case have been very accurate, may have supposed Jupiter to pass through one-twelfth of the zodiac in one Sâvana year (the true time being 361 days), and consequently 61 of Jupiter's years also would be equal to 60 solar years. That he imagined some such connection between Jupiter and the Sâvana and solar years has, it appears, necessarily to be assumed, as it otherwise would be impossible to account for the circumstance of both these years and their mutual relation being mentioned in the chapter on Jupiter's course. Which years have to be expunged, according to Garga, I dare not conjecture, as the corrupt state of the passage quoted would render any hypothesis altogether unsafe. For our purpose it suffices to have shown that the authority of Garga cannot be invoked in aid of the principles on which General Cunningham has computed his table. It is not easy to guess what was the cause of the changed form in which the passage from Garga appears in Bhaṭṭotpala's text; possibly the desire to establish an agreement between an old revered authority and the more advanced knowledge of a later period. That the mistakes made by early Hindu writers on Astronomy often greatly perplexed later and better-informed authors is a well-known circumstance.

A few remarks on the clue which the four copper-plate inscriptions may furnish to inquirers into the initial date of the Gupta era are likewise to be found in a very interesting paper by Dr. H. Oldenberg, "On the Dates of Ancient Indian Inscriptions and Coins" published in the *Indian Antiquary* vol. X, pp. 213-227. Without entering into a criticism of the opinions advanced there, I only remark that inquiries as to what year really was a Vaiśâkha, Chaitra etc. year, do not appear to me calculated to furnish really useful results.

The important point is, if possible, to find out what chronological or astronomical system the authors of the inscriptions followed, and what deductions they were likely to make from the principles they had embraced. Observation has, as we know, never been the strong point of Hindu astronomers, and if, according to their system, a certain year was to be called Mahâchaitra, they would scarcely have hesitated to do so even if they had found that the name was not justified by Jupiter's actual position.

The above remarks may, in addition to their more immediate purpose, be of use as showing by a special example the peculiar difficulties with which scholars attempting to solve problems of Indian chronology have to grapple. With more special reference to the early centuries of the Christian era it may be asserted that no safe ground will be reached before we are more accurately informed concerning the time at which and the manner in which the modern Hindu astronomy, based on Greek science, displaced the cruder doctrines which had prevailed at an earlier period. Any assistance rendered in questions of this kind by Paṇḍits is a doubtful boon, as the advantage we may derive from their learning in Hindu astronomy is as a rule greatly lessened, if not altogether counterbalanced, by the mistakes to which their want of critical spirit and historical method gives rise.

MISCELLANEA.

SINHALESE FAMILY NAMES.

The subject of "Sinhalese Family Names" is a complicated one, connected, as it is, with native titles, honorifics, caste, and names, both in the maritime and Kandyan Provinces. I shall, for the present, confine myself to a few names in the low country. These may be divided into four classes:

1st. Rice names or names conferred on a child on the rice-giving festival. In the pre-European times, these names were, no doubt, identical with those now current in the Kandyan country, but after the settlement of Europeans rice names were gradually supplanted by Christian names, in the Portuguese or Dutch time, Sinhalese Christians and even Buddhists conferred Christian names on their children instead of what are called rice names. In those days a child, for instance, would be named Abaran, or Hendrick, Juan, Karalu, Tomis, Wellon, etc. Nowadays they would be named Abraham, Henry, John, Charles, Thomas, William, respectively.

2nd. *Genam* or house or family names. These names generally have their origin in the situation of the house or the place of residence of a man, the trade or profession in which he was engaged, and a variety of other circumstances. The fol-

lowing are a few of the family names in the low country:—Kapuge (Kapuwa's house), Lindamulage (house near the well), Kandaudage, (house on the top of hill), Wahala-tantirige (house of the musician of the palace), Kotugodage (house of Kotugada), Kalinga (of the Kalinga country), Kannangarage (house of the black town), Udumullage (house of Udumulla), Elpitibadalge (house of the silversmith of Elpitiya), and so forth.

3rd. European surnames, used by the Sinhalese: D'Abrews, Fernando, Mendis, Silva, Zoysa, Pereira, Livera, D'Olivera, Dias, Fernando, Tabrew, Dabre), etc.

4th. *Patabendinam* or titular names. In ancient times these names were conferred by the Sinhalese kings on their subjects for distinguished services, merit, learning, gallantry or exploits in war, loyalty, etc., and were equivalent to titles of nobility in a European country. When a man was presented to the sovereign to be invested with one of these titles, it was inscribed on a piece of beaten gold or embroidered silk, and tied by the royal hands on the forehead of the recipient. Hence the derivation of the term *Patabendi* from *pata* (a piece of thin metal plate, or silk) and *bendi* (tied). The following are a few of the titles thus conferred by the kings:—"Wijasekara Mudiyanse," "Jayatilaka Mudiyanse," "Panditaratna Mudiyanse," etc. etc. An interesting account of the ceremonies observed in conferring these titles will be found in Knox's *History of Ceylon*. No one had a right to use these titular names except the descendants of the titled persons.

The Portuguese, the Dutch, and even the English, following the custom of the Kandyan kings, conferred these titular names on native public servants on their appointment to important offices under Government or when ranks were conferred on them.

Of late, and especially since the abolition of compulsory labour, the practice of conferring these names has become obsolete, and in the present day people assume these names not only when they are appointed to high offices but also when persons are appointed to petty offices, such as Arachchi, Kangani, Vidane, &c., also when persons are admitted to practice as notaries public, and sometimes without any excuse whatever. Many of these names are mere high-sounding Sanskrit names and have little or no meaning. For instance "Wijayasekara" (victorious crest), "Amarasinha" (immortal lion), "Wijayasinha (victorious lion), "Gunaratna" (victorious gem), "Gunawardana" (virtue increasing), "Rājapaksa" (loyal), "Jayatilaka" (frontal mark of victory), "Wikramaratna" (mighty gem), &c.

The unauthorized assumption of these titles has created great inconvenience and confusion, and it is high time for Government to think of a remedy.

SENEX.[1]

Welitota, 21st June, 1882.

TWICE-TOLD TALES REGARDING THE AKHUND OF SWĀT.

An extraordinary little tract entitled, "*The Akhūnd of Swāt, a Muhammadan Saint, and Dilāwar Khān, the Converted Afghān Brigand,*" 1876,[2] by the Rev. T. P. Hughes, contains a good deal of information about the late Akhūnd, 'Abd-ul-Ghafūr, which may be fairly taken as correct.

At page 5 Mr. Hughes says that the Akhūnd's followers are disposed to attribute miracles to him, and that two at least of these miracles are likely to be transmitted to posterity. The first miracle is related as follows:—

"A few years ago, in consequence of the increased number of worshippers, instructions were given to a carpenter to enlarge the Akhūnd's mosque. A large beam was procured for the roof, but when brought into the mosque and measured, it was too short by nearly a yard. The Akhūnd gave instructions for it to be left on the ground for the night. When the carpenter measured the beam in the morning he found it two yards longer than was required. The beam had elongated itself some three yards during the night under the influence of the miracle-working Akhūnd. We have never yet met with any one who was present on the occasion, but the sceptical reader may, if he wishes, visit Saidū (the Akhūnd's residence) and behold the very beam projecting a yard at each end."

Now I have noticed in reading and hearing the miracles and marvellous tales regarding saints, heroes, and religious leaders in the Panjāb, that something like the same stories are told of all of them—that there is in fact a family likeness in the legends of the various Panjābī saints. For instance, Sakhī Sarwar, the Musalmān saint of Derā Ghāzī Khān, and Bālmīk (Valmīki) and Lāl Beg, the saints (or objects of worship) of the sweepers, are all said to have restored to life a horse that was killed and eaten in pretty much the same way. Sakhī Sarwar and an obscure saint in the Rāwal Pindī District, called *Barrī* Sultān, both drew milk from *bulls* when their cows were exhausted, and lately in reading R. B. Shaw's

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[1] From *Ceylon Observer*.
[2] Calcutta, Office of *Christian Intelligencer*. 24 pp.

I found the tract in a Dāk Bangalow at Tret in the Rāwal Pindī District.

High Tartary, Yârkand, and Kâshgar, 1871, I noticed that the tales he gives as ascribed to Alexander the Great bear a strong resemblance to those heard in the Panjâb ascribed to local heroes. I think if a large collection of tales—especially of miracles—were made, it would be found that the Oriental superstitious imagination has not been so fertile as one would at first imagine, and that the various tales radiate from a few central stories which are probably very old.

This tale about the Akhûnd is another instance of this. It is also told with a few variations regarding the purist Sikh leader, the Kûkâ, Râm Singh, a man much younger than the Akhûnd, who in 1876 was 86 years old, and so was born in 1790, whereas Râm Singh was not born till 1815, or 25 years later. Râm Singh was a carpenter (*bharâî*) by trade, just as the Akhûnd was a herdsman (*Gûjar*) by caste, and in 1861 on a Sunday he is said to have miraculously lengthened a beam he was putting up in a poor man's house in Firozpûr city in order to save his employer expense.[3] The difference in the tale regarding the Akhûnd and in that regarding Râm Singh is, that the subsequent success of the latter as a *Sikh* Guru or religious leader is popularly attributed to this miracle, whereas the success of the Akhûnd as a *Musalmân* religious leader was achieved long before any miracle was invented to add to his glory. But the fact of the same tale being told about a Musalmân and a Sikh hero in places so widely separated as the Peshâwar Frontier and the Firozpûr District leads one to suppose that it is really an old tale revived to suit modern requirements, and it would be of value to find out if it is traceable to earlier times.

At page 7 of his tract Mr. Hughes illustrates the Akhûnd's method of dispensing justice by the following tale:—

"A man of the village of Pubbî was convicted of immorality. The Courts of Government were ignored, and the case was submitted to the Akhûnd. A *fatwah* was issued, the culprit was seized, his face blackened, and seated on a donkey he was paraded round the village amid the shouts of the people and the beating of drums."

This method of punishment is so well-known and was so universal in India before the advent of British rule, that it is scarcely necessary for me to do more than add that in this *fatwah* the Akhûnd merely followed the custom of the country.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[3] *Ante*, p. 43.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. L, 1881.[1] The parts of this volume have appeared somewhat irregularly, and the title, ǝpuıx, &c., for the volume are not issued even with the first part of vol. LI.

The first part opens with "Contributions to the History of Bundelkhand" by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in which he brings together a good deal of traditional and other information, partly drawn from General Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, vols. II and IX, and from inscriptions published elsewhere. An important feature of this paper is the list of inscriptions published and unpublished, which Mr. Smith has compiled with evident care. Not a few of the unpublished ones ought to be made accessible at least in facsimile, with as little delay as possible, for they are evidently in danger of being lost or destroyed. Thus we find that the inscription mentioned in General Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. II, p. 447, but which was "never published nor translated," is "not now to be found." Of three Jaina statutes mentioned in the same (pp. 435 and 448) bearing inscriptions dated Saṁvat 1211, 1215, and 1220, the locality is "not now known." Another (*ib.* p. 448) dated Saṁ. 1224 is no longer known; and of the Dahi copperplate (*ib.* 455 and 448) "neither original nor copy is forthcoming nor translation." Here are six inscriptions of one dynasty already lost within a few years, and a seventh, in the hands of a private person, is as likely as not to be lost also, like most others that have been so kept hitherto, including apparently the Dahi one mentioned above.

Mr. Smith's table of the Chandel dynasty is as follows:—

A.D. 831 ?	Nânika, traditional date of the overthrow of the Parihârs at Mahôba.
850 ?	Vâkpati. In 862 Bhôja of Kanauj in possession of Chandêrî.
870 ?	Vijaya.
890 ?	Râhila.
910 ?	Harsha.
930 ?	Yaśovarmâ; 954 temple at Khajurâho built; 978 assisted at the battle of Lamghân.
999	Gaṇḍadeva; 1008 assisted Jayapâla of Lahor against Mahmûd; 1021 conquered Kanauj; 1023 surrendered Kâlanjar to Mahmûd of Ghaznî.
1025 ?	Vidyâdharadêva.
1035 ?	Vijayapâladêva.
1049 ?	Kirttivarmâdêva I, or Dêvavarmâ, or Bhûmipâla.
1100 ?	Sallakshaṇavarmâdêva.

[1] *Ante*, vol. X, p. 274.

1110? Jayavarmâdêva or Kirttivarmâdêva II.
1120? Pṛithvivarmâdêva.
1130? Madanavarmâdêva: Inscriptions dated Sam. 1188, 1190, 1211, 1215, 1220, and 915 of Chedi era.
1165? Paramârddidêva, known as Parmâla or Parmâra: Inscriptions of 1167, 1182; 1182 Mahoba captured by Pṛithvîrâja of Dehli.

Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle describes a find of 38 early Muhammadan coins of Bengal, made at Gauhati in Asâm in November 1880, of which 14 only were secured. It is accompanied by four plates on which 24 coins are figured. This is a valuable supplement to Mr. Thomas's papers on the same subject.

C. J. Rodgers follows with an important paper "On the Coins of the Sikhs" with much historical information interspersed, and 74 coins figured.

Major W. F. Prideaux has a short paper "On the Coins of Charibael, king of the Homerites and Sabæans" (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. X, p. 290). Fresnel had already called attention to two kings of the name of Kariba-êl (*Jour. Asiatique* IVme sér. tome V. pp. 211, 309; VI, 169),—Kariba-êl Bayyân son of Yatha'amar, Makrab of Sabâ, and Kariba-êl Wattâr son of Dhamar-'alî, Makrab of Sabâ or Kariba-êl Wattâr Yehan'am, king of Sabâ and Raidân, son of Dhamar-'alî Bayyan, the latter of whom appears to be identical with the Kharibael of the *Periplus* (*ante*, vol. IX, pp. 108, 118, 130-134, 333). Major Prideaux refers the reign of Kâriba-êl to about A.D. 75 (*Trans. Soc. Biblical Archæol.* vol. II, p. 16). He supplies 8 figures of early Arab coins.

Mr. H. G. Keene's paper "On the Revenues of the Mughul Empire" is in correction of Mr. Rodgers and Mr Thomas's modes of estimation, in which he argues that the estimates of Âbu'l Fazl and Nizâmu'd-dîn agree and amount to very nearly ten *krors*, and that the *murâdi tankah* is an imaginary integer of copper accounts, whereof 64 are equal to one rupee. At a later page (147) Mr. E. Thomas adds a note in reply to Mr. Rodgers's remarks on the same subject, and in defence of his own views (See *ante*, p. 315).

Rishi Kesa Bhaṭṭâchârya Śâstri has a paper "On the Identity of Upello and Upaplava." Upaplava is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* (Virâṭaparva) which Nilakaṇṭha says is in the kingdom of Virâṭa (Matsyadèśa). In the Digvijaya Parvâdh. of the Sabhâparva, Dasârṇa is mentioned in connection with Matsya and Malada: and other references in Manu and Kullûkabhaṭṭa, and in the *Mahâbhârata*, lead him to fix on the district between Mathurâ and Dehli as Matsyadêśa, and on Upello on the Dehli and Agra road as Upaplava.

Mr. C. J. Lyall gives "Further translations from the Hamâseh," in continuation of his translations of old Arabian poetry in the *Journal* in 1877. These appear to be excellent, and will interest Arabic scholars.

By far the most interesting paper in the volume is General Cunningham's "Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver, and Copper," in which he describes and figures a portion of a very important find made near Takht-i-Kuwât on the Oxus in 1877. The coins range over about 300 years from the time of Darius to that of Antiokhos the Great and Euthydemos of Baktria. The statuettes, ornaments, &c. are supposed to be of like age.

The longest paper is by Bâbu Sarat Chandradâs of Darjiling, "On the Religion, History, &c. of Tibet." These contributions are interesting, but it is to be regretted they have not been more carefully edited, for though the author writes English with considerable accuracy, he sometimes makes omissions which render the sense obscure, and jumbles together Tibetan and Sanskrit names. Had the editor called his attention to this, and got him to give the equivalents in Sanskrit of the Tibetan names, as Csoma Körösi has done in his admirable analysis, it would have greatly enhanced the value of these papers. They consist of—1, The Bon (Pon) Religion (19 pages, 6½ being original Tibetan); 2, Dispute between a Buddhist and Bonpo priest for the possession of Mount Kailâsa and Lake Mânasa (5½ pp.); 3 (Part 1). Early history of Tibet,—(1) Monarchy, 416 B.C. to 617 A.D., (2) Monarchy 600-730 A.D.; (3) Thi-sroñ-de-tsan 730-33 to 866 A.D.; (4) Ralpachan. &c. 846-860 A.D. (23½ pp.); and (Part 2) Tibet in the Middle Ages (16½ pp.); 4,* Rise and Progress of Buddhism in Tibet (14 pp.); 5, Lives of the Taśi Lamas, which consist first of four Indian incarnations, viz. (1) Subhûti the Sthavira, (2) Mañjuśrî Kîrtti, (3), Leg-dan Jyad,—whose Indian name the author has omitted, and (4) Abhayakara Gupta; *secondly* of six Tibetan incarnations—(5) Khug-pa-lhas-tsi, (6) Śakya Paṇḍita Kungaḥ-gyal-tshan (i.e. Ânandadhvaja) A.D. 1182-1252; (7), Yuñ-ton-dorje A.D. 1284-1376; (8) Kha-dub-geleg-pal-ssañ, A.D. 1385-1439; (5) Sonam-chho-kyi-Lañpo, A.D. 1439-1505; (9) Gyal-wa-Ton-dub, A.D. 1505-1570; and the Grand Lamas—(10) Gedun-dub, the founder of the monastery of Taśilhunpo (A.D. 1447). A.D. 1391-1478; (11) Pan-chhen Lo-ssañ-Chho-kyi-gyal-tshan, the first Pan-chhen Rin-po-chhe. A.D. 1569-1662; (12) Lo-ssañ Ye-śe-pal-ssañ-po.

* This is in vol. LI, for 1882.

A.D. 1662-1737; and (13) Pan-chhen Lo-ssañ Paldan-Yeśe, A.D. 1737-1779, who died on a visit to Pekin, of which an account is given. 6, Life and legend of Lo-ssañ-tâgpa, the great Buddhist reformer of Tibet A.D. 1378-1441, and 7, Rise and progress of Buddhism in Mongolia (8 pp. of Tibetan text) with translation,—(in all 141 pages). The paper is accompanied by plates representing the lamas, &c., but the 2nd called 'Rigdan Tagpa' is not referred to in the text, and it can hardly be meant for Mañjuśrî Kîrtti, whose Tibetan name is not given. The only other paper in No. 1 of 1882 is a short memoir of Maulânâ Minhâju'd-dîn Abû 'Umâri-'Usmân, the author of the *Tabakât-i Nâşirî.*

Part II of the *Journal* contains several Geographical, Meteorological, and numerous Natural History papers; but the Index and Contents of this part is very late in being published. No part of this division of the volume for 1882 has yet reached us.

The American Oriental Society has issued the 1st part of the XIth volume of its *Journal* containing five papers read between October 25th 1877 and October 28th 1880, which are of the usual high character that distinguishes the published papers of this Society. The 1st by Mr. A. Hjalmar Edgren is "On the Verbal Roots of the Sanskrit Language and of the Sanskrit Grammarians," in which the author separates the authenticated from the unauthenticated radicals of Sanskrit, and classifies the former;—meaning by "authenticated" root forms such as have been actually found in any form in Hindu literature as well as in Pâṇini's *Dhâtupaṭhâ* and explained by native commentators.

The object of Dr. Edgren's paper is to distinguish the authenticated roots and root-forms in Sanskrit from the unauthenticated, to make a general classification of the former, and to attempt a determination of the character and value of the latter. The author refers first to the familiar fact that a majority of the roots given by the Hindu Grammarians have never been met with in use, and to the suggestions made in explanation of it. The importance of the matter to Indo-European etymology makes desirable a more systematic inquiry. Of the more than two thousand roots catalogued by the grammarians, 974 have been authenticated by being found in use in the literature: and there are besides over 30 Vedic roots which the catalogues do not contain. A considerable number of the former, however, are only duplicates, of slightly different form: if these are subtracted, the number is reduced to 879. Taking from this number, again, evident denominatives, there are left 832; and by further deduction of essentially duplicate and derivative forms, we arrive at the number of 788 radicals, which are either entirely distinct roots, or secondary formations by accretion, or vowel-change and transposition, outside the ordinary grammatical processes—and even this number may be further considerably reduced, if we are strict in detecting and casting out such secondary formations.

Of the 832 which remain after taking away graphical variations and denominatives only 549 occur in both the *Rig-Veda* and the later literature; 62 are found in the *Rig-Veda* alone (11 having later derivatives); of the remaining 221, about 30 have derivatives in that *Veda*, and a considerable part of the rest occur in the other *Vedas* or in the *Brâhmaṇas*—not a few only there. Of course, the absence of any root in a single work is no proof of its absence from the language of the period. Yet there are sufficient reasons for believing that a considerable part of the roots here in question are of later origin.

An important characteristic of the authenticated roots is their productiveness, by combination with prepositional prefixes and by formation of derivatives; very few of them remain barren and isolated in the dictionary.

Of the other great class of radical forms, the unauthenticated, there are 1119. Allowing, as before, for slight variations of form in roots of identical meaning, the number will be reduced to rather less than 1000. It is to be noted, however, that meanings wholly diverse and incompatible are freely attributed to these roots, just as to the authenticated roots similar unauthenticated senses are assigned. Of these meanings, as virtually increasing the number of roots, no account is here made. The character of the class is discussed under the following heads: 1. The disproportion between the two classes. While Westergaard and other early scholars might hope that the unauthenticated roots would yet be found in parts of the literature then unexplored, all hope of such a result is now long past. 2. The different relation which the classes sustain to the material of the vocabulary: only a small proportion of the unauthenticated (less than 150) even seem to have any connection with derivative nominal bases. 3. The different relation between authenticated radicals of kindred form and meaning on the one hand, and unauthenticated ones of the same kind on the other; and the artificial aspect of the latter. Nearly four-fifths of the second class can be arranged in groups, numbering from two to twenty and more, of identical meaning and of analogous but obviously not historically related form. For example: *kev, khev, gev, glev, pev, plev, mev, mlev, śev; meb, peb; mep, lep*, are all defined

by *sevane*, 'serve, honor'; and there are groups of identical finals with almost every consonant in the alphabet as initial. Under this head are considered at some length the causes which may be conjectured to have led to the fabrication of such groups. 4. The discrepancy between the number of the two classes represented in cognate languages:—Fick finds evidence for regarding about 450 of the authenticated radicals as belonging to the Indo-European period; of the others, only 80, and many of these on very unsatisfactory grounds.

While the general conclusion from the facts and arguments presented is that the vast majority of the unauthenticated roots are pure figments of the grammarians, the probability still remains that a certain percentage of them are real, and either stowed away in some unexplored part of the literature or never recorded there.

The paper embraces an alphabetical list of the authenticated roots, stating under each whether it occurs in the *Ṛig-Veda* alone, in the later literature alone, or in both, also whether it is combined with prepositions, and whether derivatives are made from it. To this list is added an index of the same roots arranged alphabetically according to their finals.

The second article is "On the Accentuation of the Vocative Case in the *Ṛig* and *Atharva Vedas*" by Dr. W. Haskell.

The third paper is also by Dr. Edgren, and is "On the Relation in the *Ṛig Veda* between the palatal and labial vowels (*i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*) and their corresponding semi-vowels (*y*, *v*)."

Dr. Edgren points out the difference between the Vedic dialect and the classical Sanskrit in regard to the treatment and occurrence before dissimilar vowels of *i*, *u* or *y*, *v*: the semi-vowels being alone found (by conversion or otherwise) in the classical language, but the two vowels being of very frequent occurrence, as proved by metrical evidence, in the *Veda*. A careful examination of the whole field shows beyond doubt that, whatever share arbitrary usage and corruption of the texts may have in the varied occurrence of vowels or semi-vowels, it is in the main of organic nature, and gives additional support to the theory that the semi-vowels in question are only later developments of the more primitive vowels *i* and *u*, and that we meet in the *Ṛig-Veda* with a transitional state. Dr. Edgren tries to demonstrate by an exhaustive statistical account of all cases in the *Ṛig-Veda* in which *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* or *y*, *v* occur before vowels, that the more primitive sounds have been retained as a rule, or prevailingly, wherever they occurred at the end of a word or stem, and thus helped to preserve the individuality of the word; and, on the other hand, that the semi-vowels are found to prevail in all combinations the original independence and significance of which were dimmed and forgotten (as in derivative and especially inflectional suffixes, and in radical elements). The whole subject is considered under three heads: 1. The treatment of final *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, of words or themes before dissimilar vowels; 2. The occurrence of *i* or *y*, *u* or *v* in formative elements; and 3. Their occurrence in the radical part of the word.

1. In the collocation of words in sentences, *i* and *u* are retained almost without exception. In 1294 verses chosen from all the Maṇḍalas, *i* and *u* occur together 391 times, *y* and *v* only 6 times (in *práty*, *ánv*, *sádhv*). An examination of a number of other passages confirmed the fact that only a few such less independent words as prepositions have begun to show a tendency to convert into a semi-vowel the fina *i* or *u* before a dissimilar vowel. In compounds the case is nearly the same. Final *i* and *u* occur altogether in 553 instances, but their corresponding semi-vowels only 52 times; and it is especially the prepositions *ati*, *abhi* which convert their vowels. Two words (*gávyūti*, *ṛitvíj*) occur not less than 39 times of the 52, but at least the former of them (*gávyūti*) is of doubtful formation. In noun-stems ending in *i*, *ī*, *u* or *ū*, the *i* (*ī*) is retained in 392 instances, but consonantized in 240 instances; and the *u* (*ū*) is retained 285 times, but consonantized 241 times (chiefly, or 110 times, in the two forms *mádhvas*, *vásvas*). If each stem alone be considered, the difference in the occurrence of vowel or semi-vowel is much more marked, the vowel (*i* or *u*) being found then about twice as often as the semi-vowel. In both cases, the final long vowel is preserved more tenaciously than the short: the *ū*-stems, indeed, never consonantizing *ū* before a vowel-ending; and further, thematic *i* (*ī*) is found to occur mostly after a long, and *y* after a short syllable. In verb-roots the final *i*- and *u*- vowels are generally combined with the following vowel through the medium of *guṇa*-strengthening or the insertion of a semi-vowel, less frequently by conversion of the final. The vowel *i* is retained in 51 instances, the vowel *u* never.

2. Of the formative elements, the derivative suffixes are taken up first; and of them the suffix *-ia* (*-ya*) is by far the most frequent. The form *-ia* occurs 2033 times, and *-ya* 1628 times. There are 47 words which are found in different passages with both form, *-ia* and *-ya*, but as a rule even these show very prevailingly *one* of the forms (in two-thirds of the cases it is *-ia*), and the exceptionally used termination is in one half

of the instances a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. In connection with these statistics are considered certain attendant phenomena helping to prove that the occurrence of *-ia* or *-ya* is not arbitrary, but depends on the organism of the word. Thus *ia* is found with very few exceptions wherever the suffix has the circumflex. Further, a long syllable is followed in 189 simple words (in 41 of which the suffix has the circumflex) by *-ia*, and in only 37 simple words (all without the circumflex) by *-ya*. A short syllable is followed in 85 simple words (in 45 of which the suffix has the circumflex) by *-ia*, and in 98 simple words (in 12 of which the suffix has the circumflex) by *-ya*. Finally, in regard to their derivation, words clearly derived from a theme in *-a* (as *gaṇia* from *gaṇa*) take almost invariably the suffix-form *-ia*. Of 110 such derivatives, there are only 8 absolute exceptions to the rule. Next in order, all the other formative suffixes containing an *i* or *y* or *u* or *v* are considered, and it is shown that the concurrent phenomena of a preceding long or short syllable and a subsequent vowel or semi-vowel respectively is clearly traceable everywhere, more absolutely so in regard to *u, v* than in regard to *i, y*. In declensional endings the vowel *i* is found altogether 128 times, and the semi-vowel *y* nearly 4800 times. Even here the preservative influence of a preceding long syllable seems traceable, the vowel occurring in 123 instances (out of 128) after a long syllable. In verb-inflection, the semi-vowels are found almost exclusively, the exceptions being—*ia* as a class-sign five times, as a tense-sign once, in optatives 95 times; *u(a)* in a class-sign six times, in a personal ending 12 times, and in various forms of the root *dhanv* (perhaps as a class-sign) 14 times.

Finally, the occurrence of the vowels or semi-vowels in question in roots or in the radical part of words is considered; and it was shown that the semi-vowels are found with comparatively few exceptions (chiefly *tua-* and *súar*) in the great mass of such words. The exceptions are—*i* in verb-roots 27 times, in pronominal roots 29 times, in more uncertain combinations 71 times; *v* once doubtfully in the verb-root *suad*, in pronominals several hundred times, owing to the frequency of the form *tua-*, in more uncertain combinations 244 times, mainly in the word *súar* (233 times) and its compounds.

The fourth article, by Prof. S. Wells Williams, of Yale College, refers to the "Notices of Fu-sang and other countries lying east of China, given in the Antiquarian Researches of Ma twan-lin," of which we extract the following *résumé* from the *Proceedings*:—

Ma-Twan-lin flourished in the troubled times which witnessed the conquest of his native land by the Mongols under Kublai Khan; and he was busy writing his Antiquarian Researches while Marco Polo was travelling about the country (A.D. 1275 to 1295) in the service of the Grand Khan. The date of the deaths of these two men was about the year 1324. Ma Twan-lin's work is arranged in twenty-five books, the last one named "Researches into the Four Frontiers." Out of its 250 sections, only nine describe the maritime countries on the east. The account of Japan is too long to translate and would add nothing to clear up the question as to the identification of Fu-sang. The other eight are translated from the original text, in the order in which they stand, since this order has a bearing upon the position of Fu-sang. They are the following:—

Sect. XVI.—*Hia-i.* The land of the Crab Barbarians or Foreigners.

Sect. XVII.—*Fu-sang.* The kingdom of Fu-sang.

Sect. XVIII.—*Nü Kwoh.* The kingdom of Women.

Sect. XIX.—*Wăn Shăn.* The kingdom of Pictured Bodies.

Sect. XX.—*Ta Han.* The kingdom of Great Han.

Sect. XXI.—*Chü Jü Kwoh.* The kingdom of Dwarfs.

Sect. XXII.—*Chang-jin Kwoh.* The kingdom of Giants.

Sect. XXIII.—*Liu-kiu.* The kingdom of Lew-chew.

The first of the eight is known to refer to the island of Yezo, and the Chinese still call the region by that name. The next country, Fu-sang, is not described by Ma Twan-lin himself; he merely quotes the narrative of the Shaman or Buddhist priest Hwui-shin, who returned from Fu-sang in A.D. 499. This man reported that it lay twenty thousand *li* (about 7,000 miles) east of China, and was famous for its *fu-sang* trees, whence it derived its name. The people made paper from the bark of this tree, and also spun thread of which they manufactured cloth and brocade for dresses. They knew how to write, and had an established government. Hwui-shin's account contains several other particulars, which were first made use of by the learned orientalist De Guignes in 1761 to prove that the land thus described was Mexico. This view has been criticised by Klaproth, supported by Neumann, and in China made the subject of papers by Bretschneider and Sampson, who opposed the view of De Guignes. All their arguments were reviewed by Leland in a small volume published in 1875, in which he upheld the original opinion of De Guignes. His conclusion has since

found an advocate in the French sinologue Marquis d'Hervey de St. Denis, who had met with some additional information in a Chinese history. Prof. Williams summarizes the arguments which make it difficult to regard Mexico as the country spoken of, and mentions two especially, which are derived from Hwui-shin's report itself. One is the manufacture of *kin* or brocade from the bark of the *fu-sang* tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera*); this fabric, called *nishiki*, is woven of silk and paper, and is still worn by the Japanese. He exhibited a specimen of this peculiar cloth which was obtained in 1854 at Hakodaté in Yeso; its iridescence is very remarkable; and no such fabric is known to have ever been woven in any other land. The other proof against Fu-sang being Mexico is the statement that the colours of the king's robes varied with the ten cyclic years which denote the dual action of the five elements, wood, fire, earth, metal, water. This reference shows that at the time the people of Fu-sang knew and adopted the sexagenary cycle for computing time and periods; while no such scheme is known to have existed among any people on the American continent. The probability was strong, therefore, that Fu-sang referred to the island of Saghalien, a part of which once belonged to Japan under the name of Karafto; this conclusion is supported by the old name *Fu-shi koku*, or kingdom of Fu-sang, which the Japanese employ for their own kingdom even to this day.

The 18th in the list is the kingdom of Women, a country only reported on the authority of the same priest Hwui-shin. It seems to refer to one of the Kurile Islands; and a legend of the same nature is alluded to by Col. Yule, in his *Cathay and the Way Thither*, as current in Ma Twan-lin's time.

The notice of the 19th, called the land of Pictured Bodies, is not directly ascribed to Hwui-shin, but to the histories of the same period; it cannot be decided whether tattooing or marking the body with coloured clay like the North American Indians, is meant. This land would naturally be looked for also among the Kurile Islands, as it is placed 2,000 miles north-east of Japan.

The 20th in the list is mentioned by several Chinese authors, and their various accounts of Ta Han only prove that they had no definite idea of its position.

In the next section three separate kingdoms are mentioned: namely, the land of Dwarfs, the Black Teeth Kingdom, and the Naked People's Land. The notices are all probably hearsay reports of places in the Indian Archipelago.

The 22nd section speaks of a land of Giants, and from the reference in it to *Sin-lo*, or Eastern Corea, one would look for it in the Islands between that country and Japan. A small Japanese cyclopædia was shown to the Society, in which a naked giant was represented as holding a richly dressed dwarf standing on his extended palm.

The last of these eastern kingdoms described is Lewchew, but the description confuses the Pescadore and Madji-co-sima groups with their more easterly and civilized kingdom.

The conclusion to be derived from all these various notices of the lands situated east of China is that Ma Twan-lin had no definite knowledge of any of them from personal observation, and gathered his accounts from the most credible sources at his command, supposing that they were all easily reached by Chinese and Japanese vessels.

The fifth and last paper (92 pages) is by Mr. E. D. Perry on "Indra in the *Ṛig-Veda*." The object of this paper is to give as distinct an account of the god Indra as possible, as he appears in the light shed upon him by the hymns of the *Ṛig-Veda*; more especially to determine with accuracy the position held by him in the Vedic pantheon, and his original significance, his *Naturbedeutung*: i. e. the powers of Nature which lie behind and are symbollized by this striking personification. The preliminary part of the work is of course a searching examination of the hymns themselves, and a conscientious interpretation of all passages in any way bearing upon the subject. Great care is taken to avoid two dangers; on the one hand, that of over-hasty combination and comparison with seeming parallels in extra-Indian mythology; and, on the other, that of following too closely what may be called the ritualistic tendency, which puts these ancient hymns (which breathe out the freshness of nature, and display the Indian people in the vigour of youth) on the same level with the religious monstrosities of a cunning, subtle, ingenious and yet frivolous priesthood of a later age, and attempts to explain obscure points in the text by not less imperfectly understood details of the later ceremonial.[1]

The *Ṛig-Veda* is the only source from which materials have been thus far drawn. The *Brahmaṅas* show so decided an advance beyond Vedic ideas that great confusion would have followed any attempt to combine them. The same reason

[1] To the first of these perils Myriantheus seems to have fallen a prey; his work, *Die Açvins oder Arischen Dioskuren*, was published at Munich in 1876. The other has often proved disastrous to Alfred Hillebrandt, who is represented in this field by two books, *Ueber die Göttin Aditi* (Breslau, 1876), and *Varuṇa und Mitra* (1877).

prevails with regard to the *Yajus*. The *Sâman* contains only 60 or 70 verses not found in the *Ṛik*, and these offer nothing of value. A preliminary examination of the *Atharvan* shows that the results to be obtained from it would not differ materially from those furnished by the *Ṛik*, and its discussion has been postponed until later.

The essay is divided into four parts, as follows:—I. The primitive conceptions of the Indians regarding Indra, and the powers of nature which are represented under this personification; II. The accounts of Indra's parentage, and the narratives and legends of his birth; III. The functions of Indra in the supernatural and the natural, the physical and the moral world; IV. The conception of Indra as a definite person, and the descriptions of him resulting from this conception.

I. The opinion has prevailed among scholars that Indra was, both in his origin and subsequent development, a sky-god. Roth, in his first published essay on the subject of Indian religion (in Zeller's *Theol. Jahrbuch*, 1846) calls him the god of the bright clear vault of heaven;[2] Lassen in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, takes substantially the same view, differing from Roth only in regard to the etymology of the name. Wuttke failed completely to grasp the true nature of Indra, and saw him only from the standpoint of the later Brahmanic descriptions. Benfey, Müller, Grassmann, and others, call him a sky-god (Grassmann, the god of the bright firmament; the others, the god of the rain-sky).[3] Ludwig cautiously names him "the god of the sky, under whose protection and guidance stand on the one hand the sun and stars, on the other the phenomena of the thunder-storm;" and adds that this deity seems to unite in his one person the characteristics of several older divinities. Bergaigne, viewing only the ethical side of Indra's nature, maintains that he is less intimately connected with natural phenomena than any other of the Indian divinities. It is here attempted to be proved that for the Vedic period at least Indra is to be regarded, not as a sky-god, but as belonging to a region the conception of which was purely and exclusively Indian—the region of the air, a middle ground between heaven and earth; and that he was above all the personification of the thunder-storm, of the storm in its entire magnificence and grandeur; in which respect he is distinguished from the other storm gods, who represent particular features of that phenomenon.

The most probable derivation of the word *indra* is that proposed by Roth: namely, from the root *in* or *inv*, from which the word is formed with the suffix *ra*, a *d* being inserted, as in Greek ἀν-δ-ρός μεσημ-β-ρία. Ludwig mentions a Slavonic word, *jĕdrŭ*, 'shift,' as the only representative of *indra* in Indo-European language.

II. The passages in which reference is made to the circumstances of Indra's birth are numerous, much less so those which afford any clue to the subject of his parentage. They are best divided into four groups: viz., 1, physical accounts, i.e., such as display most prominently the original element of the mythus, the immediate impression made by the observation of natural phenomena, in which details that mightiest of phenomena, the thunder-storm, are described, often with striking fidelity; 2, anthropomorphic accounts, in which Indra's original significance in nature gives place to his humanized form and character, and in which, accordingly, his birth is represented as occurring in accordance with human experience; 3, accounts which mention Indra's parentage, but omit to name or characterize sufficiently his parents; and 4, accounts of his origin which are plainly the results of conscious speculation on the part of the priests. Dyaus or heaven seems to have been thought of as Indra's father, whenever any one particular deity is meant, and as his mother, Pṛithivî or earth. Later views made him a child of Aditi; but the opinion, advanced by Hillebrandt, that this is to be accepted for the Vedic period too, is quite untenable. In several passages Indra is called *putraḥ śavasas*, "Son of Might;" accordingly, the name Śavasî, applied to his mother in two passages, seems merely equivalent to 'the mighty one,' and gives us no real clue. In the puzzling verse x. 101. 12 we find Indra styled "Son of Nishṭigrî;" but the word *Nishṭigrî* is met with nowhere else, and no data are at hand to explain it. Sâyaṇa, of course, explains it; he makes it equivalent to Aditi.

III. The subject of Indra's functions in the universe is extremely copious, and embraces several questions of equal importance and difficulty. In the various manifestations of his power we find a ground on which he stands in common with other divinities. The most prominent of these manifestations is the battle which he has to fight in the air against the demons who steal the rain and light, and withhold them from mortals; the most gracious act of his goodness the restoration of these blessings to suffering men. His activity in this field brings him into an especially close connection with Trita, concerning whom it is endeavoured to prove that he is an older deity who originally performed the functions of the later Indra, and sank gradually into insignificance before the rising

[2] Roth's latest views, as expressed in the *Pet. Dict.* differ widely from these. He there calls him the chief of the deities of the middle region, i e., the air, between heaven and earth.

[3] Yet in his *Chips*, vol. II, p. 91, Müller styles him the chief solar deity of India!

national hero; with the Âdityas, especially with Varuṇa, whose lieutenant in a certain field Indra seems to have been, until finally he succeeded his master on the throne of heaven (a question treated of at considerable length in the essay); with the Maruts, the gods of the storm, who support their leader Indra in the storm-battle; with Soma, originally the well-known intoxicating beverage, supposed by the simple-minded worshippers to be enjoyed by the god with even greater gusto than they themselves experienced, but before long personified and elevated into a hero of boundless prowess, and associated with Indra in all his exploits; with Bṛihaspati or Brahmaṇaspati, the god of prayer, with Agni, the god of fire and lightning, and Vishṇu, the sun-god; and with Tvashṭar and the Ṛibhus, the skilful armourers and artificers. From the notion of Indra's paramount importance in preserving the natural order of the world was developed, by gradual stages, the belief that he was its creator, in which character we find him celebrated in passages of great sublimity. His benevolence towards his worshippers, finally, is praised in grateful language, and gives occasions for associating with him Pûshan and the two Aśvins, the divinities of benevolence *par excellence* among the Indians.

IV. The extraordinary popularity which this robust deity (who in the warlike epic period becomes the supreme unchallenged ruler of the gods) enjoyed among the Indian Aryans was the cause of his being celebrated in the most extravagant language. His personal appearance, his weapons, horses, chariot, his enormous appetite, and still more prodigious thirst, are all described with the minuteness and exaggeration characteristic then, as now, of eastern poetry.

The *Proceedings* appended to the volume give abstracts of several other papers, and among them that of Prof. Whitney's paper on the Transliteration of Sanskrit, reproduced *ante* p. 263.

The XIIth volume, published before the preceding, contains Prof. Whitney's *Index Verborum* to the published of the *Atharva-Veda*,—a volume that will be specially welcome to Vedic students.

BOOK NOTICES.

A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR of the GAUDIAN LANGUAGES, with special reference to the Eastern Hindi, *accompanied by a Language-Map and a table of Alphabets.* By A. F. Rudolf Hoernle. London: Trübner & Co.

Here is a book the simplest examination of which shows better than any *ex professo* dissertation whatever could do, to what degree of precision the art of analysing and describing a group of languages has been carried, of following or divining the progressive alterations in them and establishing their affiliation. Twenty years ago, supposing even that the materials on which it is founded had been accessible, the idea of writing on the same plan would not have occurred to any one. The accomplished grammarian who had succeeded in grasping the subject as clearly, would have been obliged in the exposition and at the risk of being understood by only a very few readers, to stop at each step to plan or clear his way, to establish or recall principles, to make digressions and impede his progress with a whole array of general theories. Dr. Hoernle has found the ground better prepared. He has been able to reduce his *impedimenta* to the strictly necessary, and comprise in 400 pages the historical and comparative grammar of all the modern Âryan idioms of India. His book, which embraces the same geographical and linguistic area as Mr. Beames's, is, in several respects, materially more complete, at the same time the teaching is carried deeper. This is a result which does infinite honour to Dr. Hoernle, but it is also a happy sign of the actual state of linguistic study, that such a result is attainable, without presuming too much on the public.

In order to confine himself within such narrow limits, Dr. Hoernle has necessarily been obliged to compress the lines. The volume has but scant margin and the pages bristle with initials, abbreviations, grammatical terms, designations of languages and dialects, names of authors, titles of Hindu and European works, known or unknown, published or in manuscript, and many contractions—the multitude of which would be troublesome in any other book less intended for patient minute study. By way of compensation, economy is never practised at the cost of essential or really important matters. The examples, and they are innumerable, from the simple form to the developed citation, are all given in Dêvanâgarî characters, and from the beginning to the end accompanied by the translation. Although generally sparing of comments, the author does not hesitate to engage in long discussions on particularly obscure or questionable points. But what he has, above all, avoided is to economize in facts. In this respect his book is of astonishing richness. In no other work do we find for all the periods of the history of these languages, the inventory of their grammatical mechanism so complete, from the smallest phonetic peculiarities to the characteristic processes of their syntax.

Thus Dr. Hoernle's grammar, with its highly doctrinal character, is at the same time as much a book of practical instruction as an essentially comparative work could be; and that not only for the Hindî dialect, which forms the groundwork of the exposition, but also for the other varieties of which it treats less directly.

What in reality has enabled Dr. Hoernle to fulfil without accident this plan with such great conciseness is the ingenious and consequently rigorous arrangement of his book, where everything comes in at its proper place, so that the commentary is for the most part contained in the statement itself. His grammar is not in fact the attempt of a beginner. Long before writing it, he had to some extent traced the plan in articles, much criticised at the time of their publication, in the *Asiatic Journal of Bengal.*[1] Later he had shown his ability in a *Grammar of the Garvari* dialect,[2] and, at different times, he had discussed the objections raised to some of his theories.[3] This was not less necessary than that long preparation in Banâras itself, the centre and in some measure epitome of the whole of India, to bring out a work so perfectly thought out as that which occupies us, where to the smallest detail, all is foreseen and measured beforehand, and which, although brought out little by little in a Grammar of Eastern Hindî, was certainly constructed entire in the mind of the author before the first line of it was written.

In five sections, subdivided into twelve chapters and a greater number of sub-chapters and 570 paragraphs, Dr. Hoernle treats successively of the alphabets[4] and of the phonetics; of suffixes and roots;[5] of the flexion of the noun substantive, adjective, noun of number, and pronoun; of the flexion of the verb in all its forms, derived and compound; and lastly, of the indeclinables. A sixth section is reserved for specimens of Eastern Hindî as it is spoken in the environs of Banâras.

It is of this dialect, in fact, the Bhôjpûrî, that Dr. Hoernle treats in the first place. He gives a complete grammar of it, perfectly sufficient for the practical acquisition of the language. Following each paragraph and under the title 'affinities,' he then analyses the conformities or divergences which present themselves in comparison with this type in the other dialects of Âryan origin. In the east the different forms of Bangâli and Oṛiyâ, in the north the Himâlayan of Garhwâl, of Kumaon and of Nepâl; in the west the various forms of western Hindî and further the dialects spoken in Gujarât, in Sindh and in the Panjâb; lastly in the south the Marâṭhî with its subdivisions. The comparative part is methodically distributed throughout the book. The historical portion is arranged in like manner at the end of each paragraph under the title of *Derivation and Origin.* Dr. Hoernle examines there what the facts are in the archaic forms of the various idioms, when these are accessible in written or traditional works; since with the help of the Prakṛits, of the Pâli, and of the language of the more ancient inscriptions, he traces each of them to the Sanskṛit, which, in a general way, may be regarded as the common source of them. This part of the book, which is the most interesting from a general linguistic point of view, is one of the most original in it. It is that also which will raise perhaps the most objections. Undoubtedly no one will blame Dr. Hoernle's tendency to explain everything by the Sanskṛit. That is a tendency which has been traced in advance; each step forward in the philology of these languages having constantly reduced the number of facts which appeared to demand a different explanation. But it cannot be concealed that some among Dr. Hoernle's derivations are fanciful. No one will be disposed, for example, to recognise in the element *ka*, which analysis proves or establishes in so many suffixes of derivation or flexion, the representative of the Sanskṛit *krita.* It is necessary, however, to add that Dr. Hoernle has himself taken care, in more than one place, to express reservation; but the positions taken, apparently the most rash, depended on analogies so numerous, on an experience so perfect in all the particulars of this linguistic domain, that a contradiction of which he had not himself recognised and described the possibility would rarely have the chance of being well-founded. As for myself, at least, who have especially to learn from this book, I cannot allow myself to criticise it.

A work thus arranged, supposes a classification and a genealogy of all the languages. This is in fact what he gives us in the introduction. Dr. Hoernle divides these idioms into four principal groups. Eastern group: the Eastern Hindî, Bangâlî, and Oṛiyâ; Western group: the Western Hindî, Gujarâtî, Sindhî, and Panjâbî; Northern group: the Âryan languages of the Himâlaya;

[1] For the years 1872, 1873 under the title of *Essays in aid of a Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages.*

[2] *A Grammar of the Eastern Hindî commonly called Garwari*: London, 1878.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* vol. I, p. 356; vol. II, p. 210; vol. V, p. 119.

[4] Dr. Hoernle would have made his *Table* of Alphabets still more useful if he had replaced the early Alphabets (Maurya, Gupta, Valabhi), a little out of place here, by a more complete series of modern varieties and of the intermediate forms of the mediæval ages.

[5] An alphabetical list of roots intended for the grammar has been published separately in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1880, pp. 33ff.

Southern group or Marâṭhî. The Hindî is thus divided between the eastern and western groups, its two branches having more affinity with the Bangâli on the one side and the Gujarâti and Panjâbî on the other, than they have to each other. The literary works which have reached us show that each of these groups, now broken up into numerous dialects, formed about the twelfth or thirteenth century only one language. In examining the principal characters of these four languages we perceive that the northern group approaches the western, whilst that of the south is in closer relation with the eastern, and that consequently, at an earlier date of which the Aśoka inscriptions have left us some memento, the four groups were reduced to two, which correspond to the Prâkṛits, Śaurasenî and Mâgadhi,—not to the varieties of these names which grammarians speak of—(these are literary languages and more or less artificial),—but to their common dialects or Apabhraṁśas; and here again it is necessary to understand not the Apabhraṁśas of the grammarians which are themselves more or less artificial, but the true Apabhraṁśas which have perished, unless the Pâli has preserved for us the form of one of them. As for the Mahârâshṭrî, it is a variety of the Śaurasenî, that is to say, of the western group; it has nothing but the name[6] in common with the actual Marâṭhî, for which one often finds it pass, and its character on the contrary assigned to the eastern or Mâgadhî group. Alongside of these Âryan languages, spoken by Âryans, a certain number of patois have grown up among the non-Âryan populations. These are the dialects termed Paiśâchî, which perished early, and of which the Paiśâchi of the grammarians has preserved us only certain features. These two languages, the vulgar Śaurasenî and vulgar Mâgadhî, have both come from the west, the more eastern, the Mâgadhî having preceded the other, seeing that it has left traces all along the route to the valley of Kabul and even beyond. The other and later, the Śaurasenî, has not advanced further towards the east and south than the actual limits of eastern Hindî and Marâṭhi. In their course, they were only different dialects of one language, which, raised to the state of a literary language, is represented by the Sanskṛit.

Such, in substance, according to Dr. Hoernle, is the history of the Âryan languages of India.[7] On several points, as for example on that which relates to the respective position of the Mahârâshṭrî and the Marâṭhî, it is quite new. The whole is charming for, at first sight, it appears simpler and better united than any that has yet appeared. Is it however free from all objection? Without entering into an examination which would carry me too far, and which, to be complete, would encroach on ground where I do not feel myself competent, I ought to say that the conclusions of Dr. Hoernle appear very strong, considering the nature of his data. By the preceding summary alone one may see how many essential terms have disappeared from the series, instead of which he has only suggested approximations, which he himself suspects, and which he inserts as if confident of them. At the commencement Dr. Hoernle goes on solid ground: he has to deal with languages actually spoken; but when he goes back into the past (and that is one objection which, in passing, bears sometimes on his *derivations*) he deals only with literary languages, or, worse still, with languages which have served as a medium for religious movements. Because the oldest Vaishṇava *kirtans* are neither in Bangâlî nor Hindî but in an idiom which partakes of both, because the western Hindî, Gujarâti and Panjâbî, are mingled, so to speak, in the poem of Chand, does it follow that there were then only two languages spoken from the mountains of Afghanistan to the Doab, and from the Doab to the Asam Hills? Do even the Aśoka inscriptions really authorise the conclusion that a single idiom reigned at that epoch from the sources of the Jamnâ to the mouths of the Ganges? To answer these and other like questions negatively does not upset Dr. Hoernle's historic theory, but it lessens to some extent the rigour, precision and simplicity of it. Besides, do we not know how delicate the classification of dialects is, even when dealing with dialects actually existing? Dr. Hoernle finds for example that the Marâṭhî agrees with the eastern group in four points and with the western group in eight; but the proposition is reversed if we consider the true characteristics, according to him, of the two groups. Marâṭhî then agrees in four points with the Eastern and in only two with the Western group. This is enough to rank it among the Eastern languages, and as Mahârâshṭri is ranked among the Western, no relation is allowed between them. Is it necessary to add that there is always something arbitrary and consequently hap-hazard in this kind

[6] The name according to Dr. Hoernle is to be regarded as qualificative—'the language of the great kingdom.'

[7] The same views indeed, supported by other arguments, have been presented by Dr. Hoernle in the preface to his beautiful edition of Chanda: *The Prâkṛita-Lakshaṇam, or Chaṇḍa's Grammar of the Ancient (Arsha) Prâkṛit, Part I. Text, with a Critical Introduction and Notes.* Calcutta, 1880 (*Biblioth. Indica.*) Of another publication by Dr. Hoernle on the same subject, but written probably with a view to a public less special,—*A Sketch of the history of Prâkrit Philology* (*Calcutta Rev.*, October, 1880), I know only the title.

of calculation? M. Garrez, on the contrary, admits a very close relation between the Mahârâshṭrî and the Marâṭhî, and his views in this respect, expressed some years ago, have been generally approved, on several occasions particularly by M. Weber. This only shows that there is still a great deal of uncertainty in all this, and that in rendering homage to the vast knowledge and ability with which Dr. Hoernle has constructed this linguistic history of India, it is necessary to temper here and there, with some doubt, the apparent rigour of his demonstrations.

An alphabetical index completes the volume, which facilitates reference. The correction of the press which (in a work like this) is peculiarly difficult, is irreproachable. At least I have only found quite an insignificant number of errata that have escaped the list; for example, p. 6, line 8, virâma in *amṛita*; p. 35, line 4, *infra*, *dh* instead of *gh*; in the following line, *saṁhaḥ* ought to be marked with an asterisk; p. 126, line 22, ought to read *indrâṇî*.

This article was nearly finished when Dr. Hoernle's *Grammar* was honoured with the Volney prize by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres. After such judgement mine is of no value. I am not less happy to be able to congratulate the author on having obtained this high distinction for a work of which I think so highly.[8]

A. BARTH.

UNEXPLORED BALÛCHISTAN: A Survey of a Route through Mekran, Bashakard, Persia, Kurdistan, and Turkey. By Ernest A. Floyer. 8vo. Griffith and Farran, 1882.

Mr. Floyer was for many years employed in the Indo-European Telegraph Service on the Coast of Persia and Mekran, and having availed himself of his leave to make excursions from Jask into West Mekran, the Persian Gulf, Bashakard, and through Southern Persia, he has given a most vividly written account of his different journeys in a volume of more than 500 pages, illustrated by a dozen sketches, &c., and a good map, and supplemented by meteorological, linguistic, geographical, botanical, and other appendices of interest. The author is evidently a good linguist, with a fair knowledge of natural history and an accurate observer.

The narrative of the journeys is excellently told, and abounds in amusing incident as well as in valuable geographical and ethnographic information. The spelling of proper names is generally correct, though there are a few inconsistencies, as *Eeliaut* (p. 91) and *Iliaut* (246) for *Iliât*, and three or four others. It is to be regretted that such a book should be issued without an index.

BUDDHA AND EARLY BUDDHISM, by Arthur Lillie (late Regiment of Lucknow), with numerous illustrations drawn on wood by the Author. London: Trübner & Co.

Of the many works that have of late years appeared on Buddha and Buddhism, this volume by Mr. Lillie must hold a place by itself as one of the most remarkable jumbles of inaccurate information, misunderstood quotations, misrepresentations, unfounded assertions, and nonsense, that has issued from the press. If Mr. Fergusson remarks that a particular Buddhist Chaitya cave "resembles" to some extent an early Christian church—pointing out the differences, Mr. Lillie retails it in the form that it is Mr. F.'s "deliberate opinion that the various details of the early Christian basilica, nave, aisle, columns, semi-domed apse, cruciform ground-plan (!), &c. were borrowed *en bloc* from the Buddhists" (p. 183). In St. Paul's plain statements (in *Colossians*, I, 23, 26) he says Paul "asserts that many years before our gospels were known, he was the minister of a gospel that had been already preached to every creature under heaven" (p. 218),—Buddhism of course! Need we say that a writer like this believes that Woden was Buddha; that Fu-sang of the Chinese is really America, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, and hence that the American aborigines—at least in Mexico—were Buddhists; that the Essenes were Buddhists; that the Therapeutes were Buddhists; and that the Templars, the Rosicrucians, Freemasons, &c.—were all of Buddhist origin. The sculptures in the catacombs, too, are Buddhist! But the Buddhist books, according to Mr. Lillie, quite misrepresent Buddha;—he could not have made many converts openly—"his weapon was secrecy";—"the tomb and its o'ershadowing tree, the cave, the mountain, the desert, this was the apparatus that the reformer found ready at hand," and then he proceeds to jumble up the Triad Society, the rites of Freemasonry, Brahmanical ceremonies, Egyptian mysteries, Gnostic superstitions, and Buddhist ritual, in a way confusing enough to turn an ordinary brain.

As one goes on, however, the wonder at the author's misapprehension diminishes,—for when we come to his chapters on Judaism and Christianity, we find a display of the most crass ignorance of both. Truly 'a little knowledge is a dangerous thing,' when it leads a man to writing books to display his ignorance. The woodcuts are not badly executed, only, like the letterpress, they sometimes misrepresent the originals: who ever saw Buddha with both his hands wrapped up, as on the frontispiece, or Prajñâ Pâramitâ represented as a Roman girl, as on p. 226?

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8 Translated from the *Revue Critique*, 31 Juillet, 1882.

A CHAULUKYA GRANT DATED 1207 A.D.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., VIENNA.

A PHOTOGRAPH of the subjoined copper-plate grant, found at Ṭimâṇâ, near Bhaunagar, was made over to me by Dr. Burgess, and received by him from Mr. Vajeśankar Gauriśankar of Bhaunagar. The plates measure 10½″ by 7⅝″ and are thickened at the edges.

We learn from it that in *Âshâḍha* of Saṁvat 1264, i. e. about the middle of 1207 A.D., the banks of the Śetraṁjî[1] river were under the sway of the Chaulukya king Bhîmadeva II. of Aṇahilapâṭaka, or that he was at least acknowledged as the paramount power in that part of Kâṭhiâvâḍ. Like the grant of the usurper Jayantasiṁha of S. 1280,[2] this one leaves out Bhîmadeva's usual epithets *Abhinavasiddharâja* and *Saptamachakravartin*,[3] the first of which he bears as early as his grants of S. 1256[4] and of S. 1263.[5] Each of the two *Birudas* which Bhîmadeva receives in our grant, *Laṅkeśvaranârâyaṇâvatâra* and *Râjyalakshmîsvayaṁvara*, occurs also in another grant.[6] It also mentions the name of his prime minister, Châchigadeva.[7]

The grant was issued by the Mehara[8] king Jagamalla[9] at Ṭimbâṇaka.[10] Its chief contents are as follows:—Jagamalla established two *Liṅgas* at the large town (*mahâsthâna*) of Talâjhâ[11] which he named after his parents, and consecrated to them two pieces of land in Kâmbalaüli[12] and Phûlasara[13] for the cultivation of which he appointed three husbandmen. The door-keeper Sâkhaḍâ made three donations, one to be paid to the temple at Talâjhâ and to the two holy places at Kâmbalaülî and Phûlasara, another from his possessions in Bâlâka[14] to Râüla Uchchadeva for the worship of the new gods, and the third to be paid at Ṭimbâṇaka. Further donations are registered from the merchants of Ṭimbâṇaka, and dues to be paid by the same merchants, by the shops of Talâjhâ, Kâmbalaüli, and Phûlasara, and by the *Pûjâmâtya* of the province of Ṭimbâṇaka. Râüla Uchchadeva and eight other trustees had to look after the temple and to administer its revenues under the control of a certain Sobhârka.

The language of the grant is as bad Sanskṛit as that of Arjunadeva's grant.[15] Many nouns are found uninflected (plate I, l. 12 to 14; plate II, l. 2 f., 11), especially proper names[16] (plate I, l. 8, 14f.; plate II, l. 4 to 6). Once *drammaikaḥ* and *rûpakaikaḥ* occur instead of *dramma ekaḥ* and *rûpaka ekaḥ* (plate II, l. 2f.). The vulgar form *utra* is always used for *putra*.

As regards the writing of the grant, several groups of consonants are very carelessly executed. It is worth mentioning that the old and the new signs for *î* are both used (plate I, l. 14 f.). Final *t* is twice written thus; ꣹ (in *etat*, plate II, l. 7 and in *yâvat*, plate II, l. 14). Both letters of the word *oṁ* in the beginning of the grant have their archaic form.

Transcript.

Plate I.

[1] ॐ ॥ संवत् १२६४ वर्षे लौ० आषाढ शुदि २ सोमे ऽद्येह श्रीमदणहिलपटक [17]

[2] समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापति-

[3] वरलब्धपार्वतीपतिवरप्रौढप्रतापलंकेश्वरनारायणावतारराज्यलक्ष्मीस्वयंवर-

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[1] The well-known Śatruñji river which flows past Pâlitâṇâ and the Jaina Tîrtha of Śatruñjaya.—ED.

[2] No. 4 of Professor Bühler's *Chaulukya Grants* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 180 ff.)

[3] *Chaul. Grants* Nos. 5 to 10.

[4] Published by Mr. H. H. Dhruva (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 71 ff.).

[5] *Chaul. Grant* No. 3, I, 11.

[6] *Nârâyaṇâvatâra Chaul. Grant* No. 4, I, 15 f. and *Lakshmîsvayaṁvara* No. 9, I, 15.

[7] *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I, p. 211.

[8] Professor Bühler informs me that the Meharas are the modern Mers, whose chief seats are in Mervâḍâ (Mairwarra) in Râjputânâ, but who are also found in Kâṭhîâvâḍ.

[9] This Prâkṛit form is always used in the grant instead of Jaganmalla, 'the wrestler of the world.'

[10] The modern Ṭimâṇâ, N. W. of Talâjhâ, where the plates were found.

[11] This town lies on the Śetraṁjî river in the S. E. of Kâṭhiâvâḍ. The name is usually but inaccurately spelt Talâjâ as on the Trigonometrical Survey Map, &c. According to Professor Bühler, the old name of the town, as found in the Jaina chronicles, is Tâlâdhvaja. (See *Arch. Reports, W. India*, vol. II, p. 15. *Satruñjaya Mâhâtmya*, I, 50 and 352.—ED. *I.A.*)

[12] Now Kâmlol, W. of Talâjhâ.

[13] Now Phûlsar, S. of Talâjhâ.

[14] As Professor Bühler informs me, Bâlâka, Bâlaka, or Bhâl, is the name of the low line of land on the western shore of the gulf of Kambay (Khambât).

[15] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 241.

[16] The name Sâkhaḍâ (I. 1, 6) is joined with the affix *ka* in order to become declinable (I. 1, 16).

[17] Plate I, l. 1, read शुदि.—L. 3, *dele* °पार्वतीपतिवर°.

[4] श्रीमद्भीमदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनि महामात्यराणकश्री-
[5] चाचिगदेवे श्रीश्रीकरणादौ समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परिपंथयति सतीत्येवं काले
[6] प्रवर्त्तमाने ऽद्येह टिम्वाणके मेहरराजश्रीजगमल्लप्रतिपत्तौ प्रती० साखडाव्या-[18]
[7] पारे श्रेयोर्थं शासनं पत्रमभिलिख्यते यथा । मेहरराजश्रीजगमल्लेन वृ० मेहर-
[8] राजआनउ० चउंडरा तथा स्वीयमातृसेठाहेराज्ञीपृथिविदेव्याः श्रेयोर्थं तलाझा-
[9] महास्थाने देवश्रीचउंडरेश्वरपृथिविदेवीश्वरौ कारितौ । तदनयोर्देवयोरंग-
[10] भोगपूजानैवेद्यचैत्रीपवित्रीदीपोत्सवलिंगोरणभग्नस्थानककारापनाय तथा प्र-
[11] तिवर्षं धवलापनाय कांवलउलिग्रामे पूर्वदिग्भागे सूनवद्रीपार्श्वे वहमानाऽवहमा-
[12] नभूमि दत्त पाथ ५५ पंचपंचाशत् तथा फूलसरग्रामे कुंढावलीग्रामसमीपे उपरितन-
[13] सदृशभूमि दत्त पाथ ५५ पंचपंचाशत् उभयं ११० दशात्तर शत । अतो मध्यात् आरामिक-
[14] स्य देय पाथ १० दश । तथा श्रेयोर्थं कुटुंविक....उत्रसउंसरियउ तथा चाईया-
[15] उत्रपंच० चांडप तथा कोलि० ईसराउत्रचाईय ३ एते त्रयो जनाः प्रदत्ताः कुटुंविकत्वे-
[16] न [।] प्रती० साखडाकेनापि आत्मीयवस्त्राभाव्यं द्रम्माणां शतमेकं तलाझामहा-

Plate II.

[1] स्थानप्रभृतिस्थानत्रयसत्कं प्रतिवर्षं श्रेयोर्थं देवेभ्यः प्रदत्तं । अमीषां देवा-
[2] नां पूजाद्यथ राउलउच्चदेवस्य सपुत्रपौत्रस्य वालाकीयपाद्रं प्रति प्रतिवर्षं दत्त द्र १ द्रम्मे-[19]
[3] कः । तथा टिम्वाणके तलपदसुल्कमडपिकायां प्रतिदिनं दत्त रू १ रूपकेकः । अस्य धर्मस्थान-
[4] स्य तलाझांमहास्थानीयब्राह्मणसहदेवउत्रठ० दाहड चाहूटउ० ठ० छाझ वालणउ० सीला-
[5] त्रि वाडिवालाउ० कान्हड गोगाउ० आलड चाहडउ० सोला व्यव० आचाउ० सूमेस्वर वाऊद-
[6] राउ० धरणिया एतैरष्टभिर्गोष्ठिकै राउलउच्चदेवसहितैराचंद्रार्कं सारा करणीया । एतैः
[7] समवायेन स्थित्वा सर्वं प्रयोजनं कर्त्तव्यं । कालवशात् यद्येतत् धर्मस्थानं कोपि पापात्मा लुं-
[8] पति तदा राउ० उच्चदेवसहितैरेभिर्गोष्ठिकैः स्ववचनं तथा प्राणान् दत्वा रक्षणीयं [।] यद्येते-
[9] षां मध्यात् कश्चिदनुचारको भवति तस्य सत्कं जन्मत्रयार्जितं सुकृतं मेहरराजजगमल्लः प्राप्नोति [।]
[10] तथा एतेषां देवाना मेहरराजश्रीजगमल्लश्रेयोर्थं टिम्वाणकीयश्रे० वलहलप्रभृतिसमस्तमहाज-
[11] नेन वर्षं प्रति प्रतिहट्टं दत्त रू १ एको रूपकः । देवश्रीचउंडरेश्वरपृथिविदेवीश्वरशृष्ठे श्रीवर्द्धमा-
[12] नेश्वरसुंइसरेश्वरसोहिणेश्वरसीतेश्वराणां एभिरेव गोष्ठिकैरस्मा देवाय दानमध्यात् सदृ-
[13] शो भोगः कर्त्तव्यः । टिम्वाणके च यः कोपि श्रेष्ठी भवति तेन प्रतिवर्षं देवेभ्यो द्रम्म एको दातव्यः
[14] ॥ पारि० पूनपाकेन लिखितमिदामिति ॥ सूर्याचंद्रमसौ यावत् यावन्मेरुर्महीधरः । यावत्ससा-
[15] गरा पृथ्वी तावन्नंदतु शासनं ॥ तथा तलाझाप्रभृतिस्थानत्रये यावंति हट्टानि तावद्भिः प्रतिवर्षं एके-
[16] को द्रम्मो देयः । टिम्वाणके मंडलकरणीयपूजामात्येन च वर्षं प्रति द्रम्म एका देयः ॥ वहुभिर्व्वशु-
[17] धा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥
[18] सौ० आलडेनोत्कीर्ण्णमिदं ॥ आ० चांडपउ० सोभाकौ गोष्ठिकानां मध्ये प्रमाणमेव ॥

[18] L. 6 a dot stands over the व्या of °व्यापारे.—L. 7, read शासनपत्त्रम्.—L. 8, the two *aksharas* स्वी and मा of स्वीयमातृ° are very doubtful.—L. 10, read °कारापणाय.—L. 12, a dot stands over the उ of उपरितन°.

[19] Plate II, l. 2, read पूजाद्यर्थं; प्रतिवर्षं looks like त्रावि-वर्षं.—L. 3, read °शुल्कमण्डपिकायां.—L. 4, the first ठ° looks like उ°; the first two syllables of चाहूट° are doubtful.—L. 5, read सूमेश्वर.—L. 6, एतै very doubtful.—L. 10, . देवानां; वेलहल° may be read.—L. 11, read °पृष्ठे.—L. 12, read गोष्ठिकैरस्मै; *dele* the *virâma* below दानम्.— L. 16, जा of °पूजामात्येन obliterated; two dots seem to stand over जा and मा; read एको and वहुभिर्वसुधा

Translation.

Oṁ. To-day, on Monday the 2nd day of the light half of Âshâḍha of the common (*laukika*) year Saṁvat 1264; while in famous Aṇahilapâṭaka the illustrious Bhîmadeva, the self-elected husband of royal fortune, an incarnation of Nârâyaṇa the lord of Laṅkâ,[19] who has acquired great majesty (*in consequence of*) a boon (*granted to him by*) the husband of Umâ, the supreme lord, the supreme ruler, the king of great kings, who is adorned by the whole line of kings (*his ancestors*), is reigning prosperously and victoriously, (*and*) while (*Bhîmadeva's*) prime minister Râṇaka Śrî-Châchigadeva, who lives devoted to his lotus-feet, is conducting all the business of the seal relating to the drawing up of documents, &c.,[20]; at this period the following document (*containing*) an edict is written here at Ṭimbâṇaka with the consent of the Mehara king Śrî-Jagamalla in the affairs (?) of the door-keeper (*pratîhâra*) Sâkhaḍâ for (*the attainment of*) spiritual merit.

The Mehara king Śrî-Jagamalla caused the two idols Śrî-Chaüṇḍareśvara and Pṛithîvidevîśvara to be erected in the large town of Talâjhâ for the spiritual merit of (*his father*) Chaüṇḍarâ (*who was*) the son of the great man (*bṛihatpurusha*[21]) the Mehara king Âna, and (*for the spiritual merit*) of his mother the Seṭhâhe queen Pṛithivîdevî. Then, for the expenses of the personal allowance of these two deities, of the offerings of food (*required for their*) worship, of (*the festival on*) the day of the full moon, in Chaitra, the *Pavitrî* (*festival*), and the festival of lamps, of the rams (*to be sacrificed to the two*) *Liṅgas*,[22] and of the repairs of the temple, and for the annual white-washing, he gave 55—fifty-five—*Pâthas*[23] of cultivated and fallow[24] land in the village of Kâmbalaüli in the eastern direction towards Sûnavadrî, and gave 55—fifty-five—*Pâthas* of land alike to the above-mentioned in the village of Phûlasara near the village of Kuṇḍhâvalî, both (*together*) 110—one hundred and ten—(*pâthas*). From these (110 *pâthas*) 10—ten—*pâthas* are to be given to the gardener. And for (*his*) spiritual merit he gave the following 3—three—men to be cultivators (*of the land granted by himself*): Saüṁsariyaü the son of the husbandman . . . .,[25] and the *Pañchakula*[26] Châṇḍapa the son of Châîyâ, and Châîya the son of the Kolika[27] Îsarâ.

The door-keeper Sâkhaḍâ also gave from his own pocket[28] one hundred *Drammas* to be paid yearly in the large town of Talâjhâ and the two other places[29] to the gods for (*his*) spiritual merit. For the worship, etc. of these gods he gave to Râüla Uchchadeva together with his sons and grandsons *dra.* 1—one *Dramma*—(*to be paid*) yearly from each *Pâdra* (?) (*which he possessed*) in Bâlâka. And he gave *rû.* 1—one *Rûpaka*—(*to be paid*) daily at the *Talapada*[30] rent office[31] in Ṭimbâṇaka.

This place of worship has to be taken care of[32] as long as moon and sun endure by the following eight trustees together with Râüla Uchchadeva: Ṭhakkura Dâhaḍa the son of the Brâhmaṇa Sahadeva (*who is*) a native of the large town of Talâjhâ, Ṭhakkura Chhâjha the son of Châhûṭa, Sîlâtri the son of Vâlaṇa, Kânhaḍa the son of Vâḍivâlâ, Âlaḍa the son of Gogâ, Solâ the son of Châhaḍa, Sûmeśvara the son of the trader (*vyavahârin*) Âchâ, (*and*) Dharaṇiyâ the son of Vâladarâ. These (*trustees*) have to arrange together all business (*concerning the grant*). If in the course of time any bad man plunders this place of worship, then these trustees, together with Râüla Uchchadeva, have to protect it by the use of their authority and at the risk of their life. If any one among these does not raise his voice (*against an intruder upon the holy*

[19] *i. e.* of Râma—Vishṇu.

[20] See note 12 on the grant of Arjunadeva.

[21] Comp. line 12 ff. of the grant of Arjunadeva.

[22] This translation of *liṅgoraṇa* is only conjectural.

[23] According to Wilson's *Glossary*, one *pâṭha* is equal to 240 square feet.

[24] *Vahamâna* 'bearing' and *avahamâna* 'not bearing (*grain*)'?

[25] The name of the Kuṭumbika has either been left out originally or scratched out afterwards.

[26] See note 12 on the grant of Arjunadeva.

[27] This seems to be the modern Kolî which elsewhere appears as Kolaka; it may also be Kaulika, 'a weaver.'

[28] *Vastrâ* seems to stand for *bhastrâ*.

[29] Viz. Kâmlol and Phûlsar.

[30] *Talpat* 'land paying rent to Government.' Wilson's *Glossary*. Comp. *Chaul. Grant* No. 5, II, 11.

[31] Comp. *Chaul. Grants* Nos. 6, II, 9, and 11, II, 3, where the word is written शुक्लमंडपिका.

[32] The substantive *sârâ* is probably derived from the Gujarâtî adjective *sâruṁ*.

place), the Mehara king Jagamalla will gain the spiritual merit which that man has acquired in three births.

And the merchant (*śreshṭhin*) Valahala and all the other merchants[33] of Ṭimbâṇaka gave to these gods *rû*. 1—one *Rûpaka*—yearly on each shop for the spiritual merit of the Mehara king Śrî-Jagamalla. From (*this*) donation these same trustees have to pay to this god an allowance similar to (*that enjoyed by the temples of*) Śrî-Vardhamâneśvara, Suïsareśvara, Sohiṇeśvara, and Sîteśvara[34] (*which are situated*) behind (*the temple of*) the two gods Śrî-Chaüṇḍareśvara and Pṛithivideviśvara.

And every merchant in Ṭimbâṇaka has to give to the gods one *Dramma* yearly.

This has been written by the assistant[35] Pûnapâka.

As long as sun and moon will rise, as long as mount Meru will stand, as long as the earth will be encircled by the ocean, so long may (*this*) edict be valid.

And each of the shops in Talâjhâ and the two other places has to give one *Dramma* yearly. And the superintendent (?) of the worship to be performed in the province of Ṭimbâṇaka has to give one *Dramma* yearly.

Many kings have enjoyed the earth, like Sagara. Whose is the earth his is the produce.

Let there be prosperity. This has been engraved by Sau° Âlaḍa. Sobhârka the son of Â° Chânḍapa[36] is the only authority among the trustees.[37]

FOLKLORE FROM KASHMÎR.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.
WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Concluded from p. 321.*)

No. 8.—FOLKTALE.

The Bear's Bargain.[1]

Once upon a time a very old woodman with his very old wife lived in a hut close to the *Lambardâr's*[2] orchard, so that the boughs of the fruit trees hung over the cottage yard, and if any of the ripe fruit fell into it, the old couple were allowed to eat it.

Now one day the old woman cooked some *khichṛî*,[3] and the *khichṛî* smelt so good that the old man wanted to eat his dinner at once.

"Not till you've brought me a load of wood," said the old woman shaking her head, "after that we shall see."

So the old man set off to the forest and began to hack and to hew with such a will, that he soon had quite a large bundle, and already seemed to smell the *khichṛî*. Just then a bear happened to pass by. Now, as a rule, bears are good enough fellows, but dreadfully inquisitive; so after saying "*As salâm 'alaïkum*"[4] the bear asked the woodman what he was doing with such a very big bundle of wood.

"Oh, it is for my wife," said the woodman. "The fact is," he added confidentially, smacking his lips, "she has made such a *khichṛî*, and if I bring a large bundle of wood, she is sure to give me a large share of it. Oh, you should just smell it or taste it."

At this the bear's mouth began to water.

"Would she give me any if I brought a load of wood?" asked he.

"Perhaps if you brought a very big one," answered the woodman.

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33 *Mahâjana* means in Hindî 'a banker, a merchant.'

34 Perhaps these four temples and the temple of Chaüṇḍareśvara and Pṛithivideviśvara form together the Pañchanâtha mentioned by Dr. Burgess in his *Archæological Report*, vol. II, (1874-75) p. 147.

35 *Pâri*[*pârśvika*] 'assistant secretary' occurs also in the 9th line of Arjunadeva's grant.

36 The same name is borne by a different person, plate I, l. 15.

37 This seems to imply that Sobhârka was the officer who had to control the *Goshṭhikas*.

1 Told by a Kashmîrî boy amid roars of laughter round the camp fire at the Tar Sar Lake.—F.A.S. The Tar Sar is one of several lakes in Liderwat below Jâjî Marg to the N. E. of Śrînagar on the road between Gwâshbrâr (Kolâhoi) and Westarwân. See tale No. 2, *ante*, p. 259. The other lakes are the Sonâ Sar, Hokâ Sar, Chândâ Sar, and Mar Sa Sar, lake or tank (pool) is not unfrequently seen in place names in the Panjab, *e. g.* Amṛitsar, the Ambrosial Lake; Mukatsâr, the Lake of Salvation, etc. Like the previous tales told by Habîb, this one, has a Musalman cast.—R. C. T.

2 *Lambardâr*: *lambar* is a common corruption of *number* in modern use in India in many ways; *lambardâr* literally is a man with a number, one who is registered, a man of rank, ordinarily a village headman. He is an English institution, connected principally with the collection of revenue. Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.* calls him "the registered representative of a coparcenary community, who is responsible for the Government revenue." Shortly, however, he is the village headman, and now-a-days is as much an institution in Northern Indian Native States as in the British Territory.—R. C. T.

3 *Khichṛî*: see *ante* Vol. IX, p. 207. A dish of rice and pulse.—R. C. T.

4 See preceding tale, p. 319.—R. C. T.

"If I brought six *mans ?*"[5] "No, not, six," answered the crafty woodman, "let us say ten."

"Ten *mans* is an awful lot," sighed the bear.

"There's saffron in the *khichrî*," said the woodman.

The bear licked his lips. "Very well, go home and tell your wife to keep me some of the *khichṛî*. I'll be with you in a trice."

Away went the woodman gleefully to his old wife, and told her how the bear had promised him ten *mans* of wood for a dish of *khichṛî*.

She agreed with him that he had made a good bargain, and so they sat down to dinner with the *khichṛî* in a brass pot between them.

"Remember to leave some for the bear," said the woodman to his wife, speaking with his mouth crammed full.

"Certainly, certainly," said she, helping herself to another mouthful.

Then after a time she said, speaking with her mouth full—"My dear, remember the bear."

"Certainly, certainly," said he, taking another handful.

So it went on, till there was not even a grain of rice left in the pot.

"What's to be done now," said the woodman, "it's all your fault for eating too much."

"I like that," answered his wife, "why you ate twice what I did, men always eat more than women."

"No, they don't."

"Yes, they do."

"Well, it's of no use quarrelling about it," said the woodman, "the *khichṛî's* gone and the bear won't give us wood."

"Let us lock up everything there is to eat in the house, and go and hide ourselves in the garret," said the wife, "then the bear may think we have gone out. He'll rampage a little, no doubt, but ten to one he'll leave the wood, because it will be too much trouble to take it away."

So they locked up all the food there was in the house and hid themselves in the garret.

The bear all this time had been toiling and moiling away at his bundle of wood, which took him much longer to collect than he expected. However, he arrived at last at the woodman's hut, threw down the wood with a crash, and called out—"Here, good folk, is your wood: now give me my *khichṛî*."

But no one answered.

"Perhaps they have gone out," thought the bear, "and I shall find the *khichṛî* left for me inside."

So he lifted the latch and went in, but never a grain of *khichṛî* or anything to eat did he find, though he poked about everywhere. Only the empty *khichṛî* pot, which smelt nice. was there. That was all. The bear flew into a great rage, and would have taken his bundle of wood away again, but that it was so heavy.

"I'll take this at any rate," said he, seizing the *khichṛî*-pot, "for I'll not go empty-handed."

But as he left the house he caught sight of the *Lambardâr's* fruit-trees hanging over the edge of the yard. His mouth watered at the sight of some golden pears, the first ripe ones of the season, so he clambered over the wall and up the tree, gathered the biggest and ripest he could find, and was just going to eat it, when he thought—"If I take these ripe pears home I shall be able to sell them for ever so much to the other bears. I can eat the unripe ones just as well. They are not really bad, though somewhat sour."

So he went on gathering, eating the green unripe ones, and putting the golden ripe ones into the *khichṛî* pot to take home with him, till the pot was quite full. Now all the while the woodman's wife had been watching the bear through a crevice and holding her breath for fear he might find her out, and she held her breath so long, that, being asthmatic and having a cold in her head, she suddenly gave the most tremendous sneeze you ever heard. The bear thought somebody had fired a gun at him, dropped the *khichṛî*-pot, and fled to the forest. As luck would have it, the pot fell into the cottage yard, so the woodman and his wife got the *khichṛî*, the pot, the wood. and the *Lambardâr's* pears, but the bear got nothing but a stomach-ache from eating unripe fruit.

[5] The *man*, *Anglice* 'maund' is 40 *sers* or roughly 80 lbs., so 6 *mans* would be 4¼ cwts.; and 10 *mans* which the bear eventually brings would be something over 7¼ cwts. The exaggeration is made palpable thus: an ordinary camel-load is 4 *mans* or less than 3 cwts., but camels, if strong, will carry up to 7 *mans* or 5 cwts. A strong hillman accustomed to the work will carry about 30 *sers* or 60 lbs. on his back. I have known them carry up 1¼ *man* and more, about 100 lbs.—R. C. T.

No. 9.—FOLKTALE.

The Two Brothers.[1]

Once upon a time there was a king, who had two young sons, that sat in school and learnt what kings' sons ought to know. But while they were still learning, their mother the queen died, and their father the king shortly after married again. Now the new step-mother behaved as step-mothers usually do, and began by degrees to ill-use the poor boys. First she only gave them barley-meal cakes to eat, and then she took to making even these without salt.[2] Then the meal was full of weevils and bad, and so on, till at last she took to beating them, and when they cried she told the king they were peevish and sullen, so he beat them again.

At length the lads agreed that it was high time to seek for some remedy.

"Let us go into the world," said the younger one, "and earn our own living."

"Yes," answered the elder, "let us go at once, and never again eat bread under this roof."

"Not so, brother," replied the younger, who was a youth wise beyond his years, "never leave home with an empty stomach."[3]

So they ate their bread, bad as it was, and both mounting on one pony set out to seek their fortune.

Now, after they had journeyed some way into the country, they dismounted under a tree, and sat down to rest. By chance a *mainá* and a parrot were resting on the branches, and quarrelled as to who should have the best place.

"I like your impertinence," said the *mainá*, "pushing and striving to get to the top branch. Why! I am so important a bird, that if any man were to eat me he would become a minister."

"Make room for your betters," replied the parrot calmly, "if any man eats me he will become a king."[4]

Hearing these words the brothers instantly drew out their cross-bows and aimed at the same time and the two birds fell dead. But the brothers were so fond of each other that neither would allow he had shot the parrot; even when the birds were cooked and ready to eat the lads were still disputing as to which bird they should eat, till the younger brother said, "we are only wasting time, you are the eldest and must take your right, for it was your fate to be born first."[5]

So the elder brother ate the parrot and the younger the *mainá*, and then they mounted their pony and rode away. They had gone but a short way, however, when the elder brother missed the whip, and saying he had left it under the tree proposed to go back and find it.

"Not so," said the younger prince, "you are king, I am only the minister: it is my place to go and fetch the whip."

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[1] I have kept this tale to the last owing to the strong doubts I had about it. It is so full of incident and bears so strong a family likeness to the tales in the *Alif Laila* and the *Chuhâr Darvesh* that it seemed impossible to consider it as genuine Kashmîrî folklore. One part of the tale reminds one strongly of the legend of St. George and the Dragon, and another takes us to the sea side and doings on board ship, which is odd for a Kashmîr tale. There are also notions in it of the right of primogeniture and a reference to tree and serpent worship. However, in the "Adventures of Râjâ Rasâlû" of Siyalkoṭ, Panjâb, I have found a tale which is the counterpart of a portion of this one, and as I have every reason to believe the story of Râjâ Rasâlû to be genuine Panjâb Folklore, I have determined to give this also as genuine.—R. C. T.

[2] *Jau kî roṭî,* barley bread, as opposed to *gehûn kî roṭî*, wheaten bread, is the poor man's as opposed to the rich man's food. Barley bread is apt to produce flatulence. There is a proverb—

Gehûn kî roṭiyon ko faulâd kâ pe chûhiye.
For wheaten bread a stomach of steel.

Wheaten cakes, which poor men cannot afford, are a sign of wealth, and it needs a strong mind to possess wealth without pride:—Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.* art. روٹی. In the hills the richer classes make *jau kâ bhaṭûrû*, leavened barley loaves or cakes corresponding to the *khamîrî roṭî* of the plains.—R. C. T.

[3] There is a saying,

Kahîn mat jâo khâlî peṭ,
Hove Mâgh yâ hove Jeṭh.
Go nowhere on an empty stomach,
Be it summer or be it winter. R. C. T.

[4] The *mainâ* is the Indian starling, *gracula religiosa*, the hill variety of which are good talkers. Parrots and *mainâs* are kept by Natives for their talking powers, and they will not usually suffer them to be killed. They are frequently taught to say "*Râm, Râm*" (the name of God), and then assume a semi-sacred character. The allusion here is very obscure, but I have a verse to the same effect:—

Jo nar totâ mârkar khâve peṛ ke heṭh,
Kuchh sansâ man na dhare, woh hogâ râjâ jeṭh.
Jo mainâ ko mâr khâ, man men rakhe dhîr;
Kuchh chintâ man na kare, woh sadâ rahegâ wazîr.

Who kills a parrot and eats him under the tree,
Should have no doubt in his mind, he will be a great king.
Who kills and eats a *mainâ*, let him be patient.
Let him not be troubled in his mind, he will be minister for life.

R. C. T.

[5] Such ideas of primogeniture rights are not altogether opposed to the ideas of the Himâlayan mountaineers. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti, and among the Thâkurs of Lâhaul, and there is something very like it in Seorâj and among the Râṇâ families of Kângrâ proper. The eldest son has special rights of inheritance all over Kângrâ proper. These rights exist in the mountains side by side with polyandry and the ordinary *pagvand* (*per capita*) and *chûndavand* (*per stirpes*) systems of inheritance of the Panjâb. See Tupper's *Panjâb Customary Law*, vol. II., pp. 182-92, quoting Lyall's *Settlement Report of the Kângrâ District*.—R. C. T.

"Be it so," said the elder, "but take the pony, for then you will return the more quickly. I meanwhile will go on foot to the town: meet me there."

The younger brother accordingly rode back to the tree, but the snake-demon to whom it belonged had returned to his home in the interval.[6] No sooner had the prince arrived there than the serpent flew at him and killed him. So there the poor prince lay dead at the foot of the tree.

Meanwhile the elder prince arriving at the town found it in a state of great commotion. The king had recently died, and though all the inhabitants had marched past the sacred elephant in file, the animal had not elected any one amongst them to the vacant throne by bowing down before and saluting the lucky individual as he passed. For in this manner were kings elected in that country.[7] So the people were much puzzled what to do, and orders had been issued by the Council that any stranger entering the gates was forthwith to be taken before the elephant to see if the particular animal preferred an alien to a citizen. No sooner, therefore, had the elder prince entered the gates than he was seized by the guards and dragged without much ceremony, for there had been so many disappointments, before the sacred elephant. But this time there was no mistake, and the instant the animal caught sight of the prince it went down on its knees, and began saluting with its trunk in ever such a hurry. So the prince was acknowledged as the rightful king, and there were great rejoicings all over the city.

All this time the younger prince lay dead under the tree, and the king, his brother, after waiting and searching for him in vain, gave him up for lost and appointed another minister. But it so happened that a wise man and his wife came to the tree to fetch water from the fountain which flowed from its roots, for they being wise folk were not afraid of the serpent. Now the wise woman saw the dead lad, and thought she had never seen any one so handsome in her life. She therefore took pity on the lad, and said to her husband—

"You talk much of your wisdom and power, show it me by bringing this dead lad to life."

At first the wise man refused, saying it was beyond his power, but when his wife mocked at him, and called him a humbug, he got angry, and said—

"You shall see, that though I cannot myself bring the boy to life, I have power to make others do the deed."

Then he bid his wife fill her *loṭâ*[8] at the fountain, and lo! all the water in the spring ran into the little *loṭâ* and the fountain was dry. She was much astonished, but the wise man said—

"Bring the *loṭâ* with you, and come home, you shall see what you shall see."

Now all the serpents that lived in the spring were dreadfully uncomfortable when it dried up, for serpents are thirsty creatures. They bore it for three days, but after that they went in a body to the wise man, and said—

"Tell us what you want, but give us back our spring."

Then the wise man promised to do so if they would restore the prince to life. This they gladly did, and then the wise man emptied the *loṭâ*, and all the water flowed back to the spring, and the serpents drank and were happy.

The prince on coming to himself fancied he had fallen asleep, and fearing lest his brother should be angry at the delay seized the whip, mounted the pony which all this time had been quietly grazing beside him, and rode off. But in his hurry he took the wrong road, and so it happened that he arrived at quite a different city to the one of which his brother had been made king.

[6] This is the old idea of the Tree and the Serpent again. The word for the serpent used by Mrs. Steel is *isdâr*. The Persian word for it is *ijhdahâ*, *ijhdâr*, or *ijhdar* (اژدر) and the Hindî word is *ajgar* = Sansk. *ajagara*, goat-eater, a python. Both *ijhdahâ* and *ajgar* are in common use in the Panjâb in this connection.—R. C. T.

[7] This must be the *sufaid hâthî or dhaulâ gaj*, the white elephant, the legend about which is this:—He is the representative of the Elephant-god Gaṇeśa and as such he was kept by Râjâs as a pet, and fed to surfeit every Tuesday (*Mangalwâr*) with sweet cakes (*chûrîs*). After which he would go down on his knees to the Râjâ and swing his trunk to and fro, this was taken as a sign that he acknowledged his royalty. He was never ridden except occasionally by the Râjâ himself. There are two common sayings still in use which commemorate these ideas, "*woh to Mahârâjâ hai dhaulâ gaj par sowâr.* He is indeed King, for he rides the White Elephant." And "*Mahârâjâ dhaulâ gajpati kî dohaî*,—I claim the protection of the Great King, the Lord of the White Elephant." Ælian. *Hist Anim.* III, 46, quoting Megasthenes, mentions the white elephant: see McCrindle, pp. 118-19 or *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 333, and footnote.—R. C. T.

[8] Small brass pot used for drinking purposes all over India.—R. C. T.

It was late in the evening when he arrived, and having no money in his pocket he was at a loss how to get anything to eat. At last he saw a good-natured looking old woman herding goats, and said to her—

"Mother, give me something to eat, and you may have this pony too, for it is yours."

The old woman agreed, and the prince went to live in her house. After a few days he noticed that this old woman was sad, and so he asked her what was the matter.

"The matter is this, my son. In this kingdom there lives a demon,[9] which every day devours one cake, one goat,[10] and one young man, and in consideration of receiving this meal daily he leaves the other inhabitants in in peace.[11]

Therefore every day this meal has to be prepared, and it falls to the lot of every inhabitant to prepare it in turn on pain of death. It is my turn to-day. The cake I can make, the goat I have, but where is the young man?"

"But why does not someone kill this demon?" asked the young man.

"Many have tried, and the king has promised half his kingdom and his daughter in marriage to the victor, but all have failed," answered the old woman, weeping bitterly.

"Don't cry, mother," said the prince, "you have been kind to me. Now will I repay your kindness by making part of the demon's dinner."

At first the old woman would not hear of such a thing, but the prince cheered her up, saying, "Don't fear for me, Goody, only make the cake as big as you can, and give me the finest and fattest goat you have."

Accordingly in the evening the prince leading the goat and carrying the cake, the biggest ever seen, went to the tree where the demon came every evening to receive and devour his accustomed dinner. The prince tied the goat to a tree and laid the cake on the ground, but he himself stepped outside the trench, which was dug about the tree, and waited. Very soon the demon appeared, a most frightful monster. Now, as a rule, he generally ate up the young man first, just to slake his appetite, but that evening, seeing the biggest cake and the primest and fattest goat he had ever set eyes on, he could not resist gobbling them up, and just as he was finishing the last mouthful and was looking about for his man's flesh, the prince sprang at him sword in hand. They fought terribly, but at last the prince killed the demon, who, owing to his dinner, was not nearly so active as usual. He then cut off the demon's head, tied it up in his handkerchief to take as a trophy, and being tired and weary with the combat he lay down and fell fast asleep.[12]

Now every morning a scavenger came to the demon's tree to clear away the remains of last night's feast, for the demon was mighty particular, and could not bear the smell of old bones. Now when the scavenger saw no bones in the usual place he was much astonished, and began to search for them, and there fast asleep he found the prince with the demon's head by his side.

"Ho! ho!" said the scavenger, "now's my chance!"

So he quietly lifted up the prince, put him into a clay-pit close by, and covered him all over with clay. Then he took the demon's head, and went to the king, and claimed half the kingdom and the princess as the reward for slaying the demon.

The king thought something was wrong, but being bound by his promise gave up half his kingdom, making an excuse about his daughter, who, he said, was not desirous of marriage for a year or two longer.

Now it so happened that some potters came to get clay that day from the clay pit, and they were mightily astonished to find a handsome young man still breathing, but insensible, hidden under the clay. They took him home, and gave him to the women, who soon brought him round. He was grateful for their kindness, and hearing from their gossip how the strange scavenger had stept in and defrauded him, he agreed, having nothing better to do, to stop with the potters and learn their trade. This he did so quickly and so cleverly, that the potters soon became famous for the beautiful patterns and excellent workmanship of their

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[9] *Râkshasa*, modern *râkhas*; *vide* tale quoted from Râjâ Rasâlû at the end of this one.—R. C. T.

[10] *Cf.* the Sansk. *aja-gara*, goat-eater, for a big snake or python.—R. C. T.

[11] Compare the tale of St. George and the Dragon.—R. C. T.

[12] The whole story of this fight with the Râkhasa is more or less a counterpart of a story from the "*Adventures of Râjâ Rasâlû*," given at the end of this tale.

wares; so much so that the story of the young potter found in a clay pit became noised abroad. Nevertheless the young prince, knowing that he had no proof to bring forward in support of it, kept the history of his former life and conquest of the demon to himself, never breathing a word of it to anyone. However, when the rumour of the wonderful young potter found in a clay pit and his still more wonderful cleverness reached the Scavenger king's ears, his bad conscience told him at once who it was, and he determined in some way or other to get rid of the young man.

Now just at that time the fleet of merchant vessels[13] which annually came to the city bringing merchandise and spices were detained in harbour by calms and contrary winds. So long were they detained that the merchants feared the delay would prevent their returning within the year. This was a serious matter, so that auguries were consulted and the answer given was that until a human sacrifice[14] was made the vessels would be detained in port. When this answer was reported to the Scavenger King he saw his opportunity, and said to his courtiers—"Be it so. But don't let us sacrifice a citizen. Give the merchants that good-for-nothing potter lad, who comes no one knows whence, and has no relatives."

The courtiers praised the kindness of the Scavenger King, and the prince was handed over to the merchants, who took him on board their ships and prepared to kill him. But he begged and prayed them to wait till evening on the chance of a breeze coming up, but none came. Then the prince took a knife and cut his little finger, and as the first drop of blood flowed forth the sails of the first ship filled with a strong wind, and she glided swiftly over the bar. With the second drop the second ship did likewise, till the whole fleet were sailing before the breeze. The merchants were enchanted, and thinking that in the prince they had a very valuable cargo indeed, they took great care of him, and treated him well.

At length they arrived at another city, which happened to be the very one where the prince's brother was king, and while the merchants went to the bâzâr they left the prince to watch over the vessels. Now, weary of waiting and watching, the prince, to amuse himself, began to make a model of his father's palace out of the clay on the shore beside him, and growing interested in his work, he modelled and modelled away till he made the most beautiful thing you ever saw. There was the garden, the king on his throne and the courtiers sitting around. There were too the king's sons learning in school and even the very pigeons fluttering round the tower.

When it was finished the prince looked at it, sighing till the tears came into his eyes. Just at that moment the minister's daughter surrounded by her women passed that way. She was wonderstruck at the beautiful model, but still more so at the handsome young man who sat sighing beside it. She went straight home, locked all the doors, and refused to eat, and when her father sent to know what was the matter, she said—"I will neither eat nor drink till you marry me to the young man on the sea-shore, who sits sighing beside a king's palace made of clay."

At first the minister was very angry, but seeing his daughter was determined, and that she would starve herself to death if he did not give way, he consented at last to the marriage. However he privately told the merchants to throw the young man overboard after a day or two andt hen to bring his daughter back.

Accordingly a few days after the prince and the minister's daughter had sailed, the merchants pushed the young man overboard, as he was sitting near the prow. It so happened that from the minister's daughter's window in the stern a rope was hanging, and as the prince drifted past he clung to it and climbed up into her cabin. She hid him in her box, where he lay concealed safely. Every day when they

[13] This is the part of the tale that seems doubtful as genuine Kashmîrî Folklore. It is hard to see how the mountaineers got hold of a sea tale such as this now becomes, except from books.—R. C. T.

[14] I do *not* know that human sacrifice was ever in vogue in Kashmîr, but it has been common enough all over India to render the allusion not at all unexpected here. See Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. IV, pp. 301-302, 132, and the references he gives. Also his article *Sakrây-patna*, vol. VIII, p. 122 and *Ananta-Sagaran* vol. I, p. 194. Cf. Barth; *Religions of India*, Trübner's Ed., pp. 57-9 and 203. M. Barth seems to doubt the allegorical character of the *Purushamedha* or Human Sacrifice of the Brâhmans as asserted by others, *vide* pp. 57-9, but see footnote to p. 59. *Cf.* Haug's *Origin of Brahmanism*, p. 5; Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, *passim*; H. H. Wilson's *Essay on Human Sacrifices*, *J. R. A. S.* vol. VIII, p. 96; and his *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. I, p. 264.—R. C. T.

brought her food she refused to eat, saying "Leave it with me. Perhaps I may be hungry by and by." Then she shared the meal with her husband.[15]

The merchants, thinking they had managed the affair very well, took the minister's daughter and her box back to her father, who was very much pleased, and rewarded them handsomely. She too was quite content, and letting her husband out of the box dressed him up as a woman-servant, so that he lived quite securely in the palace.[16] Now the prince had of course told his wife his whole story, and she in return told him how the king of that country had been elected and how she was convinced he was none other than her husband's brother.

Now every day a bouquet was sent to the king from the minister's garden, and one day in the evening, when the prince in his disguise was walking about the flower-beds, he saw the gardener's daughter making up the bouquet, and said to her,—"I will teach you a new fashion."

Then he took the flowers, and tied them together as his father's gardener used to do.

The next morning when the king saw the bouquet, he turned pale, and said to the gardener, who trembled all over with fright—"Who made that bouquet ?"

"I did, sire," said the gardener.

"You lie, knave," cried the king, "but go, bring me to-morrow just such another bouquet. If not, your head shall be the forfeit."

Then the gardener's daughter came weeping to the disguised prince, and telling him all, said—"Of your goodness make me yet another bouquet, or my father's head will be cut off."

This the prince willingly did, for he was certain now that the king was his brother, but in the bouquet he put a piece of paper with his name on it.

Now when the king saw the paper, he said to the gardener—"Only tell me the truth and I will forgive you."

Then the gardener confessed that one of the women servants in the minister's palace had made it for his daughter.

The king was much astonished, but bid the gardener's daughter take him with her when she went into the minister's garden to cut flowers. Now the moment the disguised prince saw the king he recognised him, and when the king asked him where he had learnt to tie flowers in that fashion, he replied by telling the history of the brothers as far as meeting with the *mainâ* and parrot. Then he stopped, saying he was tired that day, but would continue the next. The king was on pins and needles of excitement, but was obliged to wait.

The next day the prince told about his conquest of the demon and delivery by the potters. Then he said he was tired, and the king was obliged to wait yet another day, and so on for seven days, till the prince came to his being saved by the minister's daughter, and being disguised as a woman. Then the king fell on his brother's neck and they rejoiced greatly. And when the minister was told of his daughter's having made such a good marriage, he was so pleased that he voluntarily resigned his office in favour of his son-in-law. So what the *mainâ* and the parrot said came true, and the one brother became king and the other minister.

The first thing the king did was to send ambassadors to the court of the king who owned the country where the demon was killed, telling him the truth of the story, and how his brother being minister did not want half the kingdom. At this the king of that place was so delighted that he begged the minister Prince to accept his daughter as a bride. But the prince said, "No, I am married already, but give her to my brother."

So there were great rejoicings, but the Scavenger King was put to death, as he very well deserved.

Note.

Before relating that part of the "*Adventures of Râjâ Rasâlû*," which so closely resembles the

[15] In the *Bâgh-o-Bahâr* or *Chuhâr Darvesh*, in the *Story of Azâdbakht*, there is a tale in which the hero is thrown overboard by his ungrateful brothers. His faithful dog jumps overboard after him, and just as the unfortunate hero is drowning he seizes the dog's tail, to which he clings safely for seven days (!) and is finally saved, coming to shore on the eighth.—R. C. T.

[16] In the *Bâgh-o-Bahâr* a young merchant, just as his brother merchants are starting on a voyage, steals off with the king's daughter. The harbour-master, however, stops the ships and proceeds to enquire. Meanwhile the merchants hide all the pretty girls they have in boxes, leaving only the ugly ones out. The harbour-master happens to sit on the very box which contains the princess, and asks the owner if there are any more female slaves on board. He answers that he has not hidden any of them, but that the others have, and so lets the cat out of the bag.—R. C. T.

portion of the above tale concerning the killing of the Râkshasa demon or dragon, I will say a few words as to who he was and how his story came into my possession.

Râjâ Rasâlû of Siâlkoṭ in the Panjâb and his brother Pûran Bhagat may be called the two chief legendary heroes of Panjâb stories. They are popularly called the sons of Sahilwân or Sâlhâhan, king of Siâlkoṭ, who is better known as the great Śâlivâhaṇa, king of the Śâkas or Skythians and the author of the Śaka era commencing from A. D. 78. I am not prepared now to go fully into the probabilities of this legend, but would remark that there is perhaps more truth in it than would at first appear, especially if we are to take Śâlivâhaṇa to be of Takka or Takshaka descent, that is from the people whom Alexander the Great found at Takshila, identified by Cunningham with Shâhderî or Derâ Shâhâṅ near Râwal Piṇḍî at the foot of the Hazârâ Mountains, and not far from the Maṛhî (Murree) Sanitarium.

Again, according to the local legends Râjâ Rasâlû married the daughter of Râjâ Hodî, whose castle has been identified by some with the Aornos Rock on the Indus assaulted by Alexander, but my legends say variously that Hodî lived at what is now Ajnâlâ in the Amritsar district and not far from Lâhor, or that he came from Aṭak, but *across* the river Indus from the Aṭak side.[17]

Rasâlû was the hero and Pûran the saint of the two brothers, and their legends differ accordingly to a very great extent.

I have a lithographed version in Panjâbî verse in the alphabetical or *pati* style, of the story of Pûran Bhagat, and I believe there are several other versions in existence, lithographed or printed. Mine is in the Persian character. The story of Râjâ Rasâlû has, however, I believe never been printed or indeed previously committed to writing, but some years ago Mr. Delmerick of the Panjâb Commission got a *paṭwârî* (village accountant) of the Râwal Piṇḍî district to take down the tale as repeated and sung in those parts. He had also a translation of it made into Urdû at the same time. Both these MSS. he kindly placed at my disposal, and I had the former copied, and am translating it as fast as my scant leisure will permit. It consists of prose and verse, as is often the case in the genuine folk recitations of the Panjâb. The prose portion is in indifferent Urdû, and I fancy the *paṭwârî* has tried to show off in it what learning he possessed. It is therefore of no linguistic value whatever, but the verses he could not mutilate, and they are of the highest philological value, being in the purest dialectic vernacular, *ṭheṅṭh Panjâbî*, as the natives call it. The whole forms a genuine collection of folklore of more than usual interest, as it most probably records the traditions and tales of the most important non-Aryan race that inhabited Northern India in days of yore. The "Adventures of Râjâ Rasâlû" are a series of more or less disconnected stories, of which the following is one:—

Râjâ Rasâlû and the Râkshasas.

Then Râjâ Rasâlû started again on his journeys, and came to Nîlâ city,[18] and there he saw an old woman making *chupâtîs*, and while she was making them she kept on crying and laughing by turns. So the Râjâ said to her,—"Why do you weep and laugh, mother, while you are making the *chupâtîs*?"

"Why do you ask?" she said, "what good will it be to you to know?"

"Tell me the truth," replied the Râjâ, "I daresay it will do both of us good."

So the old woman told her story, and said: "I had seven sons, and six of them have been killed one by one by a Râkshasa, and to-day it is the turn of the seventh to go to him. He is the only one that remains, and that is why I laugh and sing and weep, for he too will be killed to-day. And I make the *chupâtîs*, because by the order of the Râjâ of this city the victim of the day has to go to the Râkshasa with a basket of *chupâtîs* and a buffalo, and he eats up the whole lot for his dinner."

Then answered Râjâ Rasâlû—

Nâ ro, mâtâ bholiye; nâ aswâṅ ḍhalkâe:
Tere beṭe dî 'iwaz maiṅ sir desâṅ chûe.

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[17] Hunter, *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, vol. VIII, pp. 275-6; Tod, *Râjasthan*, Madras Ed. vol. I, pp. 53, 93, 95; McCrindle's *Ancient India of Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 111, or *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 247, footnote, quoting Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. VIII, pp. 437-8 footnote. However, for an idea of the confusion in which the whole subject is still involved see Hunter vol. VIII, pp. 274-5, and all the authorities he quotes. Compare also his own contradictory accounts of Śâlivahana and the Śâka era at pp. 273 and 276.

[18] I am nearly certain that this is a point not far to the south of Aṭak on the Indus on the old road between Peshâwar and the Salt Range where the river is very blue, now known as Bâgh Nîlâb. See Cracroft's *Settlement Report of the Râwal Piṇḍî District*, 1875, p. 16, sec. 58.

Weep not, single-minded mother; shed no tears:
I am going to give my head for your son.

Then the old woman said, "Ah, but who will really risk his life for another?"

"I give you my word of honour," replied Râjâ Rasâlû, "that I will give my life for your son."

And saying this he got down from off his horse, and sat by the old woman's bed. Almost immediately afterwards the Kotwâl of the city came up, and the old woman said to Râjâ Rasâlû—

Nîle ghorewâliyâ Râjâ, munh dhâri[19], *sir pag,*
Oh jo dekhte âunde, jin khâyâ sârâ jag.[20]

O Râjâ with the dark-grey-horse, bearded in face and turban on head, you see him coming who has ruined me.[20]

Now the Kotwâl came attended by his usual guards, and Râjâ Rasâlû said to them—"Leave off troubling this old woman."

But the Kotwâl said, "It is all very well, but if her son does not come with us at once, the Râkshasa will come into the city and make a fine disturbance, as he will lose the dinner daily appointed for him in consideration of his leaving the city in peace."

When Râjâ Rasâlû heard this, he said, "I will give myself in place of the old woman's son." Whereat the Kotwâl's guards laughed, saying: "This is only a traveller. What has he to do with it." And they began to threaten the old woman's son. But Râjâ Rasâlû got on to his horse again, and started off for the Râkshasas' lair with his basket of *chupâtîs* and the buffalo. The buffalo led him by the straightest road, and as they neared the Râkshasas' home they met one of them, who was a water-carrier by trade, going along the road with his bag full of water.[21] When the water-carrying Râkshasa saw Râjâ Rasâlû coming along with a horse as well as with the buffalo and the basket of *chupâtîs* he was much pleased to think that that day there would be a horse to eat over and above the usual meal. So he thought within himself that he might just as well begin eating at once and put his hand into the basket, but Râjâ Rasâlû chopped it off with one blow of his sword, and the Râkshasa ran off to his friends as fast as he could. And as he was running along with all his might he met the Râkshasî, his sister, who asked him where he was running to. To which he replied, "Râjâ Rasâlû is coming after us full gallop, and look! he has cut off one of my arms."

When his sister heard this she joined him, and they both went off to the rest of the Râkshasas, saying that Râjâ Rasâlû had come upon them—

"*Nasso bhajjo, bhâiyo; dekho koî galî!*
Jehṛî agg dhonkdî, so sir te ân balî!
Sûjhanhârî sûjh gae; hun laihndî charhdî jâe!
Jithe sânûn sukh mile, so jhatpat karo upâe!

Fly, fly, brethren, wherever you see a way!
A mighty fire is blazing and will burn our heads!
Our fate has come; and now we shall be destroyed!
We must make immediate plans to save ourselves!"

When all the Râkshasas and Râkshasîs heard this dreadful news they went to that Râkshasa who was well up in astrology, and asked him to look into his books and to see if Râjâ Rasâlû had been really born or not. And when they heard that he had been really born they got very frightened, and began to hide themselves in all directions.

Meanwhile great Râjâ Rasâlû went riding along and reached the Râkshasas' home. And all the Râkshasas collected together and said to him,—

"Who are you? And why did you disturb our brother and sister on the road?"

Then said Râjâ Rasâlû—"I am Râjâ Rasâlû, son of Râjâ Sahilwân, and the enemy of the Râkshasas."

But one of the Râkshasas answered him, "I have killed and eaten many Rasâlûs like you."

Aisâ mârûn gurjanâ,[22] *khad khad karûn chûe:*
Aisâ sitûn wâheke, jithe pawen jâe.

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[19] Should be *dârî*, a beard.

[20] *Lit.*, who has ruined the whole world, *i.e.*, the whole of *my* world, me. *Cf.* the proverb, *main mare to jag marâ*, when I die the world dies.

[21] The Râkshasas of the story are evidently a people, for the expression here used is, "*to sagga Râkson kâ unko milâ, jo pânî bharkar chalâ jâtâ thâ*,—then they met a *bhistî* of the Râkshasas, who was going along (with his bag) full of water." Later on in the tale quite as remarkable an expression occurs, "*ek Râkasî ilm najûmî kâ jântâ thâ, usse pûchhne lage, keh jantrî ko dekho, keh Râjâ Rasâlû paidâ hûâ hai yâ nahîn*,—one of the Râkshasas knew astrology, and they asked him to look into his almanac and see if Râjâ Rasâlû was born or not." For reference as to the really human character of the Râkshasas, see Dowson, *Dict of Hindû Mythology*, *s. v.* p. 255: Garrett, *Classical Dict. of India*, *s. v.* p. 499, and *Supplement*, *s. v.* p. 113; Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II, 420; McCrindle's *Ancient India of Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 23, or *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 118, quoting Schwanbeck's *Megasthenis Indica*, pp. 70 *et seqq.*

[22] *Gurjanâ*, a mace, (?) for Pers. *gurz*: the *gurjanâ* is a heavy spiked ball of iron fastened to a short iron rod by a chain. Its object is to reach over the shield of the opponent.

I will so strike you with my mace, that
you will be cut in pieces :
I will so throw and hurl it, that you will
be overthrown."

And then all the Râkshasas said to Râjâ Rasâlû, "The true proofs of Râjâ Rasâlû are these. His horse's heel ropes will bind us, and his sword[23] will cut us in pieces of their own accord."

Then Râjâ Rasâlû loosened the heel-ropes from his saddle, and let the sword drop from his hand, and lo ! the heel-ropes began to bind the Râkshasas and the sword to cut them in pieces.

But the Râkshasas said—"There is yet another proof of Râjâ Rasâlû. Seven iron frying-pans[24] must be put one behind the other and the Râjâ must pierce them with an arrow."

So they put seven iron frying-pans together one behind the other, and not only that but seven Râkshasas, who were own brothers, stood one behind the other behind the seven frying-pans. And Râjâ Rasâlû shot an arrow from his bow and pierced the seven frying-pans and the seven Râkshasas as well, and cut off their heads. And the Râkshasî their sister ran away from Râjâ Rasâlû and hid herself in a cave in the Gandgarî[25] mountain. Râjâ Rasâlû followed her and had a statue made of himself, clad in full armour, and placed it at the entrance of the cave. After this he returned to the Nîlâ city and went into the garden of Râjâ Harichand.[26]

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES.

13. *Burgat = Brigade = Cantonment.* Lately a low-caste Musalmân Mochî (shoe-maker) used a curious expression in my Court which puzzled all present for a time. When pressed as to the truth of a statement he had made, he said "*tamâm Burgat se pûchhâ jâve,* you may ask the whole Cantonment," meaning of Ambâlâ. *Burgat* turned out to be *brigiṭ* (accent on first syllable), a common corruption of *Brigade,* and to be used for our 'Cantonment' or 'Station.' The usual vernacular corruption for this expression is *kaṁp* or *kaṁpû,* from the English "*camp,*" in recollection of times not very long gone by in the Panjâb when all Cantonments were literally camps. *Kaṁp* has now become the vernacular official designation of a Cantonment, and is much used in place of the correct *Chhâunî*; for instance, most vernacular petitions relating both to Judicial and Executive matters and nearly all *robkârs* and other vernacular official letters and documents are addressed to me as "*Majistreṭ kaṁp Ambâlâ*" *i.e.,* in Persian characters مجستریت کنپ انبالہ

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK NOTICE.

OSTÎRÂNISCHE KULTUR IM ALTERTUM, von Wilhelm Geiger. Erlangen: Deichert, 1882.

This account of the Civilization of Eastern Irân in ancient times commences with a carefully detailed description of the present appearance of the countries in which the *Avesta* originated and its doctrine was first promulgated, and then proceeds to examine the manners and customs of the ancient races who accepted that doctrine, so far as they can be ascertained from the scanty references to such matters in the *Avesta* texts.

In these incautious times, when any new hypothesis that has a plausible appearance is readily adopted before it can be fully investigated, it is pleasing to find a young scholar judicious enough to prefer long-established theories, and to extend or modify them so as to explain a wider range of facts, in the manner Dr. Geiger has done in iden-

[23] The word used is *sikkîn,* Arab. for a knife; plu. *sikâkîn.* Here it evidently is used for a sword. It is a queer word to find here, and is not, I think, at all in use in the Panjâb, perhaps the *paṭwârî* transcriber has used it to show his learning.

[24] The word used is *tâb* تاب which is a puzzle, though it evidently means the iron or copper disc used in India for frying. In Persian *tâba* تابہ *ṭâba* طابہ; and perhaps *tab* تاب mean a frying pan. In Arabic طبق *ṭabaq* and طباق *ṭabâq* mean a frying pan: the plu. اطباق *aṭbâq* oddly enough means "one following another." I do not know that *tâb* is ever used in Panj. for frying pan. The ordinary words are for Musalmâns *ṭabâq* and for Hindûs *ṭhâlî.*

[25] Properly the Gandgaṛh Hills to the north of the Râwal Pindî District and N. E. of Aṭak. The footmarks of Râjâ Rasâlû where he stood looking for the Râkshasî are still shown by the natives.

[26] I cannot say who this was exactly. It is not at all unlikely that he is meant for the renowned Harischandra, but he may be Râjâ Hodî. In another tale, although he does not actually appear to be Râjâ Hodî, he is stated to reside in 'Ohdenagarî—عوہدے نگری which I take to be Hodînagarî spelt in a learned (!) way. It might possibly be Ohind. McCrindle, p. 110 footnote: Hunter, vol. VIII, pp. 23, 29 *s. v.* Rânîgat: Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India,* pp. 58-78. I may help enquiry by adding here that during these adventures Rasâlû seems to have lived at Mûrat near Râwal Pindî in the Khairî Mûrat Hills; Râjâ Harichand in the Chittar Pahaṛ at Rânî Throd; Râjâ Sarkap (or Sirikap) at Koṭ Bithaur, near Aṭak, overlooking the river; Hodî at Ohind opposite Aṭak on the river. All these places are in the Râwal Pindî District and other places connected with these legends in the same district are the Mârgalâ Pass, Sang Jûne, Gandgaṛh Hills, Bâgh Nilâb and (?) Dûmâl.

tifying the sixteen lands produced by Ahura Mazda and vitiated by Angra Mainyu, as detailed in the first fargard of the *Vendîdâd.* The old theory is that these lands are named in the order in which they received the Avesta religion, either by conversion or conquest; but a more recent hypothesis assumes that they are merely enumerated as the lands which had adopted the faith down to a certain date, and that this accounts for the irregular order in which they are mentioned. This is a plausible assertion, but one that hardly bears strict investigation.

An enumeration must be made in some particular order, and if the enumerator does not follow any chronological arrangement, he will most probably adopt the order of the positions in which the things enumerated happen to stand. In other words, a mere enumerator of a number of lands would be likely to mention them in the order in which they were mapped in his mind, and not in any irregular succession. But the progress of religion and conquest is much more irregular in its course, and, after extending some distance in one direction, it will often branch off in a new direction from some point in its earlier course, and two or more such branches may be extending at the same time, so that a chronological statement of their progress would lead to a seemingly irregular succession of names of places.

Thus, having placed Airyana Vaêjô on the upper waters of the Zarafshân (which he identifies with the Dâitya river, said to flow out of that mythic land) Dr. Geiger finds no more difficulty than others before him, in tracing the progress of the Avesta down that river into Sughdha, near Bukhârâ, and thence in two branches across the Oxus (which he supposes to be the water of Ardvîsûra) into Môuru (Merv) and Bâkhdhi (Balkh), from the latter into Nisâya (near Maimane), and from the former into Harôyu (the province of Herât). Then by a fresh branch, through the mountain passes, from Bâkhdhi to Vaêkereta, which the Pahlavi writers identify with Kâbul, and thence into Urva, south of the Kurum river. In the meantime another branch left Môuru for Vehrkâna, on the Gurgân and Atrek rivers, near the south-east angle of the Caspian. Then Harakhvaiti, on the Arghandâb, near Qandahâr, was occupied from Vaêkereta; and this advance was pushed on into Haêtumend, on the lower Hilmand in Seistân. After the Vehrkâna branch had extended to Ragha (near Teherân), Chakhra (which Geiger supposes to have been near Nishâpûr and Mashhad) may have been annexed to Harôyu; but, by placing the next land, Varena, in Tabaristân the author has raised an unnecessary hindrance to the acceptance of the theory he adopts, because, in that case, Varena ought to have been occupied from Vehrkâna before the extension to Ragha. This difficulty would be overcome by identifying Varena with Gilân (as suggested by Haug) which could be occupied in natural sequence from Ragha. Of the last two lands, Hapta Hindva, in the extreme north-west of the Panjâb, might have been entered from either Vaêkereta or Urva, and the plains of Rangha (if on the Yaxartes) could have been occupied at any period, early or late, from either of the first two lands mentioned in the *Vendîdâd.*

It appears from these details, which are illustrated by a carefully-drawn map of the whole region described, that the apparent irregularities in the arrangement of the names of these lands are quite consistent with the assumption that they are mentioned in the order in which their inhabitants accepted the Avesta religion. And as half the names are readily identified with the names of places mentioned by Darius in his cuneiform inscriptions, or by Greek writers, and still in use, it seems most probable that the other half are also old names of lands still existing on the earth's surface, and are mythic only in so far as our present knowledge is insufficient to identify them with absolute certainty.

As an effect of the extension of the Avesta religion from east to west, the author shows that certain names of well-remembered mountains, seas, and rivers, were transferred to new localities; much in the same manner as emigrants from Europe to America have transferred many old-world names to their new homes. Thus, the Hara berezaiti, 'lofty mountain,' which originally meant the lofty mountains to the east of the Pâmir plateau, was a name transferred at an early date to the mountains south of the Caspian, hence called Alburz; and the sea Vouru-kasha, 'the wide-shored,' originally the Caspian and Aral, has become the Arabian Sea in the *Bundahish,* which book endeavours to adapt the old names and traditions of the Avesta to the geographical and scientific knowledge current in Sasanian times.

Not the least interesting and important part of the work is that which treats of the allusions to manners and customs found in the *Avesta,* the habits of the people with regard to birth and education, marriage and death, their belief in a future state and spirit-world, their religion, superstitions, and moral condition, their ranks and occupations, their settlements, laws, and government, regarding all which matters the author has collected much useful information, interspersed with many original investigations, the result of his own special studies of the texts.

E. W. WEST.

INDEX.

* Abbreviations, as in former volumes.

ERRATA IN VOL. XI.

p. 4*b*, l. 4, *for* is *read* shew.
„ l. 21, *for* cuts *read* cut.
5*a*, l. 17, for (*ghangrî*) read (*ghaugrî*).
11*b*, l. 11, for *tâṭa*, read *taṭa*.
12*b*, l. 15, *for* Anmaakuṇḍâ, Anmaakoṇḍa, *read* Anmakuṇḍâ, Anmakoṇḍa.
13, transcription l. 55, *for* -viḍaṁba-ḍaṁ *read* -viḍaṁba-daṁ-
14, „ l. 114, *for* budha-sâtânê-ka[ṁ*], *read* budha-śatân=êka[ṁ*]
„ „ l. 115, *for* Sriyô, *read* Śriyô.
15, „ l. 120, *for* -danas-su-, *read* -danas=su-
„ „ l. 142, *for* Jishṇu, *read* Jishṇu-
16*a*, l. 25, *for* Ôṁ, *read* Ôm.
17*a*, l. 4, *for* R u d r ê ś v a r a, *read* R u d r a.
20, note 29, *for* Mattichêṛuvala; *read* Maṭṭichêṛuvala
69, transcription l. 14, *for* prâtishthipach *read* prâtishṭhipach.
73*a*, l. 14, *for* Gûrjara *read* Châudâ.
„ l. 18, *for* Bhûgaḍa *read* Bhûyaḍa.
„ „ for *Dharmaraṇya* read *Dharmâraṇya*.
73*b*, l. 1, *for* mentions *read* does not mention.
85*b*, line 32, *for* me tthe, *read* met the.
97*a*, l. 40, *for* Pallava's *read* Pallavas'.
110*a*, ll. 27 and 36, and *b*, l. 18, *for* Sâmangaḍ *read* Sâmûngaḍ.
111, transcription l. 4, *for* abhimukhi[ṁ*], *read* abhimukhî[ṁ*].
„ note 7, l. 10, for *narapâ*, read *narapô*.
112, transcription l. 12, *for* janâh, *read* janâḥ.
„ „ l. 15, *dele the hyphen after* Sômânvayî.
114, note 26, l. 2, for *chutushtaya* read *chatushṭaya*.
131, l. 41*a*, *for* 'atras *read* 'atrus.
„ l. 43*a*, *for* sangî *read* sûngî.
159, transcription l. 42, *for* =aha *read* =aha-.
164*a*, ll. 23, 24, *for* specimen verses:— ⊥ where shows the accent, ⊥⊥ a strong accent, *read* specimen verses:—where ⊥ shows the accent, and ⊥⊥ a strong accent.
175*a*, l. 32, *for* 7 *read* 5.
176*a*, ll. 22 and 54, *for* Veda *read Veda*.
„ l. 35, 36, *for* Rig Veda *read Ṛig Veda*.
176*b*, l. 14, *for* Upanishads and the Darśanas *read Upanishads* and the *Darśanas*.

p. 197*a*, l. 15, for *kalubili* read *kaḻubili*.
197*b*, ll. 6, 10 and 18, for *medu* read *meḍu*.
„ l. 10, for *meda* read *meḍa*.
198*a*, l. 1, for *combolly* read *cobolly*.
220*b*, l. 5, from bot. *for* Aṇhilvâḍas *read* Aṇhilavâḍa.
242*a*, l. 12, *read* Śrî-A b h a y a s î h a
„ l. 18, *read* Gaṇḍaśrî-Vîrabhadra
„ l. 32, *read* Somanâtha Pâthaṇ
242*b*, l. 32, *read* ಕುಂ and [illegible].
„ l. 26, *dele* (= m, s, j d).
243*b*, l. 4, from below *dele* (?).
244*a*, l. 38, f., *read* Śrî-Ruknu'd-dîn.
245*b*, l. 18, f., *read* the congregation of the ship-owners and sailors, *and add note:* नोरिक must mean the same as नौजन and नौवित्तक (*l.* 2 and 22 of the grant); it occurs also in a Śilâhâra grant dated Śaka S. 1016 (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 38, note 50.
259*b*, *In the transcript of the third version of the Jaggayyapeṭâ inscription*:—
l. 1, *read* *ikh*âkunaṁ — vâsa*p*akhaṁ;
l. 2, *read* Nâkacha*ṁ*dasa—Makâkaṁdu*rû*re;
l. 3, *read* Sidha*tho* â*p*aṇo—Mûlasi*ri*;—
l. 5, *read* *siri*;
l. 6, *read* mahâche*tiya* — a*p*aṇo *deya*dha*maṁ*
l. 7, *read* patitha*p*ita ti.

[The syllables in *italics* have been misprinted in the Devanâgarî transcript.]

270*b*, l. 6, from bot. *for* 8 *read* 7.
271*b*, note, *for* initia *read* initial.
272*a*, ll. 5, 6, *read* see *Bṛihat Saṁhitâ*.
„ l. 9, *dele* correct.
272*b*, l. 13, *for* $\left\{ \acute{S} + \left(\frac{22\,S + 7}{1875} \right)_w \div 60, \right.$
read $\left\{ S + \left(\frac{22\,S + 7}{1875} \right)_w \right\} \div 60.$
294*b*, l. 23, *for* terms *read* term.
„ l. 27, for *kala mas* read *kaḻu mas*.
„ l. 30, for *kebali* read *kebali*.
„ „ for *kebella* read *kebella*.
„ l. 31, for *nonnunquam* read *quandoque bonus*.
„ ll. 36 and 38, for *kalu* read *kaḻu*.
„ l. 40, *for* Sin. *read* Siṁ.
295*b*, l. 13, from bot. *for* kindom, *read* kingdom.

p. 297, the *Notes and Queries* ought to be numbered 8, 9 &c. to 12 instead of 9, 10 &c. to 13.

305*a*, l. 9, *after* 13⅗ *add*—The plates were found at Lunsadi a village in the Mahuvâ parganâ under Bhaunagar, and lent by Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar of that State, at the instance of Col. J. W. Watson, to the Editor to take facsimiles from. The seal is attached (*not* lost).

309, l. (23) after अपरतः *read* कुटुंम्बीभोतकसत्कक्षेत्रः उत्तरतः कुटुम्बीअज्जससत्कक्षेत्रः तथा द्वितीयखन्ड

(24) पूर्वदक्षिणसीम्नि महत्तरजज्जुल्लकप्रकुष्टंत्रींशाङ्गुपादावर्त्तपरिमाणं यस्य पूर्वतः जज्जुल्लकसत्कक्षेत्रः दक्षिणतः ब्राह्मण

(25) दामिलसत्कक्षेत्रः अपरतः

and alter the numbering of lines (24), (25) &c. to (26), (27) &c.

p. 337 [1] *read* श्रीमदणहिलपाटके.

p. 337*b*, l. 5, *read* Kâmbalaüli.

„ l. 12 from bottom, *read* Tâladhvaja.

„ l. 1 from bottom, *dele* l. 1, *read* सुन्दि.

p. 338 [5] *read* °व्यापारान्.

„ [13] *read* दशोत्तरं शतं.

„ [2] *read* पूजाद्यर्थं and सपुत्रपौत्रस्य.

„ [4] *read* सीलाच्चि.

p. 310*b*, l. 36, *read* A s v a p a t i a native of P a d m â v a t i (?).

311*b*, l. 1, *read* Kîrtivarman.

„ l. 14, *dele* *.

„ l. 15, *join* râjodumadhyagata°.

„ l. 18, *dele* *.

„ l. 28, *for* ârohayitum- *read* ârohayitum

„ l. 39, *read* K î r t i v a r m a n

312*b*, l. 17 f., *read* and 2 *rephas*

„ l. 28, read *guhâlatâm*

313*b*, l. 2 f., *read* in his review of the first volume of Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* of the 19th October 1881, p. 1313.

321*a*, l. 24, *for* P a n k s h o b a *read* S a n k s h o b a.

334*b*, l. 28, *for* No one will be disposed, *read* Not every one will be disposed.

p. 338 [5] *read* वालह-.

„ [10] *read* वेलहल.°

338*b*, l. 5 from bottom, *read* एतैः.

339*a*, l. 10 from bottom, *read* see note 13.

339*b*, l. 36, *read* Vâlaharâ,

340*a*, l. 4, *read* Velahala.

340*b*, l. 13, *for* produce *read* merit.